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The

Discovery and Conquest

of the

New World

Containing the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus

By WASHINGTON IRVING, Creator of American Classics

A SEPARATE ACCOUNT

OF THE

Conquest of Mexico and Peru

By W. W. ROBERTSON, D. D., F. R. S.,

The Eminent English Historian of the University of Edinburg.

A Perfect History of the United States

From the works of BANCROFT, FISKE, BLAINE, GRANT, SHERMAN, JOHNSTON and others

By BENJAMIN RUSH DAVENPORT,

Master of the Art of Critical Condensation

Introduction by

The HON. MURAT HALSTEAD,

Most Renowned Journalist and Columbian Student of both Americas

Nearly Six Hundred

Illustrations from the Greatest Artists, Portraying Every Scene of the World's Grandest Drama

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PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION.

WHEN the idea of preparing an Introduction for this volume was first presented to me, the undertaking appeared so stupendous as to be absolutely appalling. With diffidence would even the most presumptuous approach subjects of such magnificent magnitude, as the Discovery and Conquest of the New World, the Life and Adventures of Christopher Columbus, the Conquest of Mexico and Peru, the History of the United States. To properly introduce to the multitudinous readers of this book the Subjects, Authors, and Illustrations, seemed a task of such gigantic proportions as to create a feeling of awe in the breast of the most intrepid. No narration save one only—the story of the Saviour—can appeal so powerfully to the patriotic people of our land as the Life and Adventures of Christopher Columbus—no narrator so illustrious and competent as Washington Irving, the creator of the classics of this continent—no account of conquest in the annals of time as that of Mexico and Peru! A concatenation of tragedies producing uncounted treasures, resulting in the creation of Spain's overshadowing power in Europe, whose blood-cemented castles and fortresses from the Danube to Gibraltar in the powerful grasp of Charles V. awed the nations of the Old World. The groans and sighs of Montezuma and the Incas, breathed in Mexico and Peru, became, when echoed across the watery waste of the Atlantic, victorious shouts of Spanish triumph in the Netherlands. The tyranny and oppression of Alva in the Low Countries, was only made possible, and resulted from the power purchased with the gold wrung by brutal cruelty from the natives of America, by Spanish captains, who, like Cortes and Pizarro, built of the mangled bodies of the gentle natives of Mexico and Peru, a foundation and support, for the throne of his most Christian Majesty of Spain.

The History of the United States, replete with matter of never-failing interest to all men, an invariable source of pride and gratification to the citizens of this glorious country, a record of that Nation that for more than one hundred years has held aloft the torch of Liberty illuminating the World with the light of independence—whose starry banner, by the

champions of Freedom unfurled, has proven a beacon of hope for the oppressed—whose example and glory so potently arouse a spirit of emulation and the demand for government, for the people, by the people, that to-day no throne exists upon the American continent.

Entering upon what would naturally be supposed a most arduous undertaking, the preparation of this Introduction, I became aware of the fact that the magnitude of the subjects, the exalted, unquestioned position of Washington Irving, which had seemed to present insurmountable difficulties, actually facilitated the accomplishment of the object of my efforts. A very pigmy may introduce a giant—the faintest streak of light in the east is sufficient to herald the coming of the orb of day. The untutored wandering Arab of the Desert, the unlettered mariner of the deep, can with unfailing accuracy point out the grand constellations of the heavens. The existence of vast superiority in any of the creations of God, obviates the necessity of introduction; the natural appreciation in mankind of that towering above or surpassing all surrounding objects of like kind makes introduction supererogatory.

Blazing planets of the dome above, by dazzling brilliancy command the wondering admiration of the inhabitants of Earth; no astronomical knowledge or erudite introduction is needed to attract attention. Washington Irving is truly the North Star in the Literary firmament, whose position and prominence is so well known, certain and pronounced, that the veriest tyro in the field of letters could without hesitation expatiate upon the many beauties and excellencies of the works of one, who has been the guiding star of many compassless wanderers seeking that which is purest and best in the English language—who has shed undying lustre upon the literature of America. It is a joy forever that the pen of Washington Irving threw the magic of its light and color upon a theme of such superlative interest as the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus. There was no writer so competent as he for the incomparable narrative. His genial fancy has exquisitely decorated the symmetrical fabric of facts. There is abundant authenticity for the architecture that his genius illuminates; he has drawn aside the veil of obscurity, uncertainty and doubt, revealing the harmonious proportions of that Temple of Fame constructed by the might of his wonderful talent to perpetuate the memory of the discoverer of his native land.

Irving states the object of the work: "To relate the deeds and fortunes of the Mariner who first had the judgment to divine and the intrepidity to brave the mysteries of the perilous deep; and who by his hardy genius, his inflexible constancy, and his heroic courage, brought the ends of the earth into communication with each other, the narrative of his

troubled life is a link which connects the history of the Old World with that of the New." While there was a fabulous time before the era of history in the Old World—Asia, Africa and Europe—its dawning was opaque, shrouded in mystery, mythical traditions, of tardy and precarious growth; the history of the New World springs fully developed, mature, perfect, into existence from the gradual, intellectual development of the Old World, as Minerva sprang from the brain of Jupiter, armed against doubt, darkness and uncertainty. The Story of the American Continent opens with a romance; it is Irving's connecting link between the history of the Old World and the New—the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, his marvelous adventures and achievements. Beginning with a young man's beautiful ambitious dream; the alluring atmosphere of hope, the firm support of faith, the sturdy assurance of science, the courage that spanned the abyss of the unknown with the splendid arch of unfailing promise, dazzling fortune and honor, power and glory, ending with disappointment, sorrow, chains, poverty, and Immortality. The opening scenes are in the loveliest lands of the Old World, Italy and Spain, sunny climes where the olive and orange luxuriate, and ever-blooming roses perfume the air with enduring and delicious odors. On the beautiful shores of the Mediterranean, where, as at Genoa, the superb marble mountains stand their feet in the silken sea—that sea whereon the navies of Tyre, Carthage, Rome, Byzantium, Genoa and Venice, strove for mastery of the waters—that were the theater of imperial warfare and pageantry, until Columbus, seeking the Eastern, found the Western Indies, mistaking in the vast sweep of his imagination, and scope of his calculation, Cuba for Japan, expanded the area of the dominion of man over gigantic oceans, that embrace all the nations of the earth. We see in the pages of Irving, Columbus, the Italian adventurer, in the Spanish camp. The conquest of Granada had occurred. Castile and Arragon were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. There is the Alhambra; the snowy mountains that look afar upon the Mediterranean. We hear the recitation of the deeds of chivalry, the last sigh of the Moor defeated and driven from the land he had adorned. We note the pride of the victorious Spaniards, the womanly charm and generosity of Isabella, undertaking the voyage of discovery in behalf of her own crown, and offering her jewels therefor; the hero of the age, rich in religious fervor, brave in his devotion, certain of the promised land beyond the sea. At last the little fleet set sail; the trade winds waft them on until the seamen remonstrate, are ready to mutiny; authority exhausted, persuasion is employed. There are signs of land; a carved stick, a bush with berries, birds; the signal gun that told of the success of the voyage; the green islands, strange people, the cere-

monious landing and thanksgiving, the planting of the Cross and the royal banner of Spain. The stormy voyage home with captives and fruits from the unknown New World; the triumphant return, congratulations, processions, royal favor, popular acclamation; other voyages; the jealousies of the envious and haughty, the malice of the mean; the splendid dreamer, still undaunted, seeking new lands, dealing in lofty spirit with ingratitude. His royal patroness gone in sorrow to her rest, he is deprived of his rights and liberty, sent home from that New World which he had revealed in chains, made free by public opinion. He goes at last to his grave, cast down, but glorious; impoverished, but illustrious. His monument is the crowning continent of a hemisphere, though named for another. His is true glory, which, Cicero says, "takes root, and even spreads. All false pretenses, like flowers, fall to the ground; nor can any counterfeit last long." As Columbia, our nation lives in song and story. He has secure and splendid immortality, with assurance of everlasting remembrance beyond all conquerors, one of the far shining figures that the centuries disclose to the light rather than shadow. The nation to which he gave continents and the richest islands of the seas, has lost her power, but not her pride.

The wealth she gathered from the mines of Mexico and Peru has flown away on the wings of vanity and profligacy. The great nation of the land he found, which is about to celebrate the anniversary of his Discovery, is not of the Spanish blood. Such magnificent possibilities for the brush of the painter, the pencil of the artist, have not been neglected; with eager eyes and inspired souls has the genius of the Old and New World embraced the subject, portraying with wonderful exactness and fidelity each scene in the career of Columbus which has been so pregnant with momentous results to the Anglo-Saxon race. It is a matter of congratulation that a collection of the copies of those masterpieces of art has been made with the care, judgment, and unparalleled patience evinced by the gathering together of the Illustrations in this volume. The discrimination, intelligence, and research which is evident in the careful adjustment of each illustration, to add vividness to the matchless text of Irving, increases the province of this book in a wonderful manner, augmenting its field of operations for good, by creating an instantaneous impression on the minds of the youth of our country, leading them to read and realize events and scenes recorded and described in the marvelous Story of Columbus, engendering an interest and affection for the book, which, with the Holy Bible, should be the most valued treasures of the future electors of the Union; inculcating and enlivening the spirit of patriotism in the hearts of the young, by presenting in a realistic manner the sufferings,

sacrifices, and sorrows of those who bequeath this land of freedom to them. Our future honor and glory rest in the keeping of those we are educating. It is the safeguard of our national existence to inspire feelings of national pride and patriotism. Say with Shakspeare, "Had I a dozen sons, each in my love alike, I had rather eleven die nobly for their country, than one voluptuously surfeit out of action."

Mexico and Peru, the centers of the most advanced civilization in the Western hemisphere, afford such a mass of material, and offer such fascinating fields for conjecture, that the proverbial Scotch stubborness displayed by Dr. Robertson, of the University of Edinburgh, in resisting the temptation to stray into the realm of speculation in his Conquest of Mexico and Peru, adds greatly to the value of his contribution to the History of the New World. The origin alone of the Aztec and Peruvian people affords such opportunities for disquisition and learned research, that commendation is spontaneous upon finding that Dr. Robertson, like the true historian and Scotchman, has abstained therefrom. An origin so variously ascribed, as that of the inhabitants of the American continent, to such various sources, can not fail to escape the speculative philosopher. According to Arius Montanus, Mexico was the true Ophir of the Jews, the early settlers of the country. Lopez de Gomara insinuates that the Canaanites driven from the Land of Promise by the Jews, first peopled this hemisphere. Learned Grotius supposed North America colonized by the Norwegians, and Peru founded by the Chinese. Irving writes: "I pause with reverential awe when I contemplate the ponderous tomes in different languages, with which they have endeavored to solve this question so involved in clouds of impenetrable obscurity."

Reluctantly the stubborn spirit of the Scotchman is forced to record in the blood-besprinkled pages of the Conquest of Mexico and Peru scenes and events which fidelity to facts demands. The most reluctant delineator of scenes as dramatic and picturesque as Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, destroying his ships, the last tie between him and the Old World, is forced into the fields of fancy. The hardihood and confidence of a handful of Spanish adventurers, trusting their safety to their swords alone, contending against unknown numbers, supported by faith in the superiority of their Spanish blood and spirit. The insignificant band decimated by unknown and dreadful diseases. Conflicts with overwhelming numbers, desperation born of despair. Captured cities, arduous marches through pestilential marshes. Majestic Montezuma. Magnificent monuments, strange sacrifices and ceremonies of an almost recognized religion. Beautiful women garlanded with new and odoriferous flowers. At last pause, O! pen of the narrator, ere recording that stain upon Christianity and

Civilization—butchery, brutality, barbarous cruelty. Ruthless invaders carrying the banner of that Cross which had come to the Old World when oppressed by the power of Rome, as a beacon light of promise: the Standard of the meek and lowly Jesus, to the Aztec and Peruvian, is an awful oriflamme of war, carrying horror, destruction, and disaster. Palaces of gorgeous grandeur, temples of marvelous architecture, melt before that all-consuming sign. Empires cease to exist. Christian men, with the cry of Gold, carry destruction to a civilization as old as that of Egypt. Cortes and Pizarro destroy Montezuma and the Incas, and garner gold in untold millions for the glory of Spain; but their crimes, in the retribution of the ages, arise to Heaven in malodorous incense, supplicating *that justice* which fate has accorded to Spain. Vistas of such grandeur and promise never before were presented to artistic eyes; the most famous, brush and pencil in hand, hasten to perpetuate the events and incidents of every phase of the conquests of Cortes and Pizarro with unfailing fidelity to the facts, registering each act of cruelty inflicted by the invaders upon the inhabitants of the New World. The reproduction of the pictures of master hands accentuate every line of Robertson's text.

It behooves the youthful American, in considering the History of the United States, to "tread lightly; 'tis holy ground here." In the sanctuary of your soul embalm the deeds of those who bequeathed to you Liberty and Self-government. The thunder of the guns at Bunker Hill, resounding at the Cowpens in the Carolinas, echoing at Yorktown, should awaken a re-echo and reverberation in your bosoms. Remembering the grand heritage of Freedom, let us pause to place a wreath of immortelles upon the tomb of the Past. Impoverished pilgrims of New England, banished cavaliers of Virginia, persecuted Huguenots of the Carolinas, paupers of Georgia, outcasts of the civilation of the Old World, conquer an Empire for us, their progeny; contending with savage hordes, struggling against strange conditions of climate and soil; victorious at last in the contest against natives and nature. Called by inherent love of liberty to try the arbitrament of war with the most powerful nation of earth—England—George Washington of Virginia, descendant of the Cavaliers; Putnam of New England, representative of the Puritans; Marion of South Carolina, son of the suffering Huguenots, appear; Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, Saratoga, Yorktown, scenes of such suffering and sacrifice as Sparta alone could equal. Creation of the Constitution, to the young American as holy as the Word of God given to Moses on Mount Sinai, for upon that Rock we and our descendants shall build everlasting prosperity and glory. Peace proclaimed, National existence recognized, the United States takes her place in the galaxy of nations. The "Young Eagle of the West" unfurled

her starry standard to the air. Again by injustice and exaction England forces war upon us. Yankee courage and seamanship cause the Mistress of the Seas to acknowledge our rights, and to again cry Peace. Ere the olive branch can be grasped, Southern and Western valor have wrested from the veterans of the Peninsula, victory at New Orleans.

Years of prosperity, war with Mexico, added territory, new stars to our Flag, and then, alas! rebellion, civil war. The acme of courage is reached in this sorrowful decade. Grant and Lee, Jackson and Sherman, Sheridan and Johnson—the American meets the American. Grand, glorious, but sorrowful pictures. The grand old Flag floats once again over our land, and may its sway be undisputed, "now and forever."

To the History of the Colonies of North America and the United States have been added memoirs and narratives of those whose names shall illuminate the pages of our history forever—Grant, Sherman, Johnson, Blaine and others.

Mr. Davenport has with acumen unusual recognized the relative value of each work, and his condensation is most complete. He has had a mass of material to deal with, but with discrimination most remarkable has he utilized only the fittest to create a *vade mecum* of American History. The Publishers of this work deserve the gratitude of countless millions of unborn citizens of this great Republic for placing it within their grasp. May we and our children ever feel reverence for the great and good George Washington, first ever in the hearts of his countrymen; Thomas Jefferson, prudent pilot of our Ship of State; Andrew Jackson, just, generous, and rigorous; Abraham Lincoln, to whom the Recording Angels of Freedom have given immortality; Grant, "that grand old silent soldier," gone in glory to the grave, around whom gather, like stars about some gigantic planet, Sherman, Sheridan, Butler, Hancock, Howard, and a host of other gallant sons of the Union, who, in the dark days of our trouble, warded off the vengeful stroke from the old Flag, which to-day floats serenely over the reunited States of the Union. Lee, Jackson, Johnson, Stewart, types of valor and chivalry, whose names and deeds call forth encomiums from all nations. The veriest amateur of America would become inspired by thoughts of national glory when reading such a record, creating gems that would do credit to an Angelo or Raphael. Then small wonder is it that the Publishers have found such a bounteous field of illustration from which to collect pictures for this condensed History. Some subjects beggar the power of the pen: I have made no Introduction, for these subjects mightily introduce themselves.



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to find rich gold mines—Often hears of the great kingdom in the West, is told about the civilization of the inhabitants, and understands that the sea continues around to it, ten days from whence flows the Ganges—Though these rumors evidently described Mexico, he concludes that he is already in a province of the Grand Khan—He presses forward, contending with adverse winds and hostile natives—He at length arrives at a small narrow harbor, which he names El Retrete, where he is persuaded by the seamen, who imagine themselves under the evil spells worked against them by the Indians, and the unseaworthiness of his ships, to return to the coast of Veragua—Abandons the search after the strait. 345

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Character of Montezuma—Haughty, violent, and impatient of control—Governs with unexampled rigor—His talents inadequate to a conjuncture so extraordinary as the invasion of Mexico by Cortes—From the moment of their landing shows symptoms of timidity and embarrassment—A general belief of some dreadful calamity which is about to come to pass augments his fears and forebodings—The calamity to come in the shape of formidable invaders from an eastern unknown race, and generally believed by all his superstitious and credulous subjects—Montezuma's rage, natural to a fierce prince, when he finds the Spaniards disregarding his orders to leave the country—His counselors advise him to issue more positive

and stringent orders to Cortes, and preposterously accompany it with a present of great value—Anxiety of the Spaniards pending these negotiations—The more timid amongst them contend that it would be an act of wildest frenzy to attack such a well regulated, powerful empire—Cortes, by various acts of generosity, liberality, and intrigues, secures the esteem and affection of his army, and the approval of his plans of campaign against the Aztec empire—Teutile arrives, during the progress of these intrigues, with presents and the ultimatum of Montezuma—Cortes maintains his former position, and Teutile quits the camp with looks and gestures which strongly express his surprise and resentment—Friendly intercourse ceases—The adherents of Velasquez, emboldened by the sudden consternation which befalls everybody in the camp, not only murmur and cabal against Cortes, but commission Diego de Ordaz to him with the request to return to Cuba for reinforcements—He pretends to acquiesce, and issues his order for an immediate return—The disappointed part of his adventurers exclaim and threaten against it, considering it unworthy of Castilian courage, and, if persisted in, will choose another commander—Cortes, secretly pleased with their ardor, takes no offense at the boldness of their utterances—His consummate skill in carrying out his designs—Addresses the army, promises to resume with fresh ardor his original plan of operation, and is greeted with enthusiastic shouts of applause—Establishes a form of civil government, and claims before the court thus established that, his commission from Velasquez having been revoked, the lawfulness of his jurisdiction might well be questioned—He resigns all authority to them as representative of the Spanish monarch; and though accustomed to command, had not forgotten to obey—His resignation is accepted—After a short deliberation the council, who were in reality his confidants, inform him that as his conduct afforded them the most satisfying evidence of his ability to command, they have elected him chief justice of the colony and captain-general of the army by their unanimous suffrage—The soldiers with eager applause ratify their choice, and the air resounds with the name of Cortes 450

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CORTES ASCERTAINS THAT THE YOKE OF AZTEC CONFEDERACY IS BORNE UNWILLINGLY BY MANY TOWNS AND DISTRICTS—HIS MARCH TO CEMPOALA AND TREATY WITH THE CACIQUE—DESTRUCTION OF THE FLEET.

Cortes assumes greater dignity, and exercises more extensive power, now that he acts as representative of the sovereign—The adherents of Velasquez exclaim openly against the proceedings as seditious, and he confines the ringleaders, loaded with chains, aboard the fleet—He courts their friendship, and they become perfectly reconciled to him, and ever after nothing swerves them from an inviolable attachment to his interest—Cortes receives the messengers from the cacique of Cempoala; learns from them that he desires his friendship, and, impatient of the Mexican yoke, nothing could be more desirable to him than deliverance from the oppression under which he groans—Cortes concludes that the great empire of Montezuma is not perfectly united, nor its sovereign universally beloved—Reasons that the cause of dissatisfaction cannot be confined to one corner of the realm, and that the malcontents would follow the standard of any protector—He marches to Cempoala, and is received by everybody with gifts and caresses, and respect approaching almost adoration—The cacique paints the character of Montezuma—Cortes encourages him to look to him for redress, and continues his march to Quiabislan—Assisted by the natives of Cempoala and Quiabislan, and pressing every man of his army into service, he erects a fort there in order to secure a place of retreat, and to preserve his communications with the sea—Concludes a formal alliance with several caciques, inspiring them with such a high opinion of the Spaniards, that they insult the messengers of Montezuma, who come to demand victims for their blood-reeking altars—The messengers are arrested, and only the powerful interposition of Cortes saves them from being themselves sacrificed—Cortes takes measures to procure a confirmation of his authority by the king—The magistrates of the colony write a letter to Charles V. in which they belittle the motives of Velasquez, and extol the merits of Cortes—He induces his soldiers to relinquish their part of the golden spoils thus far gathered, and sends them with the letters to Spain—A conspiracy is at that moment detected by him which involves the capture of one of his brigantines—He concludes to scuttle his ships, and persuades and labors with his army to adopt his ideas with respect to the propriety of this measure—Five hundred men voluntarily consent, from an effort of magnanimity, to shut themselves up in a hostile country, depending upon no other resources but their own valor and perseverance 46

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ADVANCE INTO THE HEART OF MEXICO—SUCCESSFUL TERMINATION OF THE WAR WITH THE TLASCALANS—CONCLUDES A TREATY OF PEACE WITH THEM.

By an indiscreet sally of religious zeal, Cortes is precipitated into actions inconsistent with the prudence of his character—Orders the overturning of the altars and destruction of the idols of the Cempoalans—The native priests excite the populace to arms, but Cortes is enabled to appease the commotion without bloodshed—On the 16th of August he starts out with an army of 500 men, 15 horse, and 6 field pieces towards the republic of Tlascala—Is accompanied by 400 Cempoalan warriors and a host of "tamemes" (Indian porters), who relieve his men from the drudgery of hauling the guns and carrying the baggage—The port of Villa Rica left in charge of the trusty Escalante, with the disabled or infirm—Character of the mountaineers of Tlascala—Less civilized than the subjects of Montezuma, fierce and revengeful, high spirited and independent—Formerly allies of the Cempoalans, but involved in perpetual hostilities with all their neighbors—The love of liberty makes them detest their servile neighbors, and wage successful contests against the superior power of the Mexicans—Four Cempoalans of eminence are sent by Cortes as ambassadors to ask permission to pass through their territories—They receive an unwelcome reception, and the Tlascalans prepare to obstruct the passage of the troops of Cortes—Probable motives prompting them thereto—Battle with the Tlascalans, in which the Spaniards sustain severe losses—During fourteen days almost uninterruptedly assaulted, he proceeds very cautiously—The Tlascalans, though addicted to war, strangers to military order and discipline—Queer superstitions and habits of the Tlascalans—They keep continually sending poultry and maize (Indian corn) to the Spaniards, because they scorn to attack an enemy enfeebled by hunger, or affront their gods by offering them famished victims—They apply to their priests to reveal to them the unknown cause, why, in so many hard-fought battles, they have been unsuccessful in killing a single Spaniard?—Informed that the strangers are the children of the sun, and invulnerable in day time—In contradiction with their war maxims, they attack them at night, but are signally repulsed—Cruel measures adopted by Cortes with some 50 spies, whose hands he orders cut off—The Tlascalans disposed to peace—Peace concluded, and the republic taken under his protection 474

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CORTES SOLICITOUS TO GAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF HIS NEW CONFEDERATES, WHICH HE, BARELY GAINED, JEOPARDIZES BY HIS RELIGIOUS ZEAL—ADVANCES TO CHOLULA, WHERE HE MASSACRES 6000 INHABITANTS, AND THENCE ON TO THE CITY OF MEXICO. [1519.]

Cortes enters the city of Tlascala—His army in a wretched condition—Worn out by incessant toil, destitute during the weary campaign of the necessaries most requisite, and compelled to dress their wounds with the fat of their slain enemies for want of salve, many of them begin to murmur—It requires the utmost exertion of Cortes' authority and address to check the spirit of despondency and re-animate his followers—He makes a stay of twenty days in Tlascala to recuperate the health of his army from their fatigues—Makes diligent inquiry into the condition of the empire, and perceives what benefit he would derive from the aid of his new and powerful confederates—They anticipate his wishes and offer their services—Cortes, as well as his army, considering themselves as instruments employed by heaven to propagate the Christian faith, press with inconsiderate impetuosity their new allies to abandon their deities and kneel down to the true cross—Cortes threatens to overturn their altars and cast down their idols, when the politic though tolerant Bartholomew de Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition, demonstrates to him the fallacy of the measure—The Tlascalans are left in the undisturbed exercise of their rights, required only to desist from their horrid practice of offering human sacrifices—Accompanied by 6,000 Tlascalans, he resumes his march toward the holy city of Cholula, whither Montezuma had invited him—Cortes is received into the town by the Cholulans with much seeming respect, but his allies are refused admittance—Doña Marina receives information from an Indian woman she has befriended, that the destruction of the Spaniards was concerted—Effectual measures already adopted and executed, and their ruin unavoidable—Cortes, alarmed, secretly arrests three of the chief priests, and extorts from them a confession confirming the intelligence which he had received—He perfects his plans to inflict such dreadful vengeance on the Cholulans as will strike Montezuma and his subjects with terror, which

result in a horrible butchery and carnage—The massacre lasts two days, during which time 6,000 Indians are killed—He upbraids the captive magistrates of the city with their intended treachery, but releases them with the instruction to establish order in the town and recall the fugitives—Cortes resumes his march—The caciques and governors of the provinces through which he passes communicate their grievances to him, and he concludes that the vital parts of the Mexican constitution are affected—In descending the mountain of Chalco, the vast plain of Mexico, one of the most striking and beautiful, opens to the view of the invaders, and they imagine they behold the enchanted palaces and gilded domes of some fanciful romance—Flatter themselves that they will obtain ample recompense for all their services and sufferings—The irresolution of Montezuma so great, that Cortes is before Mexico before the monarch has determined whether to receive him as friend or enemy 483

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FIRST INTERVIEW WITH MONTEZUMA—ENTRY INTO THE CITY—THE DANGEROUS SITUATION OF HIS ARMY COMPELS HIM TO ADOPT EXTREME MEASURES—MONTEZUMA SEIZED IN HIS PALACE AND CARRIED PRISONER TO THE SPANISH QUARTERS.

Cortes is received by a deputation of 1,000 distinguished looking persons, who announce to him the approach of the emperor—His harbingers come in sight—Seated on a golden litter, and surrounded by an immense retinue of officers, favorites, and servants, he approaches—Cortes accosts him with profound reverence, and he returns the salutation according to the mode of his country—Montezuma conducts Cortes to the quarters prepared for him, and immediately takes his leave—The place, a large building surrounded by a stone wall, and its apartments so large as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies—Cortes takes precautionary measures—Montezuma returns to visit his guests again in the evening, bringing presents of such value as proved his liberality to be equal to the opulence of the kingdom—Has a long conference and makes Cortes acquainted with the traditions and prophecies of his people, which have foretold his coming—Artful reply of Cortes—Audience with the emperor on the following day—Description of the city of Mexico, or Tenochtitlan—Built in the middle of a lake, and connected by causeways with the opposite shores—Magnificent temples and houses—The habitations of the common people mere huts—Large market places allotted for traffic to the 60,000 inhabitants—It is the pride of the New World, the noblest monument of the industry and art of man—The dangerous situation in which Cortes finds himself placed causes him uneasiness and perplexity—Is warned by his allies not to place any confidence in the good will of Montezuma—Hears of the head of a Spaniard from the garrison of Villa Rica having been sent all over the empire, and at last to Mexico, to disprove the fallacious notion that the invaders were immortal beings—Becomes sensible that though the valor and discipline of his troops is superior to the natives, the success of his enterprise depends solely upon the high opinion they entertain of the irresistible power of his arms—Upon the first symptom of timidity on his part their veneration would cease, and Montezuma, whom fear alone restrains, let loose the whole force of his empire—Resolves to seize Montezuma—Daring manner of the execution of his plans—Montezuma arrested in his own palace and carried to the Spanish quarters—When it becomes known to the populace, they break out in the wildest transports of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with destruction—Cortes compels Montezuma to declare to the populace that he came by his own choice, and desired to reside with his new friends for some time—Quiet is restored and the Mexicans disperse . 492

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INDIGNITIES HEAPED UPON MONTEZUMA—ACKNOWLEDGES HIMSELF A VASSAL OF SPAIN—MEXICAN SCHEMES FOR LIBERATION.

Montezuma received into the Spanish quarters with apparent respect; perfect liberty of action accorded to him and to his officers, who visit him daily, though watched with scrupulous vigilance—Qualpopoca, and six officers brought to the capital by Montezuma's orders, and formally tried by a Spanish court martial, which condemns them to be burnt alive—While preparations for the *auto da fé* are being made, Montezuma, who as author of the crimes committed by his instrument Qualpopoca, has also been found guilty by the court, is informed by Cortes that it becomes necessary for him to make atonement for his guilt, and orders him put into fetters—The fetters are instantly adjusted, and the disconsolate monarch breaks out into loud lamentations and complaints—His attendants, speechless with horror, fall at his feet, bath-

ing them with their tears—After Qualpopoca's execution Cortes orders Montezuma's fetters taken off—Reasons of Cortes' conduct—The rigor with which Cortes punished the unhappy persons, makes the impression he desires—Montezuma overawed and subdued—He is permitted to receive the attendance of his ministers, visit the temples, yea, even goes on hunting expeditions beyond the lake, in company with a guard of a few Spaniards—The dread, or veneration which he and his subjects have of any Spaniard, such, that no attempt is made to deliver him from confinement—Cortes avails himself to the utmost of the power he possesses, and acts in the name of Montezuma—Sends exploring parties to all parts of the empire—Builds two brigantines on the lake with the aid of Montezuma's subjects, which afford a frivolous amusement to the monarch—Montezuma prevailed upon to acknowledge himself a vassal of Spain—He calls together the chief men of his empire, who interrupt his discourse with tears and groans—Cortes foresees a violent irruption of rage to be near at hand, interposes, and declares that his master does not desire to deprive Montezuma of any dignities, nor the empire of its laws or constitution—Montezuma, at the desire of Cortes, accompanies his profession of fealty with a magnificent present to the Spanish sovereign—Division of it, and the discontent it occasions—Reasons why gold was found in such small quantities—Montezuma's inflexibility with respect to his religion—Cortes enraged at his obstinacy, orders his soldiers to throw down the idols in the grand temple by force—Resisted by the priests and the natives—Schemes of the Mexicans to destroy the Spaniards—Montezuma informs Cortes, that now that his embassy has accomplished its purpose, he and his army had better retire, or the Gods and the Mexican people would destroy them—Cortes pretends to comply 502

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CORTES RECEIVES NEWS OF THE ARRIVAL OF NARVAEZ SENT AT THE HEAD OF A NEW ARMAMENT FITTED OUT BY VELASQUEZ—ATTEMPTS NEGOTIATIONS WITH HIM, WHICH FAILING, HE MARCHES AGAINST, AND UTTERLY ROUTS HIM. THE EFFECTS OF THIS VICTORY.

Anxiety of Cortes about the success of his mission to Spain, and dangers surrounding him in Mexico—Hears of the arrival of some ships at the coast, and imagines his messengers have returned, but is at once undeceived by news from Sandoval, commander of Vera Cruz—Motives which prompt Velasquez to take violent measures—Appointed by the crown governor for life over the newly discovered regions, with more extensive powers and privileges than had been granted to any adventurer since the time of Columbus—Determines to vindicate his own rights, and the honor of the sovereign, by force of arms—Gathers together an armada of eighteen ships, fourscore horsemen, 800 foot-soldiers, and 120 crossbow-men, and places the expedition under the command of Pamphilo de Narvaez—Narvaez lands at St. Juan de Ulloa, and is joined by three deserters from the army of Cortes—Their low cunning represents the situation of Cortes to be desperate, and the dissatisfaction of his soldiers general—Narvaez sends a priest to the commander of Vera Cruz, with summons to surrender; Guevara makes the requisition with such insolence, that the high-spirited Sandoval seizes him, and sends him prisoner to Cortes—Guevara received by Cortes as a friend—Learns of the intrigues of Narvaez, set afloat among the natives, which latter had already begun to revolt in several provinces—Montezuma in secret intercourse with Narvaez—Deliberations of Cortes concerning his own conduct—After revolving every scheme with deep attention, fixes upon the most hazardous one, but best suited to desperate situations—Determines to make one bold effort for victory, rather than sacrifice his own conquests—Sends Father Olmedo to negotiate with Narvaez and his officers, who, though meeting with a favorable reception by some, finds the untractable arrogance of Narvaez unyielding—Cortes leaves 150 men under Alvarado in the capital, and marches with the remainder against Narvaez—His strength, after being reinforced by the garrison of Vera Cruz, only 250 men—Continues negotiations as he advances towards Cempoala, and by various bribes succeeds in gaining adherents to his cause—A little junto excepted, Narvaez and all the army lean towards an accommodation—Narvaez insists on recognition of his title as Governor, which Cortes refusing, irritates his violent temper almost to madness—He marches out to offer battle—Cortes takes advantage of a favorable circumstance, and attacks Narvaez in the night—Description of the battle, defeat of Narvaez—The effects of this victory—Offers to send his adversaries back to Cuba, or to take them into his service as partners of his fortune, on equal terms—This latter proposition accepted by almost all 514

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IMPOLITIC MEASURES OF ALVARADO PRODUCE A CRISIS IN THE CITY OF MEXICO — RETURN OF CORTES, WHO FINDS HIMSELF BESIEGED IN HIS OWN QUARTERS SHORTLY AFTERWARDS —DEATH OF MONTEZUMA, AND HORRIBLE BUTCHERY OF THE SPANIARDS DURING THEIR RETREAT FROM THE CITY—THE "NOCHE TRISTE."

Cortes hears of the revolt of the Mexicans, and the destruction of the brigantines—Alvarado attacked in his own quarters, and though defending himself heroically, must soon succumb to fatigue and famine—Reasons for the sudden change of the attitude of the Mexicans—Alvarado employs neither address nor statesmanship to disconcert the machinations of the Mexicans—Butchers their principal persons while unsuspiciously engaged in one of their religious dances—Cortes sets out with all his forces to the relief of the besieged—Is received with open arms by Alvarado—The united forces which he now commands, appear to him so irresistible, that he assumes a higher tone, and lays aside the mask of moderation—The Mexicans, convinced that his original purpose in visiting their country was the conquest of the same, renew their hostilities with violence and fury—The Spaniards attacked in the great market square, and many of them slain—With impetuous assault they renew their attacks next morning—Distress of the Spaniards—Cortes attacks them without success—Cortes satisfied, that he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans into a fatal error, and that he cannot maintain his present situation any longer—Tries what effect the interposition of Montezuma might have to soothe or overawe his subjects—The unfortunate prince wounded on the battlements by his own soldiers—He dies within a few days—His last acts and reflections—New conflicts engage the Spaniards—The Mexicans assail them from the top of a high tower in the great temple—Ineffectual attempt of Juan de Escobar to dislodge them—The wounded Cortes comes to his rescue, and they dislodge the Mexicans from their stronghold—Hairbreadth escape of Cortes—The Mexicans change their tactics, and attempt to starve an enemy, whom they can not subdue—Cortes decides to abandon the city—Decides to retire secretly in the night—Divides his army into three divisions, himself taking the central—A portable bridge of timber intended to be laid over the breaches in the causeway, their main reliance of success—At midnight, July 1, 1520, they move out of their quarters in profound silence, and reach the first breach without molestation—The Mexicans, though unperceived, watch all their motions with attention, and make proper disposition for a formidable attack—The great drum on the top of the Teocalli sends forth its deep intonations, and the Spaniards find themselves hemmed in on all sides by a torrent of infuriated human beings—Details of the butchery in that most memorable night—Cortes with his shattered forces arrives at Tacuba—His losses 527

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RETREAT AND BATTLE OF OTUMBA—RECEPTION OF THE SPANIARDS IN TLASCALA—MUTINOUS SPIRIT OF THE TROOPS AND MEANS EMPLOYED BY CORTES TO REVIVE THEIR CONFIDENCE—STRENGTHENED BY SEVERAL REINFORCEMENTS, HE AGAIN MARCHES AGAINST THE CITY OF MEXICO. [1520.]

Cortes takes possession of a temple standing on high ground near Tacuba, where he not only finds shelter from the assaults of his enemies, but also some provisions for his famished men—Consults with his officers as to the best route he should take to reach the friendly Tlascalans—Under the guidance of a Tlascalan soldier, they set out, continually harassed by assaults on their flanks and rear, and reduced to feed on berries in the barren country—On the sixth day they reach an eminence overlooking the plain of Otumba, and are awestruck to find an immense army of Mexicans drawn up in line of battle, ready to oppose and annihilate them—Cortes, without allowing leisure for their fears to acquire strength by reflection, leads them instantly to the charge—The Spaniards, though successful in every attack they make, find continually new battalions arriving, and see no end to their toil, or any hope of victory—Cortes observing the great standard of the empire carried in front of the Mexican general by a host of nobles, and recollecting that on the fate of it depended the event of every battle, gathers a few officers about him, and pushes forward with an impetuosity which brings down everything before him—Captures the standard, and a universal panic strikes the Mexicans; every ensign is lowered, the soldiers throw away their weapons, and fly with precipitation to the mountains—The Tlascalans, far from taking any advantage of his distressing situation, receive him with cordiality, and all his suspicions are quickly dissipated—The news of the sad fate of other Spanish parties in Mexico reaches him here—New deliberations of Cor-

tes—Depending upon the implacable hatred of the Tlascalans towards the Mexicans, and his first allies the Cempoalans, he courts their chiefs with such attention that he is assured of everything he may require—Orders timber to be cut in the mountains to build new brigantines with on Lake Tenochtitlan—Dispatches four ships to Jamaica to recruit volunteers, and buy contraband of war—An obstacle arises in a quarter from where he least expects it—Mutinous spirit of the troops—Means employed by him to revive their confidence—That the malcontents might have no leisure to brood over their disaffection, he calls forth his troops into action, and personally taking the lead, chastises the Tepeacans for outrages committed by them—During several months, while waiting for reinforcements, keeps his troops constantly employed—Strengthened by several new arrivals from Cuba, Jamaica and Spain, whom he seduces from the masters they were bound to serve, he dismisses such of Narvaez' soldiers as remain with reluctance, and advances at the head of 10,000 Tlascalans, 550 infantry, forty horsemen, and nine field-pieces, towards Mexico 542

CHAPTER LXI.

PREPARATIONS OF THE MEXICANS FOR THEIR DEFENCE—CORTES' SLOW AND CAUTIOUS OPERATIONS IN INVESTING THE CITY—LAUNCH OF THE BRIGANTINES—GUATEMOTZIN'S HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE PALLADIUM OF THE EMPIRE.

Quetlavaca, brother of Montezuma, elected emperor—He repairs what the Spaniards have ruined in the city, and strengthens it with new fortifications—Fills the magazines with provisions and weapons of war—Summons his subjects everywhere to take up arms against the Spaniards, offering in return exemption from all taxes—Endeavors to persuade the Tlascalans to renounce all connections with them—Sudden death of Quetlavaca, and ascension of young Guatemotzin, a true hero, to the throne of the Montezumas—Cortes forces his way through to the city of Tezcuco, 20 miles from the capital—Deposes the cacique, and substitutes in his place a person whom a faction of nobles pointed out as the real heir to that dignity—Begins the tedious work of constructing the brigantines, while a part of his army reduce the neighboring towns to submisssion to the crown of Spain—Having observed symptoms of disaffection among many of the neighboring states with Mexican rule, he offers to deliver them from their odious dominion if they would unite with him—Gradually acquires new allies, and circumscribes the Mexican power in such manner, that his prospects for overturning it seem neither uncertain nor remote—A conspiracy to assassinate him is discovered, and the ringleader summarily hanged—His artful declaration of his ignorance who the conspirators are, restores tranquillity—Orders a body of Spaniards to conduct the material for the building of the brigantines, to repair to Tlascala—Sandoval's successful accomplishment of this singular and important mission—Receives new reinforcements from Hispaniola—Digs a canal two miles long to facilitate the launching of the brigantines, and with extraordinary military pomp, and the celebration of the most sacred rites of religion, successfully launches them—Dispositions of his army for the siege—Alvarado breaks down the aqueduct which conveys fresh water to the city of Mexico—Mexicans attack the brigantines, but are signally repulsed, leaving Cortes master of the lake—Singular plan of conducting the siege—On land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict succeeds another, nearly all ready to sink under the toils of unintermitting service—Cortes endeavors to take the city by storm—The Spaniards push forward with irresistible impetuosity; break through one barricade after another; force their way over ditches and canals, and enter the city—Guatemotzin, discerning the consequence of an error Cortes commits, orders the great drum consecrated to the god of war to sound, and the Spaniards find themselves surrounded on all sides—Cortes manages to extricate himself with a loss of about 60 men, but what renders the disaster more afflicting, 40 of these fall alive into the hands of an enemy never known to show mercy to a captive—New schemes and efforts of the Mexicans—Cortes deserted by many of his Indian allies 550

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CORTES ADOPTS A NEW SYSTEM OF ATTACK—COURAGE AND CONSTANCY OF THE NOBLE GUATEMOTZIN—THE SURRENDER OF THE CITY—NEW SCHEMES OF DISCOVERY FORMED BY CORTES—THE DISCOVERIES OF FERDINAND MAGELLAN.

The oracles of the Mexican priests failing to turn out true, reassures the allies of Cortes, and he regains their support—He pushes his way forward over the causeway, which his Indian allies repair, and razes

every building within the territory occupied by him, to the ground—The Mexicans forced to retire as their enemies gain entry; are hemmed in within narrow limits—The brigantines prevent any supplies of food or water to be conveyed to the besieged, and the courageous Guatemotzin's stores are exhausted—With obstinate resolution he defends every inch of ground, and though his people are suffering from infectious and mortal distempers, added to the horrors of a famine, his spirit remains firm and unsubdued—Rejects every overture of peace with scorn, disdaining to submit to the oppressors of his country—The Spaniards continue to advance, and at last all three divisions meet in the great square—The Mexican nobles prevail on Guatemotzin to retire from a place where resistance is in vain, and he permits himself to be taken into a canoe, accompanied by the empress, to be rowed across the lake—Sandoval succeeds in overtaking him and brings the emperor before Cortes—"I have done what became a monarch, nothing now remains but to die; take this dagger," pointing to one which Cortes wears, "plant it in my breast and put an end to a life which can no longer be of use"—The fate of the dauntless emperor becoming known, the city surrenders—The fall of the empire due to internal causes, and not to the merit and ability of Cortes alone—The victors find but little treasure, and suspect it to have been buried by order of Guatemotzin; Cortes orders the unhappy monarch put to the torture, together with his chief favorite—The latter, overcome by the violence of the anguish, implores Guatemotzin's permission to reveal all he knows—"Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?" answers the emperor; the favorite preserves a dutiful silence, and expires—Cortes ashamed, rescues the royal victim, prolonging a life reserved for new indignities and sufferings—All the provinces of the empire submit—Cortes forms new schemes of discovery, which are anticipated and completed by Magellan . . . 564

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Bishop Fonseca declares Cortes an usurper, and appoints Christoval de Tapia to supersede him—He lands at Vera Cruz—Neither his talents nor his reputation suited for the high command to which he is appointed—Cortes succeeds in defeating the effect of his commission, and Tapia abandons the province—Cortes sends a deputation with rich presents to the emperor—They succeed by representing his achievements in the most glorious colors, and backed by public sentiment in having his actions approved, and Charles V., adopting the sentiments of his subjects with youthful ardor, appoints him Captain-General and Governor—Cortes rebuilds Mexico, employs skillful persons to hunt for mines, detaches his principal officers to remote provinces, inducing them to settle there, and granting them large tracts of land, and dominion over the Indians—They violate every right that is held sacred by hostile nations, and the Indians rebel—Ignominious and excruciating modes of execution, which the insolence or the cruelty of the conqueror can devise, soon reduce them to submission—On slight suspicion that Guatemotzin has formed a scheme to shake off their yoke, without the formality of a trial, he is ordered hanged in company with two persons of greatest eminence in the empire—The washing of earth which carries the precious golden grains the first object of industry among the conquerors—The commissioners appointed to receive and administer the royal revenue, represent Cortes as an ambitious tyrant, aspiring to independence, and likely to succeed by reason of his enormous wealth and influence—Unmindful of his services, Charles appoints the licentiate Ponce de Leon with the commission to seize his person, and send him prisoner to Spain—The commissioner dies a few days after his arrival, and though a new commission of inquiry is issued, Cortes decides not to await their arrival, and repairs to Spain—Cortes appears in his native country with the splendor suiting the conqueror of a mighty kingdom—Received by Charles with highest marks of distinction and respect—Charles, though, too sagacious to entrust the man whom he had once suspicioned with powers which might be impossible to control—Cortes returns to Mexico with diminished authority—The division of power engenders perpetual dissensions, and Cortes forms new schemes of discovery—Fits out various unsuccessful expeditions—Takes the command of a new armament in person, and after enduring incredible hardships, discovers the peninsula of California—Disgusted with ill-success, he once more seeks for redress in his native country—The emperor behaves

to him with cold civility, his grievances receive no redress, and after spending several years in irksome and fruitless applications, Cortes ends his days on the 2d of December, 1547, admired by succeeding ages 579

Book III.—The Conquest of Peru.

CHAPTER LXIV.

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA DISCOVERS THE SOUTH SEA—RECEIVES INFORMATION CONCERNING A MORE OPULENT COUNTRY — DISSENSIONS BETWEEN PEDRARIAS AND BALBOA END IN THE PUBLIC EXECUTION OF A MAN UNIVERSALLY BELOVED.

Ferdinand erects two governments on the continent of America extending from Cape de Vela to Cape Gracios a Dios—Nicuessa given the latter, Ojeda the former—A feeble remnant of colonists at Santa Maria el Antigua placed under the command of Balboa, who raise him by their voluntary suffrage to the dignity of governor—Extremely desirous to obtain from the crown a confirmation of his election, aims at performing some signal service—A young cacique offers to take him to a country, where the meanest vessels are made of gold—Informed of the existence of another ocean, and concludes it to be the one Columbus had searched for in vain—Makes preparations to gather re-inforcements, and courts the friendship of neighboring caciques—Description of the Isthmus of Darien—Starts out at the head of 190 hardy veterans, and is retarded by the nature of the territory, and the disposition of its inhabitants—Has innumerable encounters with them, suffers from the scarcity of provisions, the ravages of dysentery, and other diseases frequent in that country—When nearly ready to sink under such uninterrupted fatigues, beholds from the top of the mountain which they are ascending, the South Sea stretching in endless prospect before him—Balboa, upon reaching its shores, advances up to the middle into the waves, and with buckler and sword takes possession of it in the name of his king and master—All the people on that coast concur in informing him that a mighty and opulent country lies to the south—His prudence restrains him from invading it with a handful of men—He returns to Santa Maria by another route, and with more treasure than the Spaniards had acquired in any expedition before in the New World—Sends information to Spain, and asks for an re-inforcement of 1,000 men, to attempt the conquest of Peru—The fatal antipathy of Fonseca to every man of merit becomes conspicuous—Pedrarias Davila appointed governor—Reaches Darien at the head of 1,500 men, and though Balboa's veterans murmur loudly at the injustice of the king, Balboa submits with implicit obedience to his will—Pedrarias appoints a judicial inquiry to be made into Balboa's conduct, and imposes a fine upon him for alleged irregularities—Is jealous of his superior merit—The situation of the village of Santa Maria environed with marshes and woods, peculiarly unhealthy, and violent and destructive maladies carry off many of his followers—A great many return to Spain; others, to divert them from brooding over their misfortunes, he sends into the interior to levy gold among the natives—Their tyranny, rapacity, and inconsiderate demands desolate the country—Balboa, seeing his favorite scheme retarded by such ill-judged proceedings, sends remonstrances to Spain—Pedrarias accuses him of having deceived the king by false representations of the opulence of the country—Ferdinand, sensible of his imprudence in superseding Balboa, appoints him Adelantado of the South Sea—Pedrarias continues to treat his rival with neglect, but a reconciliation is effected by the bishop of Darien, and in order to cement the union more firmly, Pedrarias gives his daughter in marriage to him—Balboa builds vessels to convey his troops to the provinces he intends to invade—Hatred, fear, and jealousy operate on the mind of Pedrarias, and under plausible but false pretexts, he requests Balboa to repair to Acla—Upon his arrival there is tried for disloyalty to the king, and intention to revolt against the governor—Sentence of death is pronounced, and though the whole colony intercede for him, Pedrarias refuses to pardon him—Is executed 1517—Pedrarias removes the colony to the opposite side of the isthmus 595

CHAPTER LXV.

SCHEMES FOR THE DISCOVERY OF PERU UNSUCCESSFUL FOR SOME TIME — THE ENTERPRISE AT LAST UNDERTAKEN BY PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, AND LUQUE. [1524.]

Ever since the discovery of the great South Sea, the wishes and schemes of every enterprising person in Darien turns towards the wealth of the south-easterly regions—Several armaments are fitted out to explore the countries to the east of Panama, but uniform ill success accompanies all these excursions, and dampens the ardor of the most enthusiastic—The circumstances which deter others, make little, if any, impression on Pizarro, Almagro and Luque, three extraordinary men, residents of Panama—Character of the men destined to overturn the most extensive empires on the face of the earth—Pizarro, the least wealthy of the three, engages to take the department of greatest fatigue and danger; Almagro offers to conduct the supplies of provisions, and reinforcement of troops, while Luque remains behind to superintend whatever was carrying on for the general welfare—The terms of their association confirmed by the most solemn act of religion, and in the name of the Prince of Peace they ratify a contract of which plunder and bloodshed are the objects—Their first attempt in a single vessel of small burden undertaken at a very unpropitious time—The vessel beats about for seventy days along the coast of a very uninviting country, and Pizarro is at last compelled by fatigue, famine, and the frequent encounters with fierce and hostile natives, to return to Chuchama, opposite the Pearl Islands, for reinforcements—Expects to fall in there with Almagro, but that dauntless knight, in hopes of meeting him further south, proceeds as far as the province of Popayan—Almagro searches for his companions, undergoes the same hardships, and is at last led by chance to Pizarro's retreat—They determine to resume the undertaking, notwithstanding all that they had suffered—Almagro repairs to Panama, and meets with great difficulty in levying fourscore men—Joins Pizarro, and after a long series of disasters and disappointments, they land at Tacamez, situated in a fertile and champaign country, the inhabitants of which are clad in garments of wool and cotton—They conclude it to be unsafe to venture on the invasion of such a populous district with a handful of men, and Almagro returns to Panama for reinforcements, Pizarro meanwhile retiring to the Island of Gallo—Almagro meets with an unfavorable reception at the hands of the new governor—Pedro de los Rios prohibits the raising of new levies, and dispatches a vessel to the Island of Gallo to bring back Pizarro and his companions—He peremptorily refuses to obey the summons, and employs all his address and eloquence in persuading his men not to abandon him—Pizarro draws a line with his sword in the sand, and calls upon all who wish to gain glory and immortal renown to step over it and abide with him—But thirteen daring veterans have the resolution to remain with their commander—This small but determined band, to whose persevering fortitude Spain was indebted for its most valuable possessions, fix their residence on the Island of Gorgona—Almagro's and Luque's incessant importunities, seconded by the general voice of the colony, prevail at last with the Governor, and he consents to send a small vessel to Pizarro's relief—Worn out with fruitless expectations, dispirited with hardships, of which he sees no end, he is on the point of committing himself to the ocean on a float, when the vessel from Panama arrives—Extreme dejection is succeeded by high confidence—He induces the crew of the vessel to resume his former scheme, and after sailing twenty days in a south-easterly direction, lands at Tumbez, a place distinguished for its stately temples, and a palace of the Incas—The country fully peopled, and cultivated with regular industry; the natives decently clothed, possessed of great ingenuity, and having the use of tame domestic animals—The show of gold and silver everywhere such as leaves no doubts, that the precious metals abound in profusion—Pizarro ranges for some time along the coast, maintaining everywhere peaceable intercourse with the people—Having explored the country sufficient to ascertain the importance of his discovery, and inducing two natives to accompany him back to serve as interpreters in the future, he returns to Panama at the end of the third year from the time of his departure—New schemes of the associates—The Governor adheres to his resolution not to permit any recruiting in his feeble colony—Perceiving the necessity that their schemes should have the countenance of superior authority, they decide upon sending Pizarro to Spain to negotiate—He appears before the Emperor with unembarrassed dignity, conscious of the merit of his services—Describes his sufferings, gives a pompous account of the country he discovered, and makes such an impression on Charles and his ministers that they approve of the intended expedition, and become interested in its success—Pizarro neglects his associates, and procures the supreme command for himself—His funds and credit so low, the force he is able to raise so slender, that in order to elude the scrutiny of the officers charged to examine whether he has fulfilled the stipulations of his contract with the crown, he is compelled to steal out of the harbor of Seville—Before

his departure he receives some supply of money from his old comrade in arms, Cortes—Lands at Nombre de Dios, and, accompanied by his three brothers, marches across the Isthmus of Panama—Almagro, exasperated by his perfidy in excluding him, both from power and honor, labors to form a new association—Pizarro relinquishes the office of Adelantado, and mitigates the rage of the open hearted soldier, and a reconciliation is effected 608

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE STATE OF THE PERUVIAN EMPIRE AT THAT TIME FAVORABLE TO THE INVADERS—PIZARRO AVAILS HIMSELF OF IT, AND ADVANCES INTO THE HEART OF THE COUNTRY—TAKES THE INCA PRISONER.

The expedition sails in three small ships, leaving Almagro behind to follow with reinforcements—Pizarro lands in the Bay of St. Matthew with a force of 180 men, thirty-six of whom are horsemen; abandons his vessels here, and makes his way along the shore, beset by all kinds of calamities, and under the most trying hardships, to the province of Coaque—Surprises the principal settlement of the natives, seizing golden vessels and ornaments to the amount of 30,000 pesos—Dispatches two of his vessels back to Panama and Nicaragua with considerable sums to persons of influence there, in hopes of alluring adventurers—Continues his march along the coast, ravaging the country, and meeting with hardly any resistance from the frightened inhabitants, until he reaches the Island of Puna—The inhabitants, fiercer and less civilized than those on the continent, defend themselves with obstinate valor, and Pizarro spends six months in subduing them—The fame of his success at Coaque brings two detachments from Nicaragua, under the command of Sebastian Benalcazar and Hernando de Soto—Proceeds to the mouth of the river Piura and establishes the first colony, to which he gives the name of St. Michael—State of the empire at the time of the invasion—Extends 1500 miles along the Pacific Ocean, its breadth from east to west considerably less—Originally possessed by small tribes of a very low civilization, roaming about naked in the forests—Tradition tells of a man and woman appearing near Lake Titicaca, of majestic form, and decently clothed—They declare themselves children of the sun, sent by their beneficent parent to instruct and reclaim mankind—Obtaining proselytes, they repair to Cuzco and lay the foundation of a city—Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo instruct the men in agriculture, and the women in spinning and weaving—Introduce such laws and policy as will perpetuate their happiness—Found the empire of Incas—The Incas revered as divinities—Appear with ensigns of royalty reserved for them alone—They extend their dominions, not prompted thereto by the rage of conquest, but to diffuse the blessings of civilization—The twelve monarchs succeeding Manco Capac all of this beneficent character—Huana Capac seated on the throne when the Spaniards first visit Peru—He subjects the kingdom of Quito, and marries the daughter of the vanquished monarch—She bears him a son, Atahualpa, whom he appoints as his successor to the government of Quito, leaving the rest of his empire to Huascar, by a mother of the royal race of Peru—The destination concerning the succession, repugnant to the people of Cuzco—Huascar, encouraged by their sentiments, requires his brother to acknowledge him as his lawful superior—Atahualpa eludes his brother's demands—Marches in hostile array against him—Civil war breaks out; Atahualpa victorious—Conscious of the defect of his title, exterminates the royal race, making Huascar prisoner—The civil war raging in its greatest fury at the time of the landing of Pizarro—The two competitors too much engrossed in their own operations to heed him—Pizzaro receives messengers from Huascar, who solicits his aid—He clearly foresees the advantages to be derived from this intestine discord, and decides to take part as circumstances should incline him—Makes cautious disposition of his men and stores, and starts towards Caxamalca, where Atahualpa is encamped with a considerable body of troops—Is met by messengers from the Inca, accompanied by valuable presents, a proffer of alliance, and assured of a friendly reception—Pizarro pretends to be the ambassador of a powerful monarch, who sends him to aid Atahualpa against the enemies who dispute his title to the throne—Ideas of the Peruvians concerning Pizarro's designs—Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions removes the fears of the Inca—He allows the Spaniards to march in tranquillity—Pizarro dispatches an Indian ambassador to the camp of the Inca with instructions to note the condition of the road—Begins the ascent of the stupendous Andes, a natural rampart, containing a labyrinth of passes, easily capable of defence by a handful of men—Induces his men by a frank and manly eloquence to choose the narrow path of the Sierras, practicable only for the half-naked Indian, to Caxamalca—The cavalry obliged to dismount and scramble up the rugged and precipitous paths of the mountain, leading their horses by the bridles—Huge crags or eminences over-

hang the road—The narrow ledge of rock scarcely wide enough for a single steed—Tremendous fissures yawn open, as if the Andes had been split asunder by some wild convulsion—He passes two deserted forts, and after suffering for days from the exposure to the cold and chilly blasts, reaches the crest of the Cordillera—An Indian embassy arrives from the Inca with welcome presents of llamas—They inform Pizarro that the road is free from enemies—For two days in succession his troops thread the airy defiles—Are visited by another embassy, who make plausible explanations for the discourteous treatment received by Pizarro's Indian emissary—Continues his descent attended with difficulties almost equal to those of the upward march—Arrives on the seventh day in view of the valley of Caxamalca—Takes possession of a large court surrounded by a wall of earth—Posts his troops in advantageous positions, and sends his brother and Hernando de Soto to the camp of Atahualpa—Atahualpa invited to visit the Spanish quarters, and promises to do so—Pizarro forms a plan as daring as it is perfidious—Prepares for the execution of the scheme with deliberate arrangement and little compunction—Next day the whole plain is covered with troops, bands of singers and dancers—The procession headed by the Inca seated on a throne, adorned with plumes, and almost covered with plates—When arrived in the plaza, Father Vincent Valverde advances with crucifix in one hand, and breviary in the other, and addresses the Inca—He asks him to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and submit to the king of Castile—His strange harangue, lamely translated by the interpreter, incomprehensible to Atahualpa—His reply—Cannot conceive how a foreign priest can dispossess him of his territories, nor inclined to forsake the religion of his ancestors—Desires to know the source where Valverde has learned things so extraordinary—The priest hands him the breviary; he puts it to his ear, listens, and throws it down disdainfully: "This is silent, it tells me nothing"—The enraged monk calls upon the Spaniards to revenge the insult to the word of God—Pizarro suddenly sallies forth with his concealed troops—A general massacre follows—By previous concert the Inca's life is spared—Is taken prisoner 622

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE DEJECTED EMPEROR OFFERS A RANSOM COMMENSURATE TO THE OPULENCE OF HIS DOMINIONS—ARRIVAL OF ALMAGRO—DEATH OF HUASCAR AND EXECUTION OF THE INCA—DISSOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT AND ORDER IN PERU.

The captive emperor begins to feel the misery of his fate, and sinks into dejection—Pizarro's attempts to console him—Atahualpa discovers the ruling passion of his captors, and offers as ransom to fill the apartment he occupies with gold—Pizarro closes eagerly with this tempting proposal, and Atahualpa transported with prospect of speedy liberation—The Inca instantly sends messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold adorns the temples of the gods, or the palaces of royalty—The Indians, afraid of endangering the life of the monarch by forming other schemes for his relief, execute his orders with the greatest alacrity—Almagro arrives at St. Matthew's with the long expected succor—Atahualpa learns that his brother has offered a larger ransom to the Spaniards to espouse his cause—Alarmed lest thirst for gold would tempt them to lend a favorable ear to it, orders Huascar executed—Like all his other commands, it is attended to with scrupulous punctuality—A great part of the stipulated ransom of Atahualpa having arrived, the Spaniards make a division of the spoil—Many of the soldiers receive a recompense far beyond their most sanguine hopes, and insist upon their dismissal from service—Pizarro, aware that the display of their riches would allure more adventurers, grants their suit—The Inca demands his liberty, but Pizarro has no regard for his plighted faith—Motives which induce Pizarro to consent—Almagro, his followers, and Philippillo the Indian interpreter, awaken by their machinations Pizarro's jealousy—Incite him to cut him off—Nobody attached to Atahualpa but de Soto and Ferdinand Pizarro—Atahualpa, finding Pizarro to be an uneducated person, considers and treats him as one of mean descent—The pride of Pizarro mortified at the barbarian's scorn—He orders the Inca tried with all the formalities observed in Spanish criminal courts—Ludicrous and absurd accusations the foundation of a serious procedure—Charged with being an usurper, idolator, fratricide—Father Valverde prostitutes the authority of his sacred functions, and signs the death warrant the court pronounces—Pizarro orders his instant execution—The dread of a cruel death extorts from the trembling victim the desire of receiving baptism—Is strangled at the stake—Protest of several Spaniards against the measure as repugnant to every maxim of equity and a violation of public faith—The Peruvian Government dissolved—Ambitious men in different parts of the empire aspiring to independent authority—The people of Cuzco acknowledge Manco Capac as Inca—Atahualpa's general in Quito, seizes the brothers and children of his late master, putting

them to a cruel death—Pizarro advances to Cuzco—The arrival of Pizarro's soldiers in Panama creates such excitement, that the governors of Guatemala, Panama, and Nicaragua can hardly restrain the people under their jurisdiction from abandoning their possessions, and crowding into the New El Dorado—Pizarro forces his way to Cuzco and takes possession of the capital—The riches found there exceed the ransom of Atahualpa—The latter's son, whom Pizarro has treated as Inca, dying, Manco Capac is universally recognized 653

CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE CONQUEST OF QUITO—ALVARADO'S EXPEDITION—ALMAGROS' INVASION OF CHILI.

Benalcazar attempts the reduction of Quito—Surmounts every obstacle; marches through a mountainous country exposed to cold, famine, and fierce attacks, and enters Quito—Pedro de Alvarado, pretending to believe that Quito does not lie within the jurisdiction of Pizarro, resolves to invade it—Lands at Puerto Viejo, and marches by the most impracticable route towards Quito—His troops endure such fatigue, and suffer so much from excessive cold, that a fifth part die and half his horses perish—Finds himself opposed by a body of Spaniards, but boldly advances to the charge—An accommodation takes place, and Alvarado returns to his government—Landing of Ferdinand Pizarro in Spain—Honors conferred on Pizarro and Almagro—Pizarro's authority confirmed with new powers and privileges—Almagro obtains the title of Adelantado, with jurisdiction over 200 leagues of country beyond the southern limits of Pizarro's province—Almagro lays claim to the city of Cuzco—Jealousy and discord ensue, but both dread the consequences of open rupture—Reconciliation takes place—Almagro is to attempt the conquest of Chili—Pizarro introduces a form of regular government—His natural sagacity supplies the want of both science and experience—Fixes the seat of government in the valley of Rimac, where he founds the city of Lima—Almagro, instead of advancing along the level country of the coast, marches across the mountains—Exposed to every calamity which men can suffer—The rigor of the climate hardly inferior to that within the polar circle—The Chilese hardy, independent, resembling the warlike tribes of North America—Defend themselves with obstinacy—Recalled to Peru—Pizarro encourages the most distinguished officers to invade different provinces—Manco Capac finds means to communicate his schemes for liberation to his trusty adherents—The Inca obtains permission to attend a great festival, and erects the standard of war—Many Spaniards massacred—Attacks Cuzco—Lima invested—At Cuzco, where the Inca commands in person, the Peruvians make their chief effort—The siege carried on with incessant ardor for nine months—The Indians do not display the undaunted ferocity of the Mexicans, but greater sagacity—Imitate the Spanish discipline; the bravest warriors armed with swords, the boldest, among whom is the Inca himself, mounted on horses—Their numbers annoy the Spaniards—Manco Capac recovers one-half of the capital—Death of Juan Pizarro—The Spaniards impatient to abandon Cuzco, when Almagro suddenly appears—Motives of his conduct—Receives the royal letters patent—Deems it manifest that Cuzco lies within the boundaries of his government—Returns by a new route, suffering calamities from heat and drought, hardly inferior to those in the icy regions of the Andes—His slow advance towards the capital, sets negotiations on foot with the Inca and the Spaniards—Manco Capac attacks him suddenly and is repulsed—Schemes of accommodation proposed by both Spanish parties—Almagro gains adherents of the Pizarros—His claim of jurisdiction over Cuzco universally acknowledged—Civil war and first success of Almagro—Alvarado sent with 500 men by Francis Pizarro to relieve Cuzco—His camp surprised, and himself taken prisoner—Almagro advised by Rodrigo Orgoñez to put Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro, as well as Alvarado, to death—Does not suffer himself to be influenced by sentiments unlike those of a soldier—Returns to Cuzco 666

CHAPTER LXIX.

FRANCISCO PIZARRO PREPARES FOR WAR—HIS MARCH TO CUZCO, DEFEAT AND EXECUTION OF ALMAGRO—VACO DE CASTRO APPOINTED GOVERNOR—REMARKABLE EXPEDITION OF GONZALO PIZARRO AND ORELLANA.

Distress of Pizarro—Necessity for attending to his own safety, and desire for revenge preserve him from sinking under it—His artful conduct—Protracts negotiations with Almagro—Almagro relying on the sincerity of his professions, concludes an agreement with him—Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado effect their

escape—Pizarro hears of it, forgets the treaty, and marches towards Cuzco—Almagro fails to grasp the situation and awaits him on the plain of Cuzco—Both sides display the royal standard, and not a single overture towards accommodation is made—Fierce conflict ensues; the well disciplined musketeers of Pizarro carry the day—The route is general—Orgoñez is massacred and Almagro taken prisoner—The pillage of Cuzco—Pizarro encourages his officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces—Almagro tried and condemned to be strangled in prison—Meets his death with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran—Deliberations of the court of Spain concerning the state of Peru—Ferdinand Pizarro represents Almagro as the aggressor—The crown decides to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive powers—Christoval Vaca de Castro selected—He is to assume the title of judge, and if Pizarro is dead, is appointed his successor—Pizarro divides Peru among his followers—The followers of Almagro totally excluded; they murmur in secret, and meditate revenge—Progress of the Spanish arms—Pedro de Valdivria invades Chili, and founds the city of St. Jago—Remarkable expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro—Attempts the conquest of the country east of the Andes—Hardships he endures—Incessant toil, scarcity of food, exhausts the dispirited troops—Reaches the banks of the Napo—Builds a bark and entrusts it to Francis Orellana—Deserted by Orellana—Orellana sails down the Maragnon, or Amazon River—Reaches the ocean, and gets safely to the Spanish settlement of Cubagua—His extravagant tales—The country named "El Dorado"—Distress of Gonzalo Pizarro when learning the extent of Orellana's crime—The expedition returns; compelled to feed on roots, berries, loathsome reptiles, and gnaw the leather of their saddles and sword belts—Five thousand Indians and 200 Spaniards perish—Naked, like savages, emaciated by famine, he returns to Quito 681

CHAPTER LXX.

DEATH OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO — ARRIVAL OF VACA DE CASTRO — LAS CASAS MOVES THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. TO CONSIDER THE WELFARE OF HIS INDIAN SUBJECTS.

Number of malcontents in Peru—Look upon young Almagro as their leader—Urged by distress, they conspire against the life of Pizarro—He disregards the admonitions of his friends—Juan de Herrada, at the head of the conspirators, sallies forth towards the governor's palace—Gain entrance unobserved—Pizarro defends himself with buckler and sword, but receives a deadly thrust full in his throat—"Jesu," exclaims the dying man, and, tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, bends down his head to kiss it, when a friendly stroke puts an end to his existence—Almagro acknowledged as his successor—New appearances of discord—Arrival of Vaca de Castro, who assumes the title of Governor—His jurisdiction acknowledged by Benalcazar and Pedro de Puelles—Gains many adherents—Conduct of Almagro—Progress of Vaca de Castro—He discharges the functions of general—Defeat of Almagro, whose followers chose to fall like soldiers, rather than wait on ignominious doom—Severity of Castro's proceedings—Almagro beheaded—Consultation of the emperor concerning his dominions in America—The conquered race pillaged, and parceled out among its new masters—The invaders have no object but to amass sudden wealth—Necessity for substituting the institutions of a regular government into the newly acquired provinces—The natives perish so fast, that Spain becomes apprehensive of soon being proprietor of a vast uninhabited desert—Solicitude of the emperor to prevent the extinction of the Indians—The persons with whom he consults—Bartholomew de las Casas—His zeal, his ardor and eloquence—Makes a deep impression by his description of the irreparable waste of the human species in the New World—Imputes it to the exactions, and cruelty of his countrymen—Declares that nothing can prevent the depopulation of America, but to declare the natives freemen, and subjects—Composes his famous treatise—The emperor's solicitude to introduce a general reformation of government—Frames new regulations for this purpose—His ministers remonstrate against them—Appoints Nuñez Vela Viceroy for Peru—Effect of the regulations in New Spain and in Peru—An insurrection prevented by the moderation of Castro—The spirit of disaffection increased by the viceroy—Nuñez Vela declares the natives free—Arrest of Vaca de Castro, who is loaded with chains—The malcontents choose Gonzalo Pizarro to be their leader—Hailed with transports of joy as the deliverer of the colony—He takes possession of the royal treasure, a large train of artillery sets out for Lima—Dissensions of the viceroy, and court of audience—The viceroy arrested and carried to a desert island on the coast 693

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NUÑEZ VELA MARCHES AGAINST PIZARRO AND IS KILLED IN BATTLE—PIZARRO'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SPANISH CROWN—APPOINTMENT OF PEDRO DE LA GASCA, A PRIEST, TO THE PRESIDENCY OF PERU.

Alvarez sets the viceroy at liberty at Tumbez—Gains adherents—Pizarro marches against him—The viceroy loses two battles and his own head—Carvajal advises Pizarro to resume the sovereignty of Peru, marry a coya, and gain the natives—Pizarro chooses to negotiate with the court of Spain—Consultation of the Spanish ministers—Pedro de la Gasca appointed as president—His moderate demands—The powers committed to him—His arrival in Panama—Hinojosa and Mexia gained over—Violent proceedings of Pizarro—Gasca gains his fleet and troops at Panama—Pizarro resolves on war—Preparations of Gasca—Collects troops in Nicaragua, Carthagena, and other settlements—Insurrection of Centeno, against whom Pizarro marches—His followers the boldest and most desperate—Offers him battle at Huarina—The intrepid valor of Pizarro and the superiority of Carvajal triumph over numbers 714

CHAPTER LXXII.

LANDING OF GASCA IN PERU—EXECUTION OF PIZARRO—DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY AND RETURN OF GASCA TO SPAIN.

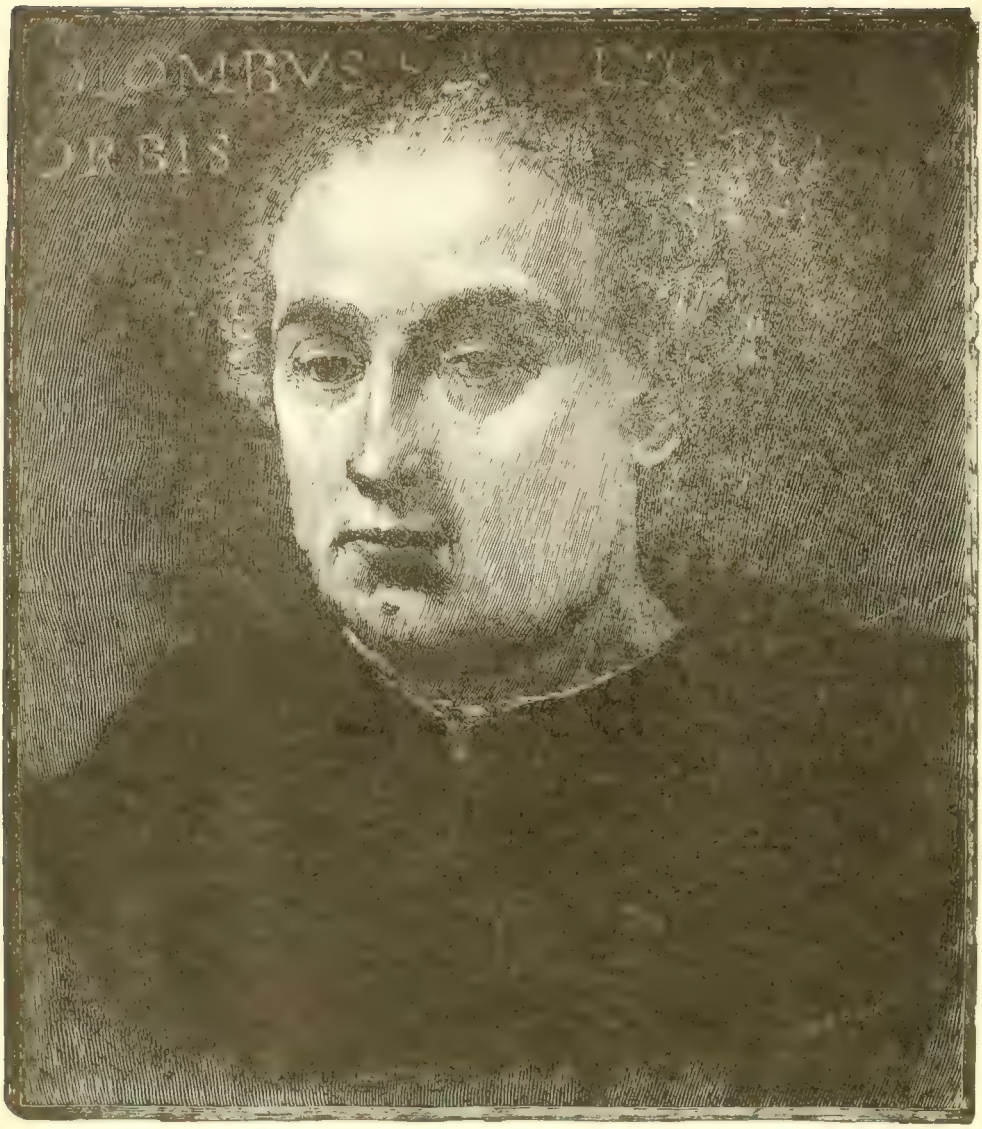
The citizens of Lima revolt—Gasca lands at Tumbez—Cuzco possessed by Pizarro, the balance of Peru acknowledge the president—Gasca solicitous to reclaim, not to punish—His preparations for war—Pizarro refuses to listen to terms—Advised by Carvajal and Cepeda to close with the president's offer—Pizarro marches out to meet the enemy—Gasca, the bishop of Lima, Quito, and Cuzco, bless the men before the battle opens—Pizarro deserted by his troops, who throw down their arms—Pizarro surrenders himself—Gasca orders the beheading of Pizarro and Carvajal—"One can die but once," the latter replies when sentence is pronounced—Cepeda sent a prisoner to Spain—No mercenary soldiers in the civil wars of Peru—Armies immensely expensive—Gonzalo Pizarro advances 500,000 pesos to raise 1,000 men—Gasca expends 900,000 pesos in levying troops against Pizarro—Immense rewards to individuals—Their profusion and luxury—Ferocity of the contests—Want of faith—Violated engagements—Betrayed associates—Veterans surrender without striking a blow—Gasca devises employment for his soldiers—Division of the country among his followers—Discontent it occasions—Re-establishes order and government—Sets out for Spain—His reception there—Remains in poverty—Obliged to petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts—Appointed bishop of Palencia—The tranquillity of Peru not of long continuance—Successive insurrections—These commotions not of long duration—Several of the first invaders and many licentious adventurers dead—Men less enterprising, but less desperate settle, and the royal authority is firmly established 726

BOOK IV.—A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Prehistoric inhabitants—The Vikings—Christopher Columbus—Other explorers—Settlements in America—Virginia—New York—Massachusetts—Connecticut—Rhode Island—New Hampshire—Maryland—Delaware—The Carolinas—New Jersey—Pennsylvania—Georgia—Indian wars—French settlements—Wars with French colonies—Causes of the Revolution—The Stamp Act—The duty on tea—The Boston Tea Party—First Continental Congress—Battle of Lexington—Battle of Bunker Hill—The Declaration of Independence—Battle of Long Island—Capture of Philadelphia—Surrender of Burgoyne—Battle of Monmouth—Treaty with France—Exploits of Paul Jones—Treason of Benedict Arnold—Surrender of Cornwallis—Treaty of Peace—Distress of the colonies—Framing of the Constitution—Organization of the Northwestern Territory—Inauguration of Washington—Washington's Cabinet—Washington's second term—Republicans and Federalists—Election of John Adams—The war with France—Death of Washington—Election of Jefferson—The Louisiana purchase—The war with Tripoli—The Death of Hamilton—Re-election of Jefferson—The right of search—Election of Madison—Battle of Tippecanoe—The War of 1812—Surrender of Detroit—Battle of Queenstown—Successes at sea—Re-election

of Madison—Battle of Lake Erie—The Creek War—Sea fights of 1813—Battle of Chippewa—Battle of Lundy's Lane—Battle of Plattsburg—Battle of Bladensburg—Burning of the Capitol—Battle of New Orleans—Treaty of Ghent—Hartford Convention—Decatur at Algiers—Election of Monroe—Capture of Pensacola—Purchase of Florida—The Missouri Compromise—The Tariff Question—The Monroe Doctrine—Election of John Quincy Adams—Death of Jefferson and John Adams—Election of Jackson—The Bank of the United States—Nullification in South Carolina—The Black Hawk War—Re-election of Jackson—The Seminole War—Admission of Arkansas and Michigan—Election of Van Buren—The Rebellion in Canada—Capture of Osceola—Election and death of Wm. H. Harrison—Succession of Tyler—Resignation of Tyler's Cabinet—The Ashburton Treaty—Dorr's Rebellion—The Mormons—Texan Independence—Admission of Texas—Campaign of 1844—Election of Polk—Invention of the telegraph—The Oregon Question—Beginning of the Mexican War—Battle of Palo Alto—Capture of Monterey—Conquest of California—Battle of Bracito—Battle of Buena Vista—Capture of Vera Cruz—Battle of Cerro Gordo—Battle of Churubusco—Capture of Chapultepec—Capture of the City of Mexico—Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—Discovery of Gold—Campaign of 1848—Election of Taylor—The California Question—The Omnibus Bill—Death of President Taylor—The Fisheries Question—Campaign of 1852—Election of Pierce—Death of Clay and Webster—Perry's Expedition to Japan—The Kansas-Nebraska Bill—Campaign of 1856—Election of Buchanan—The Mormon Rebellion—Admission of Minnesota and Oregon—John Brown's Raid—Campaign of 1860—Election of Lincoln—Secession of Southern States—Formation of the Confederacy—Admission of Kansas—Career of Lincoln—Lincoln's Inauguration—Fall of Fort Sumter—Secession of Virginia—Riot in Baltimore—Battle of Bull Run, or Manassas—Battles in Western Virginia—Kentucky and Missouri—Battles of Belmont and Ball's Bluff—Blockade of Confederate Ports—The Trent Affair—Capture of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson—Battle of Shiloh—Capture of Island No. 10—Invasion of Kentucky—Battle of Perryville—Attack on Vicksburg—Battles of Chickasaw Bayou, Corinth, Stone River, and Pea River—Expedition against, and capture of New Orleans—Capture of Roanoke Island—The Monitor and Merrimac Duel—Capture of Fort Pulaski—The Peninsula Campaign—Battle of Seven Pines—The Seven Days' Battles—Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley—Battles of Cedar Mountain and Manassas—Lee's Invasion of Maryland—Battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg—Emancipation Proclamation—Battle of Chancellorsville—Lee's Invasion of Pennsylvania—Battle of Gettysburg—Capture of Arkansas Post—Grant at Vicksburg—Grierson's Raid—Battle of Jackson—Capture of Vicksburg—Retreat of Johnston—Battles of Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge—Capture of Galveston—Quantrell's Raid—Morgan's Raid—Expedition against Charleston—Admission of West Virginia—Draft Riots in New York—Siege of Knoxville—Sherman's Meridian Expedition—Forrest's Raid—Red River Expedition—Battle of Sabine Cross Roads—Grant as Commander-in-Chief—Battles of Resaca, Dallas, Lost Mountain, and Kenesaw—Siege of Atlanta—Battle of Nashville—Sherman's March to the Sea—Capture of Savannah—Battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg—Early's Raid—Battle of Monocacy—Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley—Battles of Winchester, Cedar Creek, and Olustee—Expedition against Mobile and Fort Fisher—Destruction of the Albemarle—Confederate Privateers—The Alabama and her destruction—Re-election of Lincoln—Capture of Forts Fisher and Wilmington—Battle of Waynesboro—Capture of Columbia—Battles of Goldsboro and Five Forks—Capture of Petersburg and Richmond—Lee's Surrender at Appomattox—Capture of Raleigh—Assassination of Lincoln—Johnston's Surrender—Capture of Jefferson Davis—Succession of President Johnson—The Alabama Question—The Thirteenth Amendment—The National Debt—Reconstruction—The Archduke Maximilian in Mexico—The Atlantic Cable—Purchase of Alaska—Impeachment of President Johnson—Proclamation of Amnesty—Battle of the Wacheta—Election of Grant—The First Transcontinental Railroad—The Fifteenth Amendment—The Alabama Indemnity—The San Juan Arbitration—Re-election of Grant—Chicago and Boston Fires—The Financial Panic of 1873—The Modoc War—Battle of the Little Big Horn—The Centennial Exposition—Presidential Election of 1876—The Electoral Commission—The Strikes of 1877—Resumption of Specie Payments—Chinese Immigration—Yellow Fever on the Mississippi—The Fishery Commission—Election and Assassination of Garfield—Succession of Arthur—The Brooklyn Bridge—Revolutionary Centenaries—Election of Cleveland—The Mills' Bill—Deaths of Grant, Sheridan, and Hendricks—Campaign of 1888—Election of Harrison—Admission of six States—The McKinley Tariff Law—The Behring Sea Question—The New Orleans Affair—The Itata—Ultimatum to Chili—The War with Spain in 1898, from the beginning to the signing of the Peace Treaty in Paris, December 10, 1898. 741

BOOK I.



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x n y
Xpo FERENS.

[Xpo abbreviation for Χριστος = main part of Columbus's surname. FERENS, the last part = carrier of Christ.]

FAC-SIMILE OF THE LAST LINE OF A LETTER OF COLUMBUS, DATED GRANADA, FEB. 6, 1502.

("*A los Reyes Católicos exponiendo algunas observaciones sobre el arte de navegar.*")

PORTRAIT OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS DISCOVERED IN COMO, ITALY.

Besides the value it has as an authentic picture of the illustrious navigator, it possesses the further importance of being the work of the painter Del Prondo. It was considered as an heirloom of the family, extinct to-day, of the Glovios, and was in the possession of Paul Glovio, who refers to it in his works, in one of which it is engraved. After the extinction of the male line of the Glovio family, the picture passed two generations ago to the family of De Orchi, and is now in the possession of Dr. De Orchi of Como.



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Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat Orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

Seneca, Medea.





WHETHER in old times, beyond the reach of history or tradition, and at some remote period, when, as some imagine, the arts may have flourished to a degree unknown to those whom we term the ancients, there existed an intercourse between the opposite shores of the Atlantic; whether the Egyptian legend narrated by Plato, respecting the island of Atlantis, was indeed no fable, but the tradition of some country, engulfed by one of those mighty convulsions of our globe, which have left the traces of the ocean on the summits of lofty mountains; must ever remain matters of vague and visionary speculation. As far as authenticated history extends, nothing was known of terra-firma, and the islands of the western hemisphere, until their discovery towards the close of the fifteenth century. A wandering bark may occasionally have lost sight of the landmarks of the old continents, and been driven by tempests across the wilderness of

waters, long before the invention of the compass, but none ever returned to reveal the secrets of the ocean; and though, from time to time, some document has floated to the old world, giving to its wondering inhabitants indications of land far beyond their watery horizon, yet no one ventured to spread a sail, and seek that land, enveloped in mystery and peril. Or, if the legends of the Scandinavian voyagers be correct, and their mysterious Vinland were the coast of Labrador or the shore of Newfoundland, they had obtained glimpses of the New World, leading to no permanent knowledge, and in a little time lost again to mankind. Certain it is, that at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the most intelligent minds were seeking in every direction for the scattered lights of geographical knowledge, a profound ignorance prevailed among the learned as to the western regions of the Atlantic; its vast waters were regarded with awe and wonder, seeming to bound the world as with a chaos, into which conjecture could not penetrate, and enterprise feared to adventure. We need no greater proof of this, than the description given of the Atlantic by Xerif al Edrisi, surnamed the Nubian, an eminent Arabian writer, whose countrymen possessed all that was known of geography in the middle ages.

"The ocean," he observes, "encircles the ultimate bounds of the inhabited earth, and all beyond it is unknown. No one has been able to verify anything concerning it, on account of its difficult and perilous navigation, its great obscurity, its profound depth, and frequent tempests; through fear of its mighty fishes, and its haughty winds; yet there are many islands in it, some of which are peopled, and others uninhabited. There is no mariner who dares to enter into its deep waters; or if any have done so, they have merely kept along its coasts, fearful of departing from them. The waves of this ocean, although they roll as high as mountains, yet maintain themselves without breaking; for if they broke, it would be impossible for a ship to plough them."

It is the object of the following work, to relate the deeds and fortunes of the mariner, who first had the judgment to divine, and the intrepidity to brave, the mysteries of this perilous deep; and who, by his hardy genius, his inflexible constancy, and his heroic courage, brought the ends of the earth into communication with each other. The narrative of his troubled life is the link which

connects the history of the old world with that of the new. Nothing grew out of this discovery of Vinland, nor does any idea appear to have been entertained of the extent or importance of the region thus casually brought to light. Two or three voyages were made to it, between the years 1000 and 1021, after which it ceased to be an object of further quest, and apparently faded from thought, as if it had never been. At the time when Columbus visited Thule, upwards of three centuries and a half had elapsed since the last voyage to Vinland of which we have any record; and two centuries and a half since the sagas which mention the country had been written. We see no reason to believe that he heard any thing of these discoveries or saw the sagas in question. Had he done so, he would doubtless have cited them, among the various reports of lands seen by mariners in the west, with which he sought to fortify his theory and win patronage to his enterprise during years of weary and almost hopeless solicitation. It is more than probable that, at the time of his visiting Thule, the tradition concerning Vinland had long been forgotten, and the sagas had been consigned to the dust of libraries and archives; thence to be drawn forth by antiquarian research in after ages, when his own discoveries should have cast back a light to illuminate their obscurity.



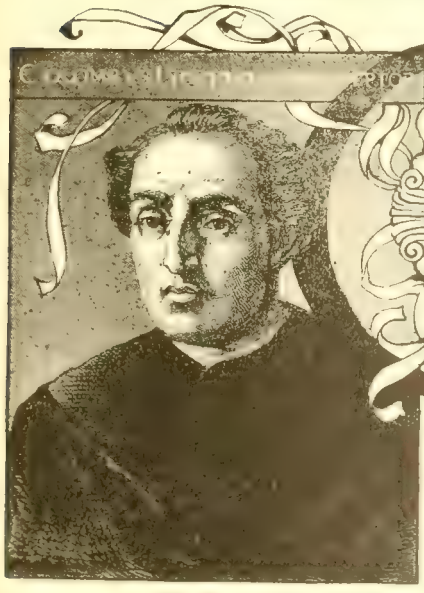




HOUSE IN COGOLETTO, 17 MILES WEST OF GENOA, ON THE CORNICH ROAD, IN WHICH IT IS CLAIMED COLUMBUS WAS BORN. UPON ITS FRONT IS A QUAINT INSCRIPTION IN WHICH THE DISCOVERER IS COMPARED TO THE DOVE COLOMBA WHICH WHEN SENT FROM NOAH'S ARK, DISCOVERED DRY LAND AMID THE WATERS.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH, PARENTAGE, EDUCATION, AND EARLY LIFE OF COLUMBUS

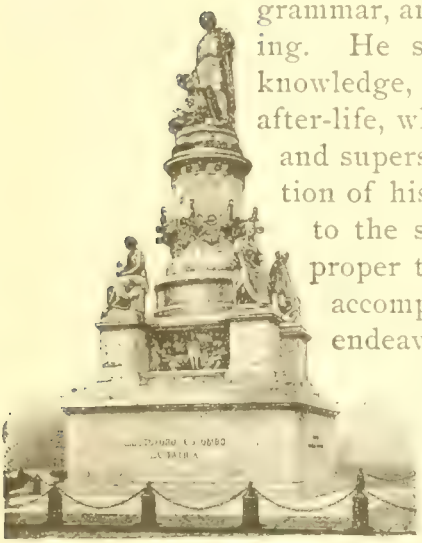


CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, or Colombo, as the name is written in Italian, was born in the city of Genoa, about the year 1435–6*, of poor but reputable and meritorious parentage. He was the son of Domenico Colombo, a wool-comber, and Susanna Fontanarossa, his wife; and his ancestors seem to have followed the same trade for several generations in Genoa. Attempts have been made to prove him of illustrious descent, and several noble houses have laid claim to him since his name has become so renowned as to confer rather than receive distinction. It is possible some of them may be in the right, for the feuds in Italy in those ages had broken down and scattered many of the noblest families, and while some branches remained in the lordly heritage of castles and domains, others were confounded with the humblest population of the cities.

* The date accepted by Naverette, Humboldt, the curate of Los Palacios, etc.

The fact, however, is not material to his fame; and it is a higher proof of merit to be the object of contention among various noble families, than to be able to substantiate the most illustrious lineage. His son Fernando had a true feeling on the subject. "I am of opinion," says he, "that I should derive less dignity from any nobility of ancestry, than from being the son of such a father."

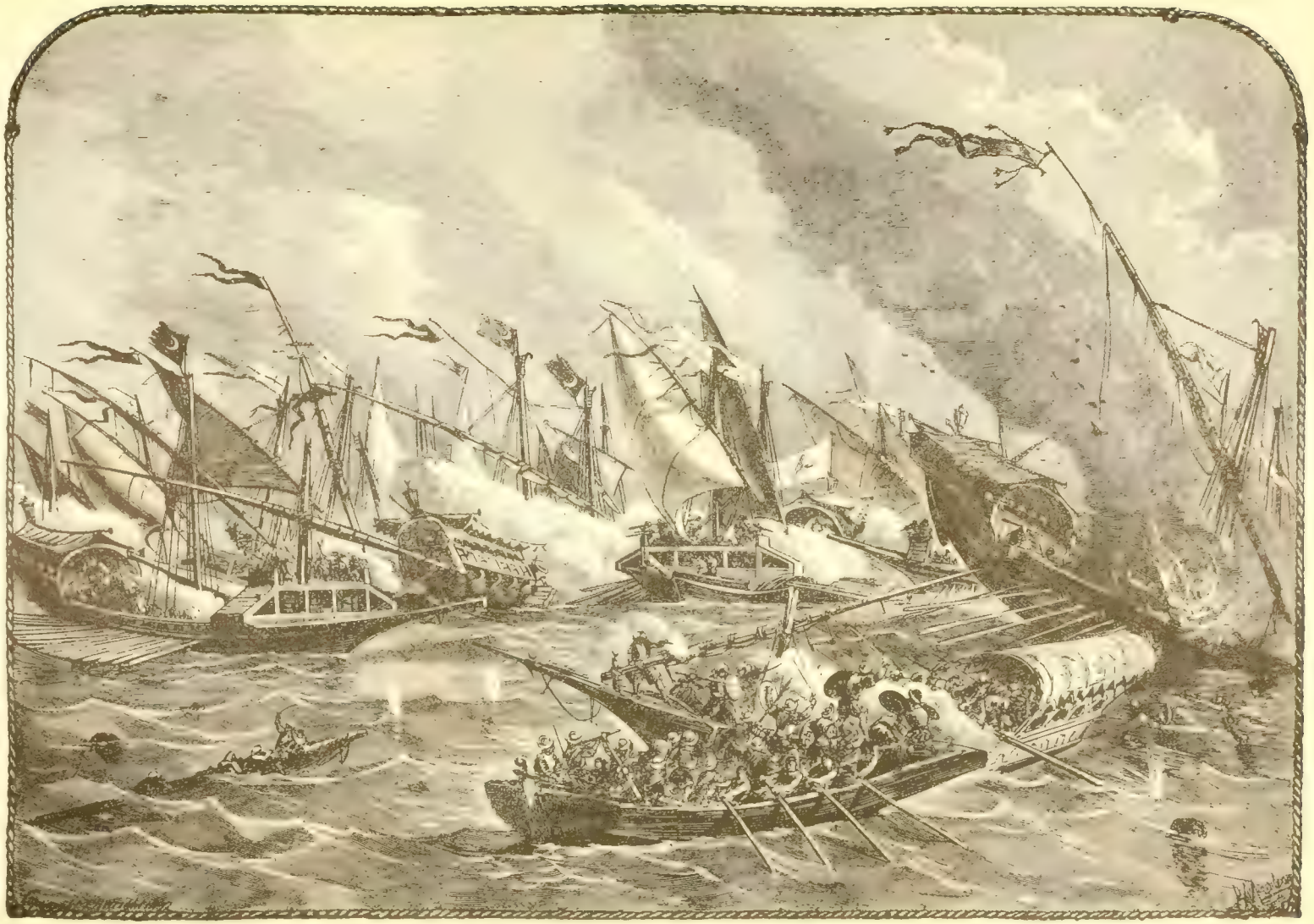
Columbus was the oldest of four children; having two brothers, Bartholomew and Giacomo, or, as his name is translated into Spanish, Diego, and one sister, of whom nothing is known, excepting that she was married to a person in obscure life, called Giacomo Bavarello.



MONUMENT OF COLUMBUS IN GENOA.

While very young, Columbus was taught reading, writing, grammar, and arithmetic, and made some proficiency in drawing. He soon evinced a strong passion for geographical knowledge, and an irresistible inclination for the sea; and in after-life, when he looked back upon his career with a solemn and superstitious feeling, he regarded this early determination of his mind as an impulse from the Deity, guiding him to the studies, and inspiring him with the inclinations, proper to fit him for the high decrees he was destined to accomplish. His father, seeing the bent of his mind, endeavored to give him an education suitable for maritime life. He sent him, therefore, to the university of Pavia*, where he was instructed in geometry, geography, astronomy, and navigation; he acquired also a familiar knowledge of the Latin tongue, which at that time was the medium of instruction, and the language of the schools. He remained but a short time at Pavia, barely sufficient to give him the rudiments of the necessary sciences; the thorough acquaintance with them which he displayed in after-life, must have been the result of diligent self-schooling, and of casual hours of study, amidst the cares and vicissitudes of a rugged and wandering life. He was one of those men of strong natural genius, who appear to form themselves; who, from having to contend at their very outset with privations and impediments, acquire an intrepidity in braving and a facility in vanquishing difficulties. Such men learn to effect great purposes

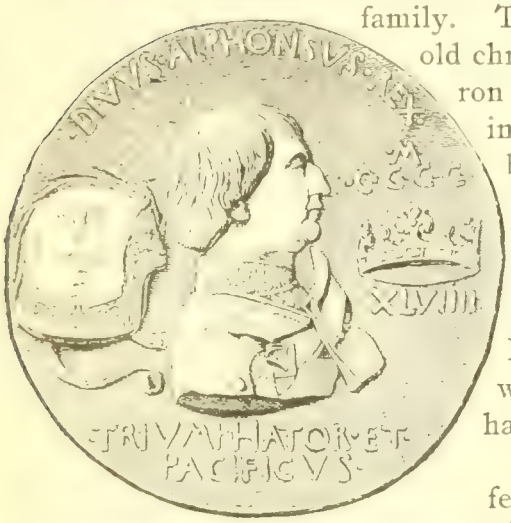
* Some authorities express doubt about his having attended the university.



THE HOLY WARS WAGED WITH THE MAHOMMEDAN POWERS, RENDERED THE NARROW SEAS SCENES OF THE MOST HARDY ENCOUNTERS. SEE PAGE 80.

with small means, supplying the deficiency of the latter by the resources of their own energy and invention. This is one of the remarkable features in the history of Columbus. In every undertaking, the scantiness and apparent insufficiency of his means enhance the grandeur of his achievements.

Shortly after leaving the university, he entered into nautical life, and, according to his own account, began to navigate at fourteen years of age. A complete obscurity rests upon this part of his history. It is supposed he made his first voyages with one Colombo, a hardy captain of the seas, who had risen to some distinction by his bravery, and who was a distant connection of his family. This veteran is occasionally mentioned in old chronicles; sometimes as commanding a squadron of his own, sometimes as being an admiral in the Genoese service. He appears to have been bold and adventurous, ready to fight in any cause, and to seek quarrel wherever it might lawfully be found.



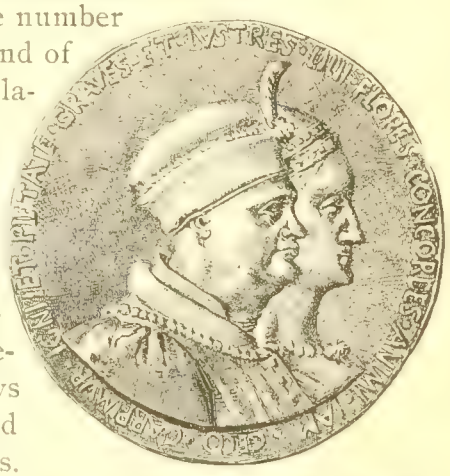
Alphonso the Wise, king of Naples; copper, three-quarters original size, Berlin. Bust in coat of mail, between crown and helmet. ... below the date; underneath, TRIVMPHATOR. ET. PACIFICVS.

The seafaring life in those days was peculiarly full of hazard and enterprise. Even a commercial expedition resembled a warlike cruise, and the maritime merchant had often to fight his way from port to port. Piracy was almost legalized. The frequent feuds between the Italian states; the cruisings of the Catalonians; the armadas fitted out by noblemen, who were petty sovereigns in their own domains; the roving ships and squadrons of private adventurers; and the holy wars waged with the Mohammedan powers, rendered the narrow seas, to which navigation was principally confined, scenes of the most hardy encounters and trying reverses. Such was the rugged school in which Columbus was reared, and such the rugged teacher that first broke him to naval discipline.

The first voyage in which we hear any account of his being engaged, was in a naval expedition fitted out at Genoa in 1459, by John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, to make a descent upon Naples, in the hope of recovering that kingdom for his father, King Reinier or Renato, otherwise called Rene, Count de Provence. In

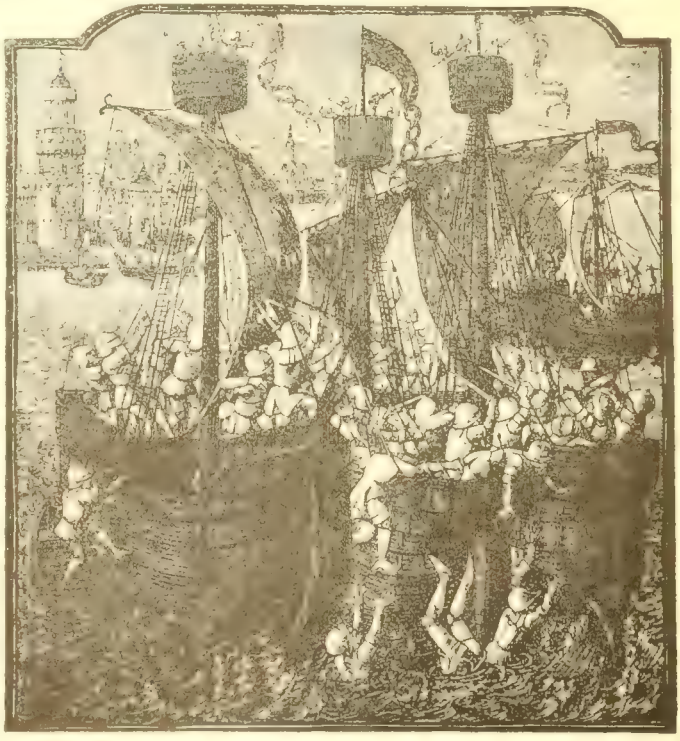
this enterprise the republic of Genoa aided with ships and money, and many private adventurers fitted out ships and galleys, and engaged under the banners of Anjou. Among the number was the hardy veteran Colombo, who had command of a squadron, and with him sailed his youthful relation.

The struggle of John of Anjou for the crown of Naples lasted about four years, with varied fortune, and much hard service. The naval part of the expedition distinguished itself by various acts of intrepidity, and when the unfortunate duke was at length reduced to take refuge in the island of Ischia, a handful of galleys loyally adhered to him, guarded the island, and scoured and controlled the whole bay of Naples. It is presumed that Columbus served on board of this squadron. That he must have distinguished himself in the course of the expedition, is evident, from his having been at one time appointed to a separate command, and sent on a daring enterprise to cut out a galley from the port of Tunis, in the course of which he exhibited great resolution and address.



Medal with the portrait of King René and [illegible] Royal Museum, Berlin

There is an interval of several years, during which we have but one or two shadowy traces of Columbus, who is supposed to have been principally engaged in the Mediterranean, and up the Levant, sometimes in voyages of commerce, sometimes in warlike contests between the Italian states, sometimes in pious and predatory expeditions against the Infidels, during which time he was



Contemporary picture of a naval battle, in the background a seaport. Miniature in [illegible] Froissart, daughterte, etc., par Sire Jehan Froissart
Library of Breslau.

often under the perilous command of his old fighting relation, the veteran Colombo.

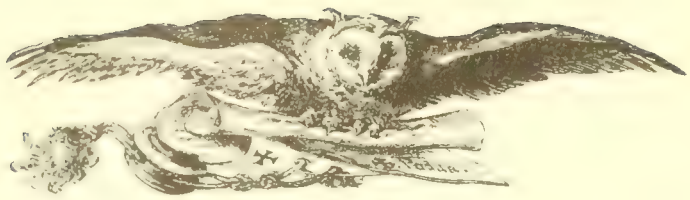
The last anecdote we have of this obscure part of his life is given by his son Fernando. He says that his father sailed for some time with Colombo the younger, a famous corsair, nephew to the old admiral just mentioned, and apparently heir of his warlike propensities and prowess, for Fernando affirms that he was so terrible for his deeds against the Infidels, that the Moorish mothers used to frighten their unruly children with his name.

The bold rover waylaid four Venetian galleys, richly laden, on their return voyage from Flanders, and attacked them with his squadron on the Portuguese coast between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent. The battle lasted from morning until evening, with great carnage on both sides. The vessels grappled each other, and the crews fought hand to hand, and from ship to ship. The vessel commanded by Columbus was engaged with a huge Venetian galley. They threw hand grenades and other fiery missiles, and the galley was wrapt in flames. The vessels being fastened together by chains and iron grapplings, could not be separated, and both became a mere blazing mass, involved in one conflagration. The crews threw themselves into the sea. Columbus seized an oar which was floating near him, and being an expert swimmer, attained the shore, though full two leagues distant. It pleased God, adds his son Fernando, to give him strength, that he might preserve him for greater things. After recovering from his exhaustion, he repaired to Lisbon, where he found many of his Genoese countrymen, and was induced to take up his residence.

Such is the account given by Fernando of his father's first arrival in Portugal; and it has been currently adopted by modern historians; but on examining various histories of the times, the battle here described appears to have happened several years after the date of the arrival of Columbus in that country. That he was engaged in the contest is not improbable; but he had previously resided for some time in Portugal. In fact, on referring to the history of that kingdom, we shall find, in the great maritime enterprises in which it was at that time engaged, ample attractions for a person of his inclinations and pursuits; and we shall be led to conclude, that his first visit to Lisbon was not the fortuitous result of a desperate adventure, but was undertaken in a spirit of liberal curiosity, and the pursuit of honorable fortune.



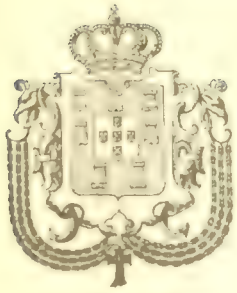
THE FAMOUS CORSAIR COLOMBO WAYLAYING FOUR VENETIAN GALLEYS NEAR THE COAST OF CAPE ST. VINCENT, WHOM HE ENGAGES IN MORTAL COMBAT.



CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY UNDER PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL. RESIDENCE OF COLUMBUS IN PORTUGAL. IDEAS CONCERNING ISLANDS IN THE OCEAN.

THE career of modern discovery had commenced shortly before the time of Columbus, and, at the period of which we are treating, was prosecuted with great activity by Portugal. The rediscovery of the Canary Islands, in the fourteenth century, and the occasional voyages made to them, and to the opposite shores of Africa, had first turned the attention of mankind in that direction. The grand impulse to discovery, however, was given by Prince Henry of Portugal, son of John the First, surnamed the Avenger, and Phillippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry the Fourth of England. Having accompanied his father into Africa, in an expedition against the Moors, he received much information at Ceuta concerning the coast of Guinea, and other regions entirely unknown to Europeans; and conceived an idea that important discoveries were to be made, by navigating along the western coast of Africa. On returning to Portugal, he pursued the vein of inquiry thus accidentally opened. Abandoning the court, he retired to a country retreat in the Algarves, near to Sagres, in the neighborhood of Cape St. Vincent, and in full view of the ocean. Here he drew round him men eminent in science, and gave himself up to those branches of study connected with the maritime arts. He made



himself master of all the geographical knowledge of the ancients, and of the astronomical science of the Arabians of Spain. The result of his studies was a firm conviction that Africa was circumnavigable, and that it was possible, by keeping along its shores, to arrive at India.

For a long time past, the opulent trade of Asia had been monopolized by the Italians; who had their commercial establishments at Constantinople, and in the Black Sea. Thither all the precious commodities of the East were conveyed by a circuitous and expensive internal route, to be thence distributed over Europe. The republics of Venice and Genoa had risen to power and opulence, in consequence of this monopoly; their merchants emulated the magnificence of princes, and held Europe, in a manner, tributary to their commerce. It was the grand idea of Prince Henry, by circumnavigating Africa, to open an easier and less expensive route to the source of this commerce, to turn it suddenly into a new and simple channel, and to pour it out in a golden tide upon his country. He was before the age in thought, and had to struggle hard against the ignorance and prejudices of mankind in the prosecution of his design. Navigation was yet in its infancy; mariners feared to venture far from the coast, or out of sight of its landmarks; and they looked with awe at the vast and unknown expanse of the Atlantic; they cherished the old belief that the earth at the equator was girdled by a torrid zone, separating the hemispheres by a region of impassable heat; and they had a superstitious belief, that whoever doubled Cape Bojador would never return.

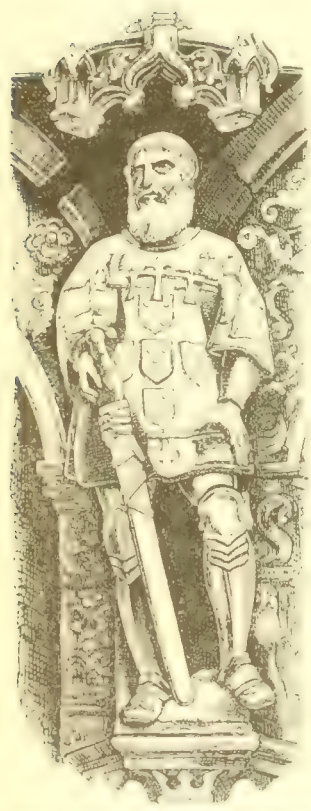


PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR.

From a miniature in the Genealogical Book of Portugal, in the Royal Library at Paris.

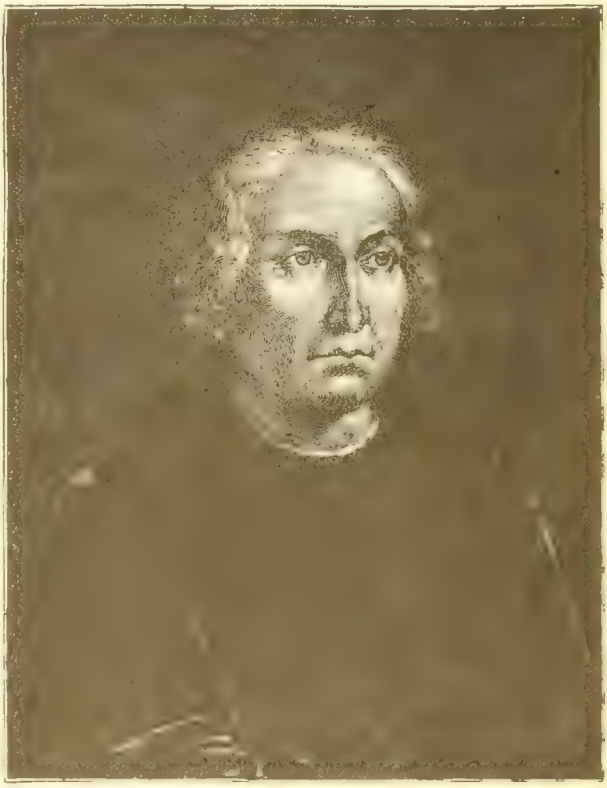
Prince Henry called in the aid of science to dispel these er-

rors. He established a naval college and observatory at Sagres, and invited thither the most eminent professors of the nautical faculties. The effects of this establishment were soon apparent. A vast improvement took place in maps and charts; the compass was brought into more general use; the Portuguese marine became signalized for its hardy enterprises; Cape Bojador was doubled; the region of the tropics penetrated and divested of its fancied terrors; the greater part of the African coast, from Cape Blanco to Cape de Verde, explored, and the Cape de Verde and Azore Islands discovered. To secure the full enjoyment of these territories, Henry obtained a papal bull, investing the crown of Portugal with sovereign authority over all the lands it might discover in the Atlantic, to India inclusive. Henry died on the 13th of November, 1473, before he had accomplished the great object of his ambition; but he had lived long enough to behold, through his means, his native country in a grand career of prosperity. He has been well described, as "full of thoughts of lofty enterprise, and acts of generous spirit." He bore for his device the magnanimous motto, "the talent to do good," the only talent worthy the ambition of princes.



The fame of the Portuguese discoveries drew the attention of the world, and the learned, the curious, and the adventurous, resorted to Lisbon to engage in the enterprises continually fitting out. Among the rest, Columbus arrived there about the year 1470. He was at that time in the full vigor of manhood, and of an engaging presence; and here it may not be improper to draw his portrait, according to the minute descriptions given of him by his contemporaries. He was tall, well-formed, and muscular, and of an elevated and dignified demeanor. His visage was long, and neither full nor meager; his complexion fair and freckled, and inclined to ruddy; his nose aquiline, his cheek bones were rather high, his eyes light gray, and apt to enkindle; his whole countenance had an air of authority. His hair, in his youthful days, was of a light color, but care and trouble soon turned it gray, and at thirty years of age it was quite white. He was moderate and

simple in diet and apparel, eloquent in discourse, engaging and affable with strangers, and of an amiableness and suavity in domestic life, that strongly attached his household to his person. His temper was naturally irritable; but he subdued it by the magnanimity of his spirit, comporting himself with a courteous and gentle gravity, and never indulging in any intemperance of language. Throughout his life, he was noted for a strict attention to the offices of religion; nor did his piety consist in mere forms, but partook of that lofty and solemn enthusiasm with which his whole character was strongly tinctured.



PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS IN THE MARINE MUSEUM OF MADRID.

While at Lisbon, he was accustomed to attend religious service at the chapel of the Convent of All Saints. Here he became acquainted with a lady of rank, named Doña Felipa, who resided in the convent. She was the daughter of Bartolomeo Moñis de Palestrello, an Italian cavalier, lately deceased, who had been one of the most distinguished navigators under Prince Henry, and had colonized and governed the island of Porto Santo. The acquaintance soon ripened into attachment, and ended in marriage. It appears to have been a match of mere affection, as the lady had little or no fortune.

The newly-married couple resided with the mother of the bride. The latter, perceiving the interest which her son-in-law took in nautical affairs, used to relate to him all she knew of the voyages and expeditions of her late husband, and delivered to him all his charts, journals, and other manuscripts. By these means, Columbus became acquainted with the routes of the Portuguese, and their plans and ideas; and, having by his marriage and residence become naturalized in Portugal, he sailed occasionally in the expeditions to the coast of Guinea. When at home, he supported his family by making maps and charts; and though his means

were scanty, he appropriated a part to the education of his younger brothers, and the succor of his aged father at Genoa. From Lisbon he removed for a time to the recently discovered island of Porto Santo, where his wife had inherited some property, and during his residence there she bore him a son, whom he named Diego. His wife's sister was married to Pedro Correo, a navigator of note, who had at one time been governor of Porto Santo. In the familiar intercourse of domestic life, their conversation frequently turned upon the discoveries of the Atlantic islands, and the African coasts, upon the long-sought-for route to India, and upon the possibility of unknown lands existing in the west. It was a period of general excitement, with all who were connected with maritime life, or who resided in the vicinity of the ocean. The recent discoveries had inflamed their imaginations, and had filled them with ideas of other islands of greater wealth and beauty, yet to be discovered in the boundless wastes of the Atlantic. The opinions and fancies of the ancients were again put into circulation; the islands of Antilla, and Plato's imaginary Atlantis, once more found firm believers; and a thousand rumors were spread of unknown islands casually seen in the ocean. Many of these were mere fables; many of them had their origin in the self-deception of voyagers, whose heated fancies beheld islands in those summer clouds which lie along the horizon, and often beguile the sailor with the idea of distant land. The most singular instance of this kind of self-deception, or rather of optical delusion, is that recorded of the inhabitants of the Canaries. They imagined that from time to time they beheld a vast island to the westward, with lofty mount-



THE ISLAND OF TENERIFFE AS SEEN FROM THE SEA TAKEN FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING.

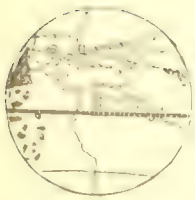
ains and deep valleys. Nor was it seen in cloudy or dubious weather, but with all the distinctness with which distant objects may be discerned in the transparent atmosphere of a tropical climate. It is true, it was only seen transiently, and at long intervals; while at other times, and in the clearest weather, not a vestige of it was visible; but so persuaded were the people of the Canaries of its reality, that they obtained permission from the king of Portugal to fit out various expeditions in search of it. The island, however, was never to be found, though it still continued occasionally to cheat the eye; many identified it with a legendary island, said to have been discovered in the sixth century, by a Scottish priest of the name of St. Brandan, and it was actually laid down in many maps of the times, by the name of St. Brandan, or St. Borondon.

All these tales and rumors were noted down with curious care by Columbus, and may have had some influence over his imagination; but, though of a visionary spirit, his penetrating genius sought in deeper sources for the aliment of its meditations. The voyages he had made to Guinea, and his frequent occupation in making maps and charts, had led him more and more to speculate on the great object of geographical enterprise; but while others were slowly and painfully seeking a route to India, by following up the coast of Africa, his daring genius conceived the bold idea of turning his prow directly to the west, and seeking the desired land by a route across the Atlantic. Having once conceived this idea, it is interesting to notice from what a mass of acknowledged facts, rational hypotheses, fanciful narrations, and popular rumors, his grand project of discovery was wrought out by the strong workings of his vigorous mind.

NOTE.—The name of St. Brandan, or Borondon, given to this imaginary island from time immemorial, is said to be derived from a Scotch-Irish abbot, who flourished in the sixth century, and who is called sometimes by the foregoing appellations, sometimes St. Blandano, or St. Blandanus. In the Martyrology of the order of St. Augustine, he is said to have been the patriarch of three thousand monks. About the middle of the sixth century, he accompanied his disciple, St. Maclovio, or St. Malo, in search of certain islands possessing the delights of paradise, which they were told existed in the midst of the ocean, and were inhabited by infidels. These most adventurous saints-errant wandered for a long time upon the ocean, and at length landed upon an island called Ima. Here St. Malo found the body of a giant lying in a sepulchre. He resuscitated him, and had much interesting conversation with him, the giant informing him that the inhabitants of that island had some notions of the Trinity, and, more-



over, giving him a gratifying account of the torments which Jews and Pagans suffered in the infernal regions. Finding the giant so docile and reasonable, St. Malo expounded to him the doctrines of the Christian religion, converted him, and baptized him by the name of Mildum. The giant, however, either through weariness of life, or eagerness to enjoy the benefits of his conversion, begged permission, at the end of fifteen days, to die again, which was granted him.



According to another account, the giant told them that he knew of an island in the ocean, defended by walls of burnished gold, so resplendent that they shone like crystal, but to which there was no entrance. At their request, he undertook to guide them to it, and taking the cable of their ship, threw himself into the sea. He had not proceeded far, however, when a tempest rose, and obliged them all to return, and shortly after the giant died. A third legend makes the saint pray to heaven on Easter day, that they may be permitted to find land where they may celebrate the offices of religion with becoming state. An island immediately appears, on which they land, perform a solemn mass, and the sacrament of the Eucharist; after which re-embarking and making sail, they behold to their astonishment the supposed island suddenly plunge to the bottom of the sea, being nothing else than a monstrous whale.



FROM AN ENGRAVING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.



CHAPTER III.

GROUNDS ON WHICH COLUMBUS FOUNDED HIS BELIEF OF UNDISCOVERED LANDS IN THE WEST.

WE have a record of the determination of Columbus to seek a western route to India, as early as the year 1474, in a correspondence which he held with Paulo Toscanelli, a learned cosmographer of Florence; and he had doubtless meditated it for a long time previous. He was moved to this determination by a diligent study of all the geographical theories of the ancients, aided by his own experience, by the discoveries of the moderns, and the advancement of astronomical science. He set it down as a fundamental principle, that the earth was a terraqueous globe, which might be traveled round from east to west, and that men stood foot to foot when on opposite points. The circumference from east to west, at the equator, he divided, according to Ptolemy,* into twenty-four

* Ptolemy (Claudius) lived in the first half of the 2d century in Alexandria. He was a geographer and mathematician.

hours, of fifteen degrees each, making three hundred and sixty degrees. Of these he imagined, comparing the globe of Ptolemy with the earlier map of Marinus of Tyre, that fifteen hours had been known to the ancients, extending from the Canary or Fortunate Islands, to the city of Thinæ in Asia, the western and eastern extremities of the known world. The Portuguese had advanced the western frontier one hour more by the discovery of the Azore and Cape de Verde Islands; still about eight hours, or one third of the circumference of the earth, remained to be explored. This space he imagined to be occupied in a great measure by the eastern regions of Asia, which might extend so far as to approach the western shores of Europe and Africa. A navigator, therefore, by pursuing a direct course from east to west, must arrive at the extremity of Asia, or discover any intervening land. The great obstacle to be apprehended, was from the tract of ocean that might intervene, but this could not be very wide, if the opinion of Alfraganus the Arabian were admitted, who, by diminishing the size of the degrees, gave to the earth a smaller circumference than was assigned to it by other cosmographers; a theory to which Columbus seems, generally, to have given much faith. He was fortified, also, by the opinion of Aristotle, Seneca, Pliny, and Strabo, who considered the ocean as but of moderate breadth, so that one might pass from Cadiz westward to the Indies in a few days.

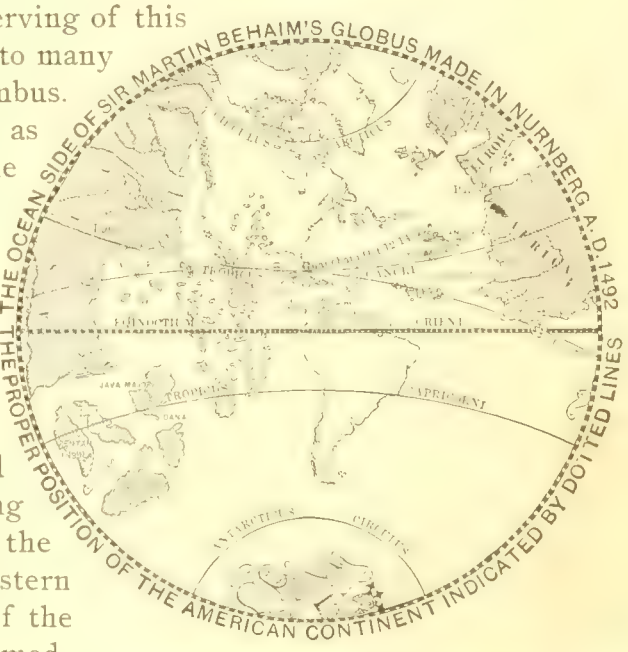


MARCO POLO. AFTER A PAINTING IN THE GALLERY AT HIS HOME

Columbus derived great support to his theory, also, from a letter which he received in 1474 from Paulo Toscanelli, the learned Florentine already mentioned, who was considered one of the ablest cosmographers of the day. This letter was made up from the narrative of Marco Polo, a Venetian traveler, who, in the fourteenth century, had penetrated the remote parts of Asia, far beyond the regions laid down by Ptolemy. Toscanelli encouraged Columbus in an intention which he had communicated to him, of seeking India by a western course, assuring him that the distance could not be more than four thousand miles in a direct line from Lisbon to the

province of Mangi, near Cathay, since ascertained to be the northern coast of China. Of this country a magnificent description was given according to Marco Polo, who extols the power and grandeur of its sovereign, the Great Khan, the splendor and magnitude of his capitals of Cambalu, and Quinsai, or Kinsay, and the wonders of the island of Cipango, or Zipangi, supposed to be Japan. This island he places opposite Cathay, far in the ocean, and represents it as abounding in gold, precious stones, and spices, and that the palace of the king was covered with plates of gold, as edifices in other countries are covered with sheets of lead.

The work of Marco Polo is deserving of this particular mention, from being a key to many of the ideas and speculations of Columbus. The territories of the Grand Khan, as described by the Venetian, were the objects of his diligent search in all his voyages; and in his cruisings among the Antilles, he was continually flattering himself with the hopes of arriving at the opulent island of Cipango, and the shores of Mangi and Cathay. The letter of Paulo Toscanelli was accompanied by a map, projected partly according to Ptolemy, and partly according to the descriptions of Marco Polo. The eastern coast of Asia was depicted in front of the coasts of Africa and Europe, with a moderate space of ocean between them, in which were placed, at convenient distances, Cipango, Antilla and the other islands. By this conjectural map Columbus governed himself in his first voyage.



It is presumed that Behem Behaim a German used Toscanelli's map for the construction of the Asiatic part of his globus. The original Toscanelli map the most memorable of maps, as the great American scholar Mr. John Fiske calls it—has been lost to the world.

Besides these learned authorities, Columbus was attentive to every gleam of information bearing upon his theory, that might be derived from veteran mariners, and the inhabitants of the lately discovered islands, who were placed, in a manner, on the frontier posts of geographical knowledge. One Antonio Leone, an inhabitant of Madeira, told him that in sailing westward one hundred

leagues, he had seen three islands at a distance. A mariner of Port St. Mary, also, asserted, that in the course of a voyage to Ireland, he had seen land to the west, which the ship's company took for some extreme part of Tartary. One Martin Vicenti, a pilot in the service of the king of Portugal, assured Columbus that, after sailing four hundred and fifty leagues to the west of Cape St. Vincent, he had taken from the water a piece of carved wood, evidently not labored with an iron instrument. As the wind had drifted it from the west, it might have come from some unknown land in that direction.



Pedro Correo, brother-in-law of Columbus, also informed him, that he had seen a similar piece of wood, on the island of Porto Santo, which had drifted from the same quarter, and he had heard from the king of Portugal that reeds of an immense size had floated to those islands from the west, which Columbus supposed to be the kind of reeds of enormous magnitude described by Ptolemy as growing in India. Trunks of huge pine trees, of a kind that did not grow upon any of the islands, had been wafted to the Azores by westerly winds. The inhabitants also informed him that the bodies of two dead men had been cast upon the island of Flores, whose features had caused great wonder and speculation, being different from those of any known race of people.

Such are the principal grounds on which, according to Fernando Columbus, his father proceeded from one position to another of his theory. It is evident, however, that the grand argument which induced him to his enterprise, was the one first cited; namely, that the most eastern part of Asia known to the ancients could not be separated from the Azores by more than a third of the circumference of the globe; that the intervening space must, in a great measure, be filled up by the unknown residue of Asia; and that, as the circumference of the world was less than was gen-

erally supposed, the Asiatic shores could easily be attained by a moderate voyage to the west. It is singular how much the success of this great enterprise depended upon two happy errors, the imaginary extent of Asia to the east, and the supposed smallness of the earth; both errors of the most learned and profound philosophers, but without which Columbus would hardly have ventured into the western regions of the Atlantic, in whose unknown and perhaps immeasurable waste of waters, he might perish before he could reach a shore.

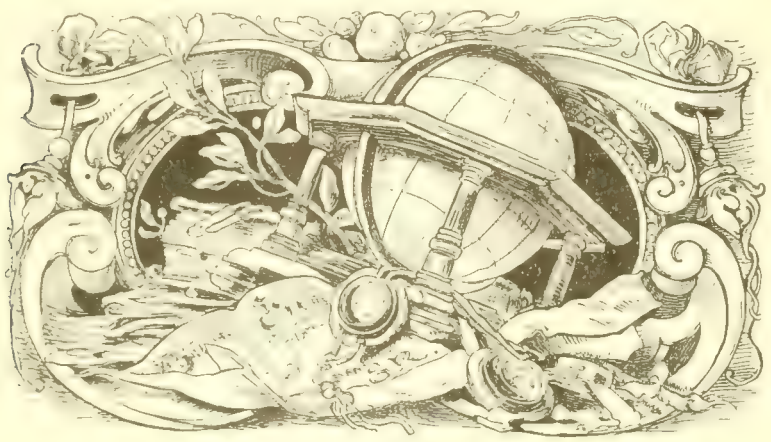
When Columbus had once formed his theory, it became fixed in his mind with singular firmness. He never spoke in doubt or hesitation, but with as much certainty as if his eyes had beheld the Promised Land. A deep religious sentiment mingled with his thoughts, and gave them at times a tinge of superstition, but of a sublime and lofty kind. He looked upon himself as standing in the hand of heaven, chosen from among men for the accomplishment of its high purpose; he read, as he supposed, his contemplated discovery foretold in Holy Writ, and shadowed forth darkly in the prophecies. The ends of the earth were to be brought together, and all nations, and tongues, and languages, united under the banners of the Redeemer.



THE SO-CALLED "VANEZ PORTRAIT" OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MADRID.

The enthusiastic nature of his conceptions gave an elevation to his spirit, and a dignity and loftiness to his whole demeanor. He conferred with sovereigns almost with a feeling of equality. His proposed discovery was of empires; his conditions were proportionately magnificent, nor would he ever, even after long delays, repeated disappointments, and when under the pressure of actual penury, abate what appeared to others extravagant demands. Those who could not conceive how an ardent and comprehensive mind could arrive by presumptive evidence at so firm a conviction, sought for other modes of accounting for it; and gave countenance to an idle tale of his having received previous information of the western

world, from a tempest-tost pilot, who had died in his house, bequeathing him written accounts of an unknown land in the west, upon which he had been driven by adverse winds. This, and other attempts to cast a shade upon his fame, have been diligently examined and refuted; and it appears evident that his great enterprise was the bold conception of his genius, quickened by the impulse of the age, and aided by those scattered gleams of knowledge, which fall ineffectually upon ordinary minds.





FRONT AND REAR VIEW OF AN ARABIAN ASTROLABE PRESERVED IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF PARIS.

CHAPTER IV.

EVENTS IN PORTUGAL RELATIVE TO DISCOVERY. PROPOSITIONS OF COLUMBUS TO THE PORTUGUESE COURT.

WHILE the design of attempting the discovery in the west was maturing in the mind of Columbus, he made a voyage to the northern seas, to the island of Thule, to which the English navigators, particularly those of Bristol, were accustomed to resort on account of its fishery. He even advanced, he says, one hundred leagues beyond, penetrated the polar circle, and convinced himself of the fallacy of the popular belief, that the frozen zone was uninhabitable. The island thus mentioned by him as Thule is generally supposed to have been Iceland, which is far to the west of the Ultima Thule of the ancients, as laid down on the map of Ptolemy. Nothing more is known of this voyage, in which we discern indications of that ardent and impatient desire to break away from the limits of the old world, and launch into the unknown regions of the ocean.

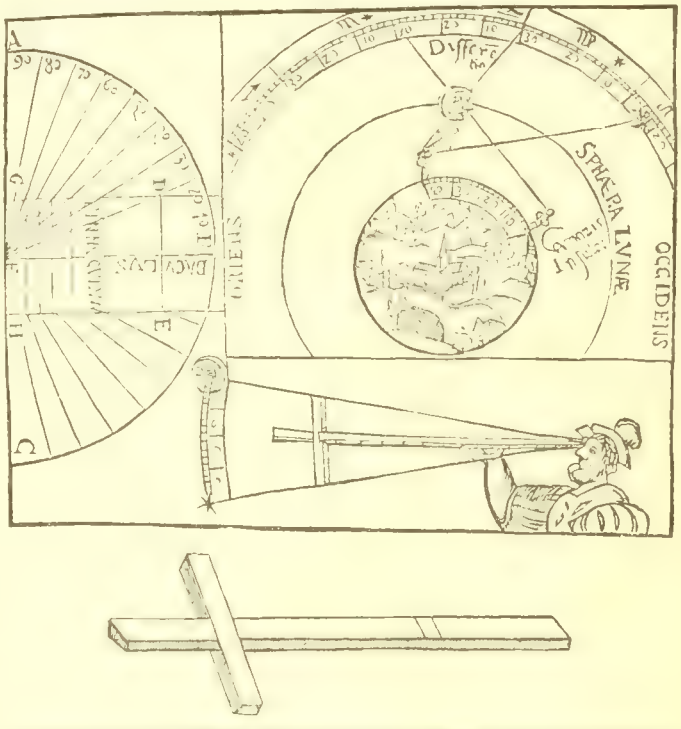
Several years elapsed without any decided effort on the part of Columbus to carry his design into execution. An enterprise of the kind required the patronage of some sovereign power, which could furnish the necessary means, could assume dominion over the lands to be discovered, and could ensure suitable rewards and dignities to the discoverer.

The cause of discovery had languished during the latter part of the reign of Alphonso of Portugal, who was too much engrossed with his wars with Spain, to engage in peaceful enterprises of great cost and doubtful result. Navigation also was still too imperfect for so perilous an undertaking as that proposed by Columbus. Discovery advanced slowly along the coasts of Africa, and, though the compass had been introduced into more general use, yet mariners rarely ventured far out of sight of land, they even feared to cruise far into the southern hemisphere, with the stars of which they were totally unacquainted. To such men, therefore, the project of a voyage directly westward, in quest of some imagined land in the boundless wastes of the ocean, appeared as extravagant, as it would at the present day to launch forth in a balloon into the regions of space, in quest of some distant star.

The time, however, was at hand, that was to extend the power of navigation. The era was propitious to the quick advancement of knowledge. The recent invention of printing, enabled men to communicate rapidly and extensively their ideas and discoveries. It multiplied and spread abroad, and placed in every hand, those volumes of information, which had hitherto existed only in costly manuscripts, treasured up in the libraries of colleges and convents. At this juncture, John the Second ascended the throne of Portugal. He had imbibed the passion for discovery from his grand-uncle, Prince Henry, and with his reign all its activity revived. The recent attempts to discover a route to India, had excited an eager curiosity concerning the remote parts of the East, and had revived all the accounts, true and fabulous, of travelers. Among these, were the tales told of the renowned Prester John, a Christian king, said to hold sway in a remote part of the East, but whose kingdom seemed to baffle research as effectually as the unsubstantial island of St. Brandan. All the fables and dreamy speculations, concerning this shadowy potentate, and his oriental realm, were again put in circulation. It was fancied that traces of his empire had been dis-

cerned in the interior of Africa, to the east of Benin, where there was a powerful prince, who used a cross among the insignia of royalty; and John the Second, in the early part of his reign, actually sent missions in quest of the visionary Prester John.

Impatient of the tardiness with which his discoveries advanced along the coast of Africa, and eager to realize the splendid project of Prince Henry, and conduct the Portuguese flag into the Indian seas, John the Second called upon his men of science, to devise some means of giving greater scope and certainty to navigation. His two physicians, Roderigo and Joseph, the latter a Jew, who were the most able astronomers and cosmographers of his kingdom, together with the celebrated Martin Behem, entered into a consultation on the subject; and the result of their conferences was, the application of the astrolabe* to navigation. This instrument has since been improved and modified into the modern quadrant, of which, even at its first introduction, it possessed all the essential advantages. This invention was one of those timely occurrences which seem to have something providential in them. It was the one thing wanting to facilitate an intercourse across the deep, and to cast navigation loose from its long bondage to the land. Science had thus prepared guides for discovery across the trackless ocean, and had divested the enterprise of Columbus of that extremely hazardous character, which had been so great an obstacle to its accomplishment. It was immediately after this event that he solicited an audience of the king of Portugal, to lay before him his great project of discovery. This is the



REPRESENTATION OF A JACK STAFF, OR CROSS STAFF, AND ITS APPLICATION IN MEASURING THE HEIGHT OF THE STARS.

From Gemma Frisius, Antwerp, 1584.

* The Astrolabe is an instrument to measure the height of the sun or stars with, above the horizon. Since replaced by the Theodolite and Sextant.

first proposition of which we have any clear and indisputable record, although it has been strongly asserted, and with probability, that he had made one at an earlier period, to his native country, Genoa.

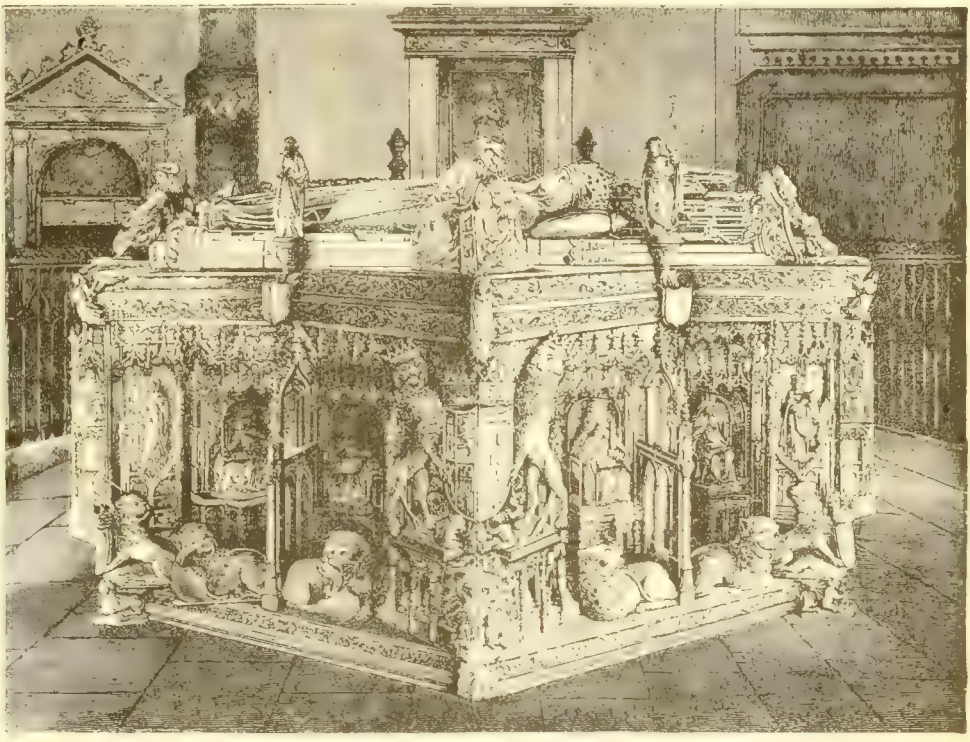
Columbus obtained a ready audience of King John, who was extremely liberal in encouraging and rewarding nautical enterprise. He explained to the monarch his theory, and proposed, in case the king would furnish him with ships and men, to conduct them by a shorter route to the richest countries of the East, to touch at the opulent island of Cipango, and to establish a communication with the territories of the Grand Khan, the most splendid, powerful, and wealthy of oriental potentates.



King John listened attentively to the proposition of Columbus, and referred it to a learned junto, composed of Masters Roderigo and Joseph, and the king's confessor, Diego Ortiz, bishop of Ceuta, a man greatly reputed for his learning, a Castilian by birth, and generally called Cazadilla, from

the name of his birthplace. This scientific body treated the project as extravagant and visionary. Still the king was not satisfied, but convoked his council, composed of persons of the greatest learning in the kingdom, and asked their advice. In this assembly, Cazadilla, the bishop of Ceuta, opposed the theory of Columbus, as destitute of reason, and indeed evinced a cold and narrow spirit, hostile to all discovery. The decision of the council was equally unfavorable with that of the junto, and the proposition of Columbus was rejected.

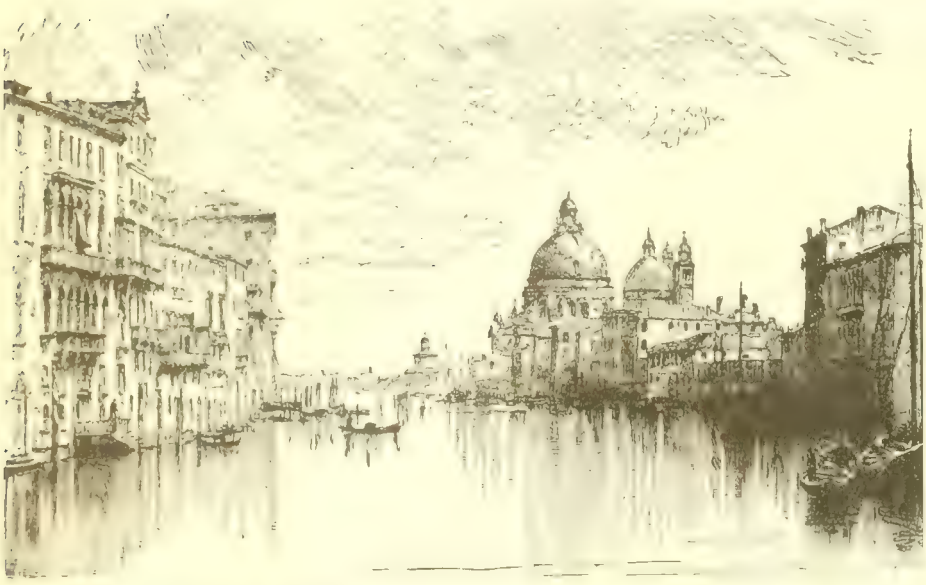
Certain of the counsellors, and particularly the bishop of Cazadilla, seeing that the king was dissatisfied with their decision, and retained a lurking inclination for the enterprise, suggested a stratagem by which all its advantages might be secured, without committing the dignity of the crown by entering into formal negotiations about a scheme, which might prove a mere chimera. The king, in an evil hour, departed from his usual justice and generosity, and had the weakness to permit their stratagem. These crafty counsellors then procured from Columbus, as if to assist them in their deliberations, a detailed plan of his proposed voyage, with the charts by which he intended to shape his course. While they held him in suspense, awaiting their decision, they privately dispatched a caravel to pursue the designated route.



SEPULCHRE OF KING D. JUAN II. AND DONA ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL IN THE CARTHUSIAN CLOISTER OF MIRAFLORES IN BURGOS.

The caravel took its departure from the Cape de Verde Islands, and stood westward for several days. The weather grew stormy, and the pilots having no zeal to stimulate them, and seeing nothing but an immeasurable waste of wild tumbling waves, still extending before them, lost all courage, and put back to the Cape de Verde Islands, and thence to Lisbon, excusing their own want of resolution, by ridiculing the project as extravagant and irrational.

This unworthy attempt to defraud him of his enterprise roused the indignation of Columbus, and, though King John, it is said, showed a disposition to renew the negotiation, he resolutely declined. His wife had been for some time dead, the domestic tie which had bound him to Portugal, therefore, being broken, he determined to abandon a country where he had been treated with so little faith. Like most projectors, while engaged in schemes which held out promise of incalculable wealth, he had suffered his affairs to run to ruin, and was in danger of being arrested for debt. This has been given as the reason for his leaving Portugal in a secret manner, which he did towards the end of 1484, taking with him his son Diego, as yet a mere child.



VIEW OF THE [illegible] WITH THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DELLA SALUTA IN THE DISTANCE

An interval now occurs of about a year, during which the movements of Columbus are involved in uncertainty. It has been asserted by a modern Spanish historian of merit, that he departed immediately for Genoa, where he repeated in person the proposition which he had formerly made to the government by letter. The

republic of Genoa, however, was languishing under a long decline, and was embarrassed by ruinous wars. Her spirit was broken with her fortunes; for with nations, as with individuals, enterprise is the child of prosperity, and is apt to languish in evil days, when there is most need of its exertion. Thus, Genoa, it would appear, disheartened by reverses, rejected a proposition which would have elevated the republic to tenfold splendor, and might for a long time have perpetuated the golden wand of commerce in the failing grasp of Italy.

From Genoa, it has been said, but equally without positive proof, that Columbus carried his proposal to Venice, but that it was declined in consequence of the critical state of national affairs. Different authors agree, that about this time he visited his aged father, and made such arrangements for his comfort as his own poor means afforded, and that having thus performed the duties of a pious son, he departed once more to try his fortunes in foreign courts. About this time, also, he engaged his brother Bartholomew to sail for England, to lay his propositions before Henry the Seventh, whom he had heard extolled for his wisdom and munificence. For himself, he sailed for Spain, where he appears to have arrived in great poverty, for this course of fruitless solicitation had exhausted all his means; nor is it one of the least extraordinary circumstances in his eventful life, that he had, in a manner, to beg his way from court to court, to offer to princes the discovery of a world.



SEAL OF KING HENRY VII. OF ENGLAND. AFTER AN IMPRESSION IN THE IMPERIAL STATE ARCHIVES IN BERLIN.



THE VISION OF COLUMBUS WHILE BEGGING HIS WAY FROM COURT TO COURT.

PAINTING BY D. MANUEL FORD

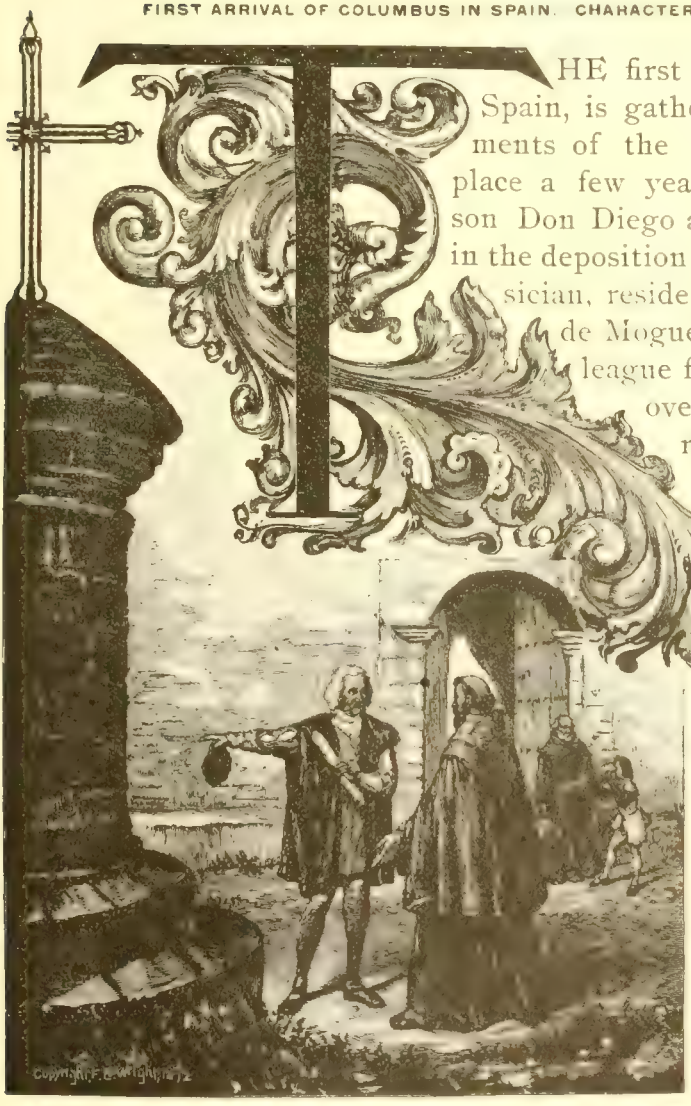


THE CONVENT OF LA RABIDA.

VIEW OF THE TOWN OF PALOS.

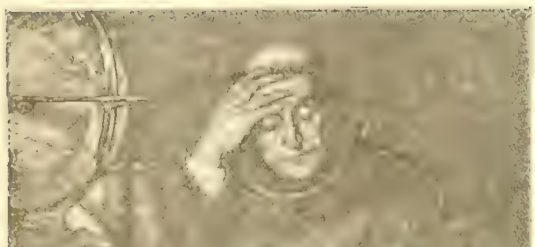
CHAPTER V.

FIRST ARRIVAL OF COLUMBUS IN SPAIN. CHARACTER OF THE SPANISH SOVEREIGNS.



FROM A PAINTING IN THE CONVENT OF LA RABIDA

THE first trace we have of Columbus in Spain, is gathered from the manuscript documents of the celebrated lawsuit, which took place a few years after his death, between his son Don Diego and the crown. It is contained in the deposition of one Garcia Fernandez, a physician, resident in the little seaport of Palos de Moguer, in Andalusia. About half a league from Palos, on a solitary height overlooking the seacoast, and surrounded by a forest of pine trees, there stood, and stands at the present day, an ancient convent of Franciscan friars, dedicated to Santa Maria de Rabida. A stranger traveling on foot, accompanied by a young boy, stopped one day at the gate of the convent, and asked of the porter a little bread and water for his child. While receiving this humble refreshment, the guardian of the convent, Friar Juan Perez de Marchena, happening to pass by, was struck with the appearance of the stranger, and, observing from his air and accent



that he was a foreigner, entered into con versation with him. That stranger wa Columbus, accompanied by his young so Diego. He was on his way to the neigh boring town of Huelva, to seek a brother in-law, who had married a sister of hi deceased wife.

The guardian was an intelligent man and acquainted with geographical and nautical science. He was interested by the conversation of Columbus, and struck with the grandeur of his plans. He de tained him as his guest, and being diffi dent of his own judgment, sent for a scientific friend to converse with him. That friend was Garcia Fernandez, the physician o Palos, the same who furnishes this interesting testimony, and who became equally convinced with the friar of the correctness of the theory of Columbus. Several veteran pilots and mariners of Palos also, were consulted during the conferences at the convent, who stated various facts observed in the course of their experience which seemed to corroborate the idea of western lands in the At lantic. But the conviction of the friar was still more confirmed, by the hearty concurrence of an important personage in that maritime



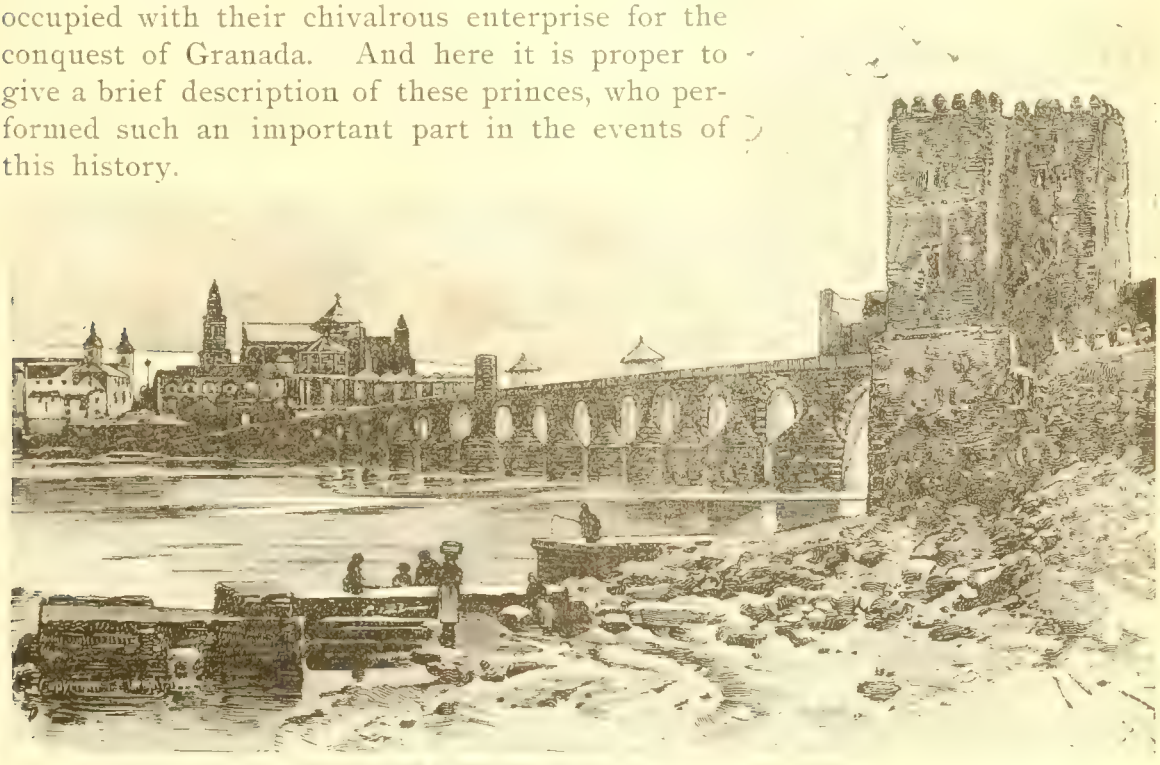
neighbor hood, one Martin Alonzo Pin zon, resi dent of the town of Pa los, one of the most in telligent sea captains of the day, and the head of a family of wealthy and

distinguished navigators. Pinzon not only gave the project of Columbus his decided approbation, but offered to engage in it with purse and person.



THE CELL OF THE PRIOR, JUAN PEREZ DE MARCHENA, IN THE CONVENT OF LA RABIDA.

Fray Juan Perez, being now fully persuaded of the importance of the proposed enterprise, advised Columbus to repair to court, and make his propositions to the Spanish sovereigns, offering to give him a letter of recommendation to his friend, Fernando de Talavera, prior of the convent of Prado, and confessor to the queen, and a man of great political influence, through whose means he would, no doubt, immediately obtain royal audience and favor. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, also, generously offered to furnish him with money for the journey, and the friar took charge of his youthful son, Diego, to maintain and educate him in the convent. Thus aided and encouraged, and elated with fresh hopes, Columbus took leave of the little junto at La Rabida, and set out, in the spring of 1486, for the Castilian court, which had just assembled at Cordova, where the sovereigns were fully occupied with their chivalrous enterprise for the conquest of Granada. And here it is proper to give a brief description of these princes, who performed such an important part in the events of this history.



VIEW OF THE TOWN OF [illegible] WITH THE OLD ROMAN [illegible] IN THE FOREGROUND.

It has been well observed of Ferdinand and Isabella, that they lived together, not like man and wife, whose estates are in common, under the orders of the husband, but like two monarchs, strictly allied. They had separate claims to sovereignty, in virtue of their separate kingdoms, and held separate councils. Yet they were so happily united by common views, common interests, and a great deference for each other, that this double administration never prevented a unity of purpose and action. All acts of sovereignty were executed in both their names; all public writings subscribed with both their signatures; their likenesses were stamped together on the public coin; and the royal seal displayed the united arms of Castile and Arragon.



Ferdinand possessed a clear and comprehensive genius, and great penetration. He was equable in temper, indefatigable in business, a great observer of men, and is extolled by Spanish writers as unparalleled in the science of the cabinet. It has been maintained by writers of other nations, however, and apparently with reason, that he was bigoted in religion, and craving rather than magnanimous in his ambition; that he made war less like a paladin than a prince, less for glory than for mere dominion, and that his policy was cold, selfish, and artful. He was called the wise and prudent in Spain; in Italy, the pious; in France and England, the ambitious and perfidious.

Contemporary writers have been enthusiastic in their descriptions of Isabella, but time has sanctioned their eulogies. She was of the middle size, and well formed; with a fair complexion, auburn hair, and clear blue eyes. There was a mingled gravity and sweetness in her countenance, and a singular modesty, gracing, as it did, great firmness of purpose and earnestness of spirit. Though strongly attached to her husband, and studious of his fame, yet she

always maintained her distinct rights as an allied prince. She exceeded him in beauty, personal dignity, acuteness of genius, and grandeur of soul. Combining the active and resolute qualities of man, with the softer charities of woman, she mingled in the warlike councils of her husband, and, being inspired with a truer idea of glory, infused a more lofty and generous temper into his subtle and calculating policy.



ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC. PAINTING BY BEQUER, GALLERY OF ST. TELMO SEVILLE.

It is in the civil history of their reign, however, that the character of Isabella shines most illustrious. Her fostering and maternal care was continually directed to reform the laws, and heal the ills engendered by a long course of civil wars. She assembled round her the ablest men in literature and science, and directed herself by their counsels in encouraging literature and the arts. She promoted the distribution of honors and rewards for the promulgation of knowledge, fostered the recently invented art of printing, and through her patronage Salamanca rose to that eminence which it assumed among the learned institutions of the age. Such was the noble woman who was destined to acquire immortal renown by her spirited patronage of the discovery of the new world.

CHAPTER VI.

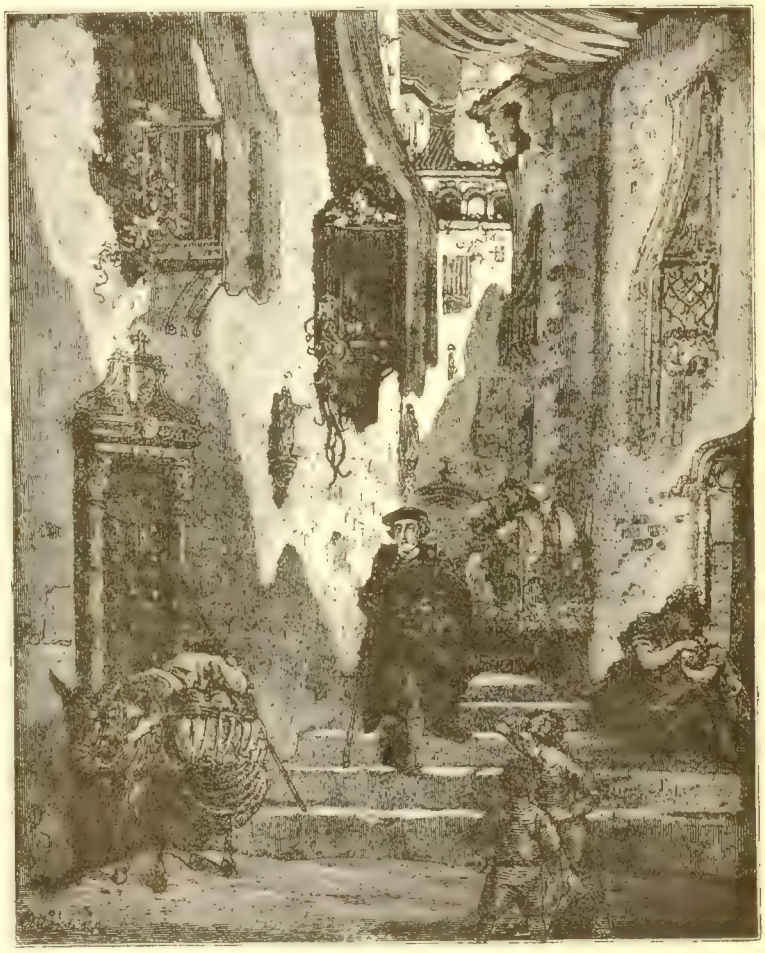
PROPOSITIONS OF COLUMBUS TO THE COURT OF CASTILE.

WHEN Columbus arrived at Cordova, he found it in all the bustle of military preparation. The two rival Moorish kings of Granada had formed a coalition, and the Castilian sovereigns had summoned all their chivalry to assemble for a grand campaign. Every day witnessed the arrival of some Spanish noble, with a splendid retinue, and a brilliant array of household troops. The court was like a military camp; every avenue was crowded by warlike grandees and hardy cavaliers, who had distinguished themselves in this Moorish war. This was an unpropitious moment for an application like that of Columbus. Everybody was engrossed by the opening campaign. Even Fernando de Talavera, who was to have been his great patron and protector, and his organ of communication with the sovereigns, was completely taken up with military concerns, being one of the clerical advisers, who surrounded the queen in this, as it was termed, holy war. The letter of recommendation from the worthy Fray Juan Perez, which was to have secured the powerful influence of Talavera, seems to have had but little effect upon the prior, who listened coldly to Columbus, and looked upon his plan as extravagant and impossible.



So far, therefore, from receiving immediate patronage from the sovereigns, Columbus found it impossible to obtain even a hearing. It is a ques-

tion even, whether, for some time, his application reached their ears. If Fernando de Talavera did mention it to them, it must have been in disparaging terms, such as rather to destroy than excite interest in its favor. The campaign opened almost immediately; the king took the field in person; the queen was fully occupied by the hurrying concerns of the war, and was part of the time present in the camp; it would have been in vain, therefore, at such a moment, to expect attention to a scheme of foreign discovery, founded on principles which required calm and learned investigation.



COLUMBUS' SOJOURN IN CORDOVA, 1486. "SCOFFED AT, AS A MERE DREAMER AND ADVENTURER."

During the summer and autumn of 1486, Columbus remained at Cordova, waiting for a more favorable opportunity to urge his suit, and trusting to time and assiduity to gain him converts among the intelligent and powerful. He was in indigent circumstances, and earned a scanty support by making maps and charts. He had to contend also against the ridicule of the light and the supercilious, which is one of the greatest obstacles to modest merit in a court. Some scoffed at him as a mere dreamer, others stigmatized him as an adventurer; the very children, it is said, pointed to their foreheads as he passed, being taught to consider him a kind of madman. Indeed, the slender interest on which he had founded his hopes of royal patronage, and the humble garb in which his poverty obliged him to appear, formed a preposterous contrast, in the eyes of the courtiers,

with the magnificence of his speculations. "Because he was a foreigner," said Oviedo, "and went but in simple apparel, nor otherwise credited than by the letter of a gray friar, they believed him not, neither gave ear to his words, whereby he was greatly tormented in his imagination."

While thus lingering in Cordova, he became attached to Doña Beatrix Enriquez, a lady of that city, of a noble family. Like most of the circumstances of this part of his life, his connection with this lady is wrapped in obscurity, but appears never to have been sanctioned by marriage. She was the mother of his second son Fernando, who became his historian, and whom he always treated on terms of perfect equality with his legitimate son Diego.

By degrees the theory of Columbus began to obtain proselytes. The attention of men of reflection was drawn to this solitary individual, who, almost unsupported, was endeavoring to make his way, with so singular a proposition, to the foot of the throne. Whoever conversed with him, was struck by the dignity of his manners, the earnest sincerity of his discourse, and the force of his reasoning. Alonzo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances of Castile, became a warm advocate of his theory, and received him as a guest into his house. He was countenanced also by Antonio Geraldini, the pope's nuncio, and his brother, Alexander Geraldini, preceptor to the younger children of Ferdinand and Isabella. By these friends he was introduced to the celebrated Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo, and grand cardinal of Spain. This was the most important personage about the court, he was always with the king and queen, who never took any measure of consequence without consulting him, and was facetiously called the third king of Spain. He was an elegant scholar, a man of sound understanding, and of great quickness and capacity in business. The clear-headed cardinal was pleased with the noble and earnest manner of Columbus; he listened to him with profound attention, felt the importance of his project and the force of his arguments, and became at once a firm and serviceable friend. Through his intercession the royal audience was at length obtained.

Columbus appeared in the presence of the king with modesty, yet self-possession, inspired by a consciousness of the dignity and importance of his errand; for he felt himself, as he afterwards declared in his letters, animated as if by a sacred fire from above, and

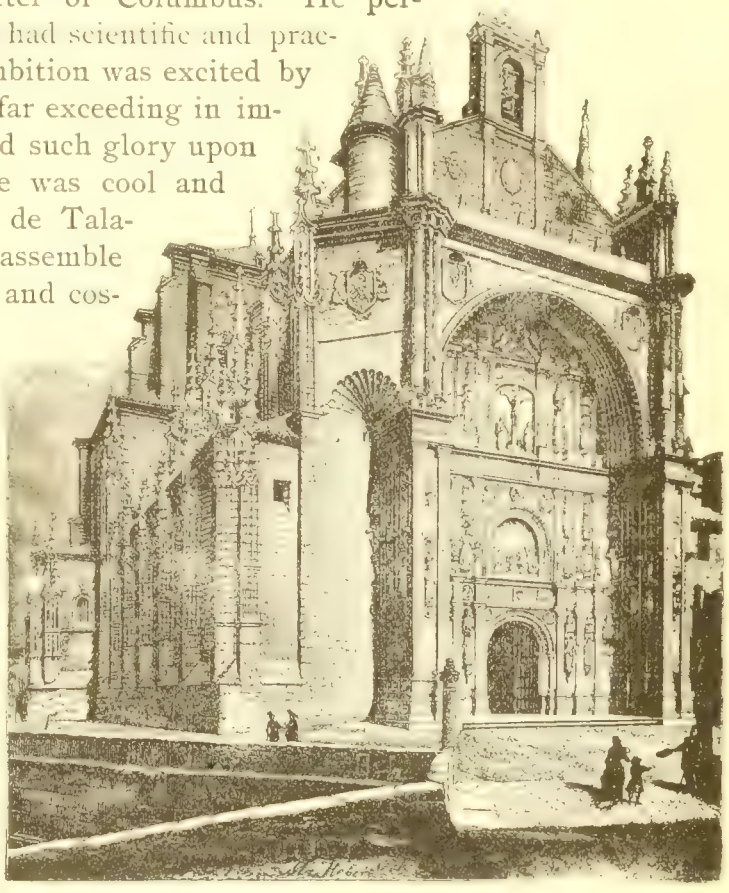


COLUMBUS SUBMITS HIS PROPOSAL TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA IN THE CITY OF CORDOVA.

HE APPEARED IN THEIR PRESENCE WITH MODESTY, SELF-POSSESSION, CONSCIOUS OF THE DIGNITY AND IMPORTANCE OF HIS ERRAND.

PAINTING BY FRANCISCO JOVER.

considered himself an instrument in the hand of heaven to accomplish its grand designs. Ferdinand was too keen a judge of men not to appreciate the character of Columbus. He perceived, also, that his scheme had scientific and practical foundations; and his ambition was excited by the possibility of discoveries far exceeding in importance those which had shed such glory upon Portugal. Still, as usual, he was cool and wary. He ordered Fernando de Talavera, the prior of Prado, to assemble the most learned astronomers and cosmographers of the kingdom, to hold a conference with Columbus. They were to examine him upon the grounds of his theory, and afterwards to consult together, and report their opinion as to its merits. Columbus now considered the day of success at hand; he had been deceived by courtiers, and scoffed at as a visionary by the vulgar and the ignorant; but he was now to appear before a body of the most learned and enlightened men, elevated, as he supposed, above all narrow prejudice and selfish interest, and capable of comprehending the full scope of his reasonings. From the dispassionate examination of such a body of sages, he could not but anticipate the most triumphant verdict.



CHURCH OF ST. ESTEBAN (SANTA DOMINGO) IN SALAMANCA, WHERE THE PROJECT OF COLUMBUS WAS EXAMINED BY THE JUNTA OF DOCTORS, APPOINTED BY THE QUEEN.



CHAPTER VII.

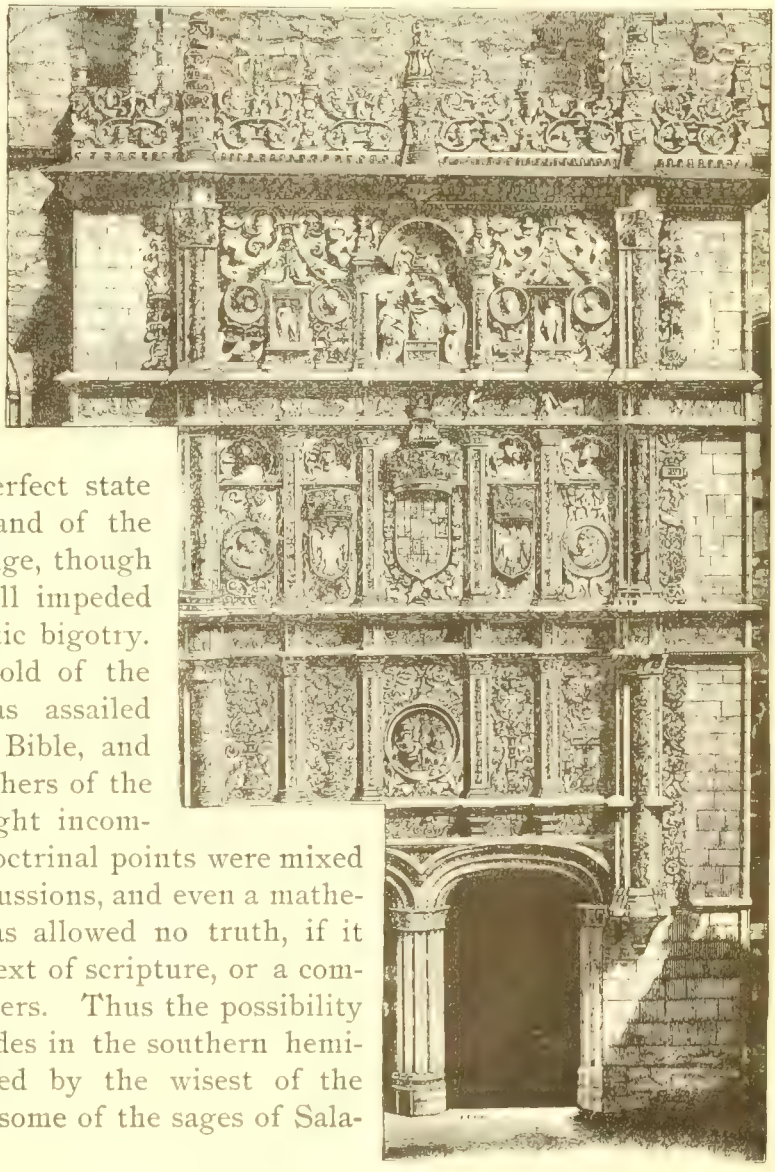
COLUMBUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AT SALAMANCA.

THE interesting conference took place at Salamanca, the great seat of learning in Spain. It was held in the Dominican convent of St. Stephen, the most scientific college in the university, in which Columbus was lodged and entertained with great hospitality during the course of the examination. The board of conference was composed of professors of the university, together with various dignitaries of the church, and learned friars. No tribunal could bear a front of more imposing wisdom; yet Columbus soon discovered that ignorance and illiberality may sometimes lurk under the very robes of science.

The greater part of this learned junto, it would appear, came prepossessed against him, as men in place and dignity are apt to be against poor applicants. There is always a proneness to consider a man under examination as a kind of delinquent, or impostor, upon trial, who is to be detected and exposed. Columbus, too, appeared in a most unfavorable light before a scholastic body; an obscure navigator, member of no learned institution, destitute of all the trappings and circumstances which sometimes give oracular authority to dullness, and depending upon the mere force of natural genius. Some of the assembly entertained the popular notion, that he was an adventurer, or, at best, a visionary; and others had that morbid impatience of any innovation upon established doctrine, which is apt to grow upon dull and pedantic men in cloistered life. The hall of the old convent presented a striking spectacle. A simple mariner standing forth in the midst of an imposing array of cler-

ical and collegiate sages; maintaining his theory with natural eloquence, and, as it were, pleading the cause of the new world. We are told, that when he began to state the grounds of his theory, the friars of St. Stephen alone paid attention to him. The others appeared to have intrenched themselves behind one dogged position, namely, that, after so many profound philosophers had occupied themselves in geographical investigations, and so many able navigators had been voyaging about the world for ages, it was a great presumption in an ordinary man to suppose that there remained such a vast discovery for him to make.

Several of the objections opposed by this learned body have been handed down to us, and have provoked many a sneer at the expense of the university of Salamanca; but they are proofs rather of the imperfect state of science at the time, and of the manner in which knowledge, though rapidly advancing, was still impeded in its progress by monastic bigotry. Thus, at the very threshold of the discussion, Columbus was assailed with citations from the Bible, and the works of the early fathers of the church, which were thought incompatible with his theory; doctrinal points were mixed up with philosophical discussions, and even a mathematical demonstration was allowed no truth, if it appeared to clash with a text of scripture, or a commentary of one of the fathers. Thus the possibility of the existence of antipodes in the southern hemisphere, though maintained by the wisest of the ancients, was disputed by some of the sages of Sala-



THE GATEWAY TO THE ARCHIVES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA

manca, on the authority of Lactantius and St. Augustine,* those two great luminaries of what has been called the golden age of ecclesiastical learning. "Is there any one so foolish," asks Lactantius, "as to believe that there are antipodes with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upward and their heads hanging down? That there is a part of the world in which all things are topsy-turvy; where the trees grow with their branches downward, and where it rains, hails, and snows upwards? The idea of the roundness of the earth," he adds, "was the cause of inventing this fable; for these philosophers, having once erred, go on in their absurdities, defending one with another."

Objections of a graver nature, and more dignified tone, were advanced on the authority of St. Augustine. He pronounces the doctrine of antipodes incompatible with the historical foundations of our faith; since, to assert that there were inhabited lands on the opposite side of the globe, would be to maintain that there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean. This would be, therefore, to discredit the Bible, which expressly declares, that all men are descended from one common parent.

Such were the unlooked-for prejudices which Columbus had to encounter, at the very outset of his conference, and which certainly savor more of the convent than the university. To his simplest proposition, the spherical form of the earth, were opposed figurative texts of scripture. In the psalms, the heavens are said to be extended over the earth like a hide, that is to say, like the covering of a tent, which, among the ancient pastoral nations, was formed of the hides of animals. St. Paul also, in his epistle to the Hebrews, compares the heavens to a tabernacle or tent spread over the earth; hence these casuists maintained that the earth must be flat, like the bottom of the tent. Others admitted the globular form of the earth, and the possibility of an opposite and inhabitable hemisphere, but maintained that it would be impossible to arrive there, in consequence of the heat of the torrid zone. As for steering to the west in search of India, they observed that the circumference of the earth must be so great as to require at least three years to the voyage, and those who should undertake it must perish of hunger and

* Two celebrated literati of the church of the 4th century. Lactantius was an Italian, and Augustine was born in Tagaste, Africa.



THE CONFERENCE OF SALAMANCA.

The preponderating mass of inert Bigotry and learned Pride in the erudite Assembly, refuse to yield to the Demonstrations of an obscure Foreigner.
Painting by Nicolo Barabino in the Orsini Palace, Genoa

thirst, from the impossibility of carrying provisions for so long a period. Not the least absurd objection advanced, was, that should a ship even succeed in reaching the extremity of India, she could never get back again, for the rotundity of the globe would present a kind of mountain, up which it would be impossible for her to sail with the most favorable wind.

Such are specimens of the errors and prejudices, the mingled error and erudition, with which Columbus had to contend, throughout the examination of his theory. Many of these objections, however, which appear so glaringly absurd at the present day, were incident to the imperfect state of knowledge at the time. The rotundity of the earth was as yet a matter of mere speculation; no one could tell whether the ocean were not of too vast extent to be traversed; nor were the laws of specific gravity, and of central gravitation, ascertained, by which, granting the earth to be a sphere, the possibility of making a tour of it would be manifest.

When Columbus took his stand before this learned body, he had appeared the plain and simple navigator, somewhat daunted, perhaps, by the greatness of his task, and the august nature of his auditory; but he had a degree of religious feeling, which gave him a confidence in the execution of what he conceived his great errand, and he was of an ardent temperament, and became heated in action by his own generous fires. All the objections drawn from ancient philosophers, he met boldly and upon equal terms, for he was deeply studied on all points of cosmography, and he disproved many by his own experience, gathered in the course of his extensive voyages, in which he had penetrated both the torrid and the frozen zone. Nor was he to be daunted by the scriptural difficulties opposed to him, for here he was peculiarly at home. His contemporaries have spoken of his commanding person, his elevated demeanor, his air of authority, his kindling eye, and the persuasive intonations of his voice. How must they have given majesty and force to his words, as, casting aside his maps and charts, and discarding, for a time, his practical and scientific lore, his visionary spirit took fire, and he met his doctrinal opponents upon their own ground, pouring forth those magnificent texts of scripture, and those mysterious predictions of the prophets, which, in his enthusiastic moments, he considered as types and annunciations of the sublime discovery which he proposed!

It is but justice to add, that many of his learned hearers were convinced by his reasoning, and warmed by his eloquence; among the number of these was Diego de Deza, a worthy friar of the order of St. Dominic, at that time professor of theology in the convent of St. Stephen, but who became afterwards archbishop of Seville, the second ecclesiastical dignitary of Spain. He was an able and erudite man, above the narrow bigotry of bookish lore, and could appreciate the value of wisdom, even when uttered by unlearned lips. He seconded Columbus with all his powers and influence, and by their united efforts, they brought over several of the most intelligent men of the assembly. Still there was a preponderating mass of inert bigotry, and learned pride, in the erudite body, which refused to yield to the demonstrations of an obscure foreigner, without fortune or connections, or any academic honors. After this celebrated examination of Columbus, the board held occasional conferences, but without coming to any decision; Fernando de Talavera, to whom the matter was especially intrusted, had too little esteem for it, and was too much occupied by the stir and bustle of public concerns, to press it to a conclusion; his departure with the court from Cordova, early in the spring of 1487, put an end to the consultations, and left Columbus in a state of the most tantalizing suspense.

For several years he followed the movements of the court, continually flattered with hopes of success. Conferences were appointed at various places, but the tempest of warlike affairs, which hurried the court from place to place, and gave it the bustle and confusion of a camp, continually swept away all matters of less immediate importance. It has generally been supposed that these years of irksome solicitation were spent by Columbus in the drowsy attendance of ante-chambers; but, on the contrary, they were passed amidst scenes of peril and adventure, and, in following the court, he was led into some of the most striking situations of this wild, rugged and mountainous war. In one of the severest campaigns, he is said to have distinguished himself by his personal prowess. He was present at the sieges and surrenders of Malaga and Baza, and beheld El Zagal, the elder of the two rival kings of Granada, yield up his crown and possessions to the Spanish sovereigns. During the siege of Baza, two reverend friars, guardians of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, arrived in the Spanish camp, bearing a menace from the Grand Soldan of Egypt, that he would pu-



COLUMBUS DISTINGUISHES HIMSELF IN ONE OF THE SEVEREST CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE MOORS, BY HIS PERSONAL PROWESS.

to death all the Christians in his dominions, and destroy the sepulchre, if the sovereigns did not desist from the war against the Moslems of Granada. It is probable that the pious indignation excited by this threat in the bosom of Columbus, gave the first rise to a resolution which he entertained to the day of his death; this was, to devote the profits which he anticipated from his discoveries, to a crusade for the rescue of the holy sepulchre.



During this long course of application, Columbus partly defrayed his expenses by making maps and charts. He was occasionally assisted, also, by the purse of the worthy Friar Diego de Deza, and was sometimes a guest of Alonzo de Quintanilla. It is due to the sovereigns to say, also, that he was attached to the royal suite, and sums issued to defray his expenses, and lodgings provided for him, when summoned to follow this rambling and warlike court. Whenever the sovereigns had an interval of leisure, there seems to have been a disposition to attend to his proposition; but the hurry and tempest of the war returned, and the question was again swept away.

At length, in the winter of 1491, when the sovereigns were preparing to depart on their final campaign in the vega* of Granada,



Columbus, losing all patience, pressed for a decisive reply, and Fernando de Talavera was ordered, therefore, to hold a final conference, and to report the

*Vega; Spanish, a large plain.

decision of his learned brethren. He obeyed, and informed their majesties that the majority of the junto condemned the scheme as vain and impossible, and considered it unbecoming such great princes to engage in an undertaking of the kind, on such weak grounds as had been advanced.

A degree of consideration, however, had gradually grown up at court for the enterprise, and notwithstanding his unfavorable report, the sovereigns were unwilling to close the door on a project which might be of such important advantages. They informed Columbus, therefore, that the great cares and expenses of the war rendered it impossible for them to engage in any new enterprises for the present; but that, when the war should be concluded, they would have leisure and inclination to treat with him concerning his propositions.

This was but a starved reply to receive after so many years of weary attendance; Columbus considered it a mere evasion of the sovereigns to relieve themselves from his importunity, and, giving up all hope of countenance from the throne, he turned his back upon Seville, filled with disappointment and indignation.



THE COUNCIL OF SALAMANCA. FROM THE MONUMENT AT GENOA.

CHAPTER VIII.

COLUMBUS SEEKS PATRONAGE AMONG THE SPANISH GRANDEES. RETURNS TO THE CONVENT OF LA RABIDA. RESUMES HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVEREIGNS. (1491.)

COLUMBUS now looked round in search of some other source of patronage. He had received favorable letters both from the kings of England and of France; the king of Portugal, also, had invited him to return to his court; but he appears to have become attached to Spain, probably from its being the residence of Beatrix Enriquez, and his children. He sought, therefore, to engage the patronage of some one of those powerful Spanish grandees, who had vast possessions, exercised feudal rights, and were petty sovereigns in their domains. Among these, were the dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi; both had principalities lying along the seaboard, with armies of vassals, and ports and shipping at their command. Columbus had many interviews with the duke of Medina Sidonia, who was tempted for a time by the splendid prospects held out; but their very splendor threw a coloring of exaggeration over the enterprise, and he finally rejected it as the dream of an Italian visionary.



The duke of Medina Celi was still more favorable, and was actually on the point of granting him three or four caravels which lay ready for sea, in his harbor of Port St. Mary; but he suddenly changed his mind, fearing to awaken the jealousy of the crown, and to be considered as interfering with the views of the sovereigns, who he knew had been treating with Columbus. He advised him, therefore, to return once more to court, and he wrote a letter to the queen in favor of his project.

Columbus felt averse to the idea of subjecting himself again to the tantalizing delays and disappointments of the court, and determined to repair to Paris. He departed, therefore, for the convent of La Rabida, to seek his oldest son Diego, and leave him with his other son at Cordova.

When the worthy Friar Juan Perez de Marchena beheld Columbus arrive once more at the gate of his convent, after nearly seven years' fruitless solicitation at the court, and saw, by the humility of his garb, the poverty he had experienced, he was greatly moved; but when he found that he was on the point of leaving Spain, and carrying his proposition to another country, his patriotism took the alarm. He had been confessor to the queen, and knew her to be always accessible to persons of his sacred calling. He wrote a letter to her, therefore, earnestly vindicating the proposed scheme, and conjuring her not to turn a deaf ear to a matter of such vast importance; and he prevailed upon Columbus to delay his journey until an answer should be received.



THE FRIAR OF LA RABIDA PREVAILS UPON COLUMBUS TO DELAY HIS DEPARTURE FOR PARIS. FROM A PICTURE BY RAMON CUSIMONA Y BROQUERA.

The ambassador chosen by the little junto of the convent was one Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot of Lepe, who acquitted himself faithfully, expeditiously, and successfully, in his embassy. He found access to the benignant princess in the royal camp at Santa Fé, before Granada, and delivered the epistle of the friar. He returned in fourteen days, with a letter from the queen, thanking Juan Perez for his timely services, and requesting him to repair immediately to the court, leaving Columbus in confident hope of hearing farther from her. This royal epistle caused great exultation in the con-

vent. No sooner did the warm-hearted friar receive it, than he procured a mule, and departed instantly, before midnight, for the court. His sacred office, and his former relation as father confessor, gave him immediate admission to the queen, and great freedom of counsel. It is probable Isabella had never heard the proposition of Columbus urged with such honest zeal and impressive eloquence. She was naturally more sanguine and susceptible than the king, and more open to warm and generous impulses. Moved by the representations of Juan Perez, she requested that Columbus might be again sent to her, and kindly bethinking herself of his poverty, and his humble plight, ordered that a sufficient sum of money should be forwarded to him to defray his traveling expenses, to provide him with a mule for his journey, and to furnish him with decent raiment, that he might make a respectable appearance at the court. Columbus lost no time in complying with the commands of the queen. He exchanged his threadbare garment for one of more courtly texture, and, purchasing a mule, set out once more, reanimated by fresh hopes, for the camp before Granada.

He arrived in time to witness the memorable surrender of that capital to the Spanish arms. He beheld Boabdil el Chico, the last of the Moorish kings, sally forth from the Alhambra, and yield up the keys of that favorite seat of Moslem power; while the king and queen, with all the chivalry and magnificence of Spain, moved forward in proud and solemn procession, to receive this token of submission. It was one of the most brilliant triumphs in Spanish history. The air resounded with shouts of joy, with songs of triumph and hymns of thanksgiving. On every side were beheld military rejoicings and religious oblations. The court was thronged by the most illustrious of that warlike country, and stirring era; by the flower of its nobility, the most dignified of its prelacy, by bards and minstrels, and all the retinue of a romantic and picturesque age.

During this brilliant and triumphant scene, says an elegant Spanish writer, "A man, obscure and but little known, followed the court. Confounded in the crowd of importunate applicants, and feeding his imagination, in the corners of antechambers, with the pompous project of discovering a world, he was melancholy and dejected in the midst of the general rejoicing, and beheld with indifference, almost with contempt, the conclusion of a conquest

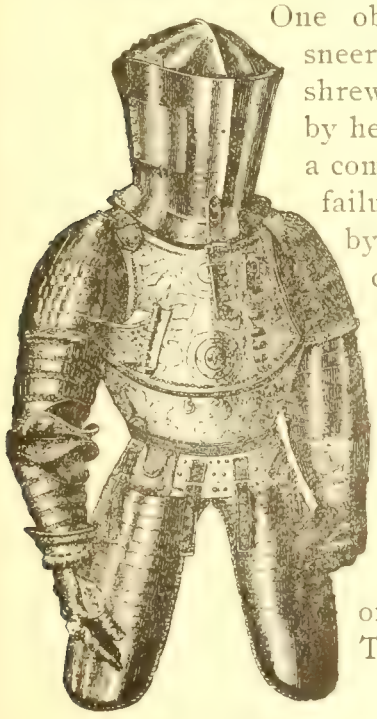
BOABDIL ("EL CHICO") LAST KING OF THE MOORS, SURRENDERS THE KEYS OF THE ALHAMBRA TO FERDINAND AND ISABELLA,
ON THE PLAIN OF SANTA FÉ DE GRANADA. PAINTING BY F PRADILLA.

which swelled all bosoms with jubilee, and seemed to have reached the utmost bounds of desire. That man was Christopher Columbus."



BOABDIL EL CHICO, LAST KING OF THE MOORS
PAINTING FROM THE FLEMISH SCHOOL OF THE 17TH CENTURY

The moment had now arrived, however, when the monarchs stood pledged to attend to his proposals. They kept their word, and persons of confidence were appointed to negotiate with him, among whom was Fernando de Talavera, who, by the recent conquest, had risen to be archbishop of Granada. At the very outset of their negotiation, however, unexpected difficulties arose. The principal stipulation of Columbus was, that he should be invested with the titles and privileges of admiral and viceroy, over the countries he should discover, with one tenth of all gains, either by trade or conquest. The courtiers who treated with him, were indignant at such a demand from one whom they had considered a needy adventurer. One observed with a sneer, that it was a shrewd arrangement which he proposed, whereby he was certain of the profits and honors of a command, and had nothing to lose in case of failure. To this Columbus promptly replied, by offering to furnish one eighth of the cost, on condition of enjoying an eighth of the profits. His terms, however, were pronounced inadmissible, and others were offered, of more moderate nature, but he refused to cede one point of his demands, and the negotiation was broken off.



COAT OF MAIL OF BOABDIL
ROYAL ARSENAL MADRID

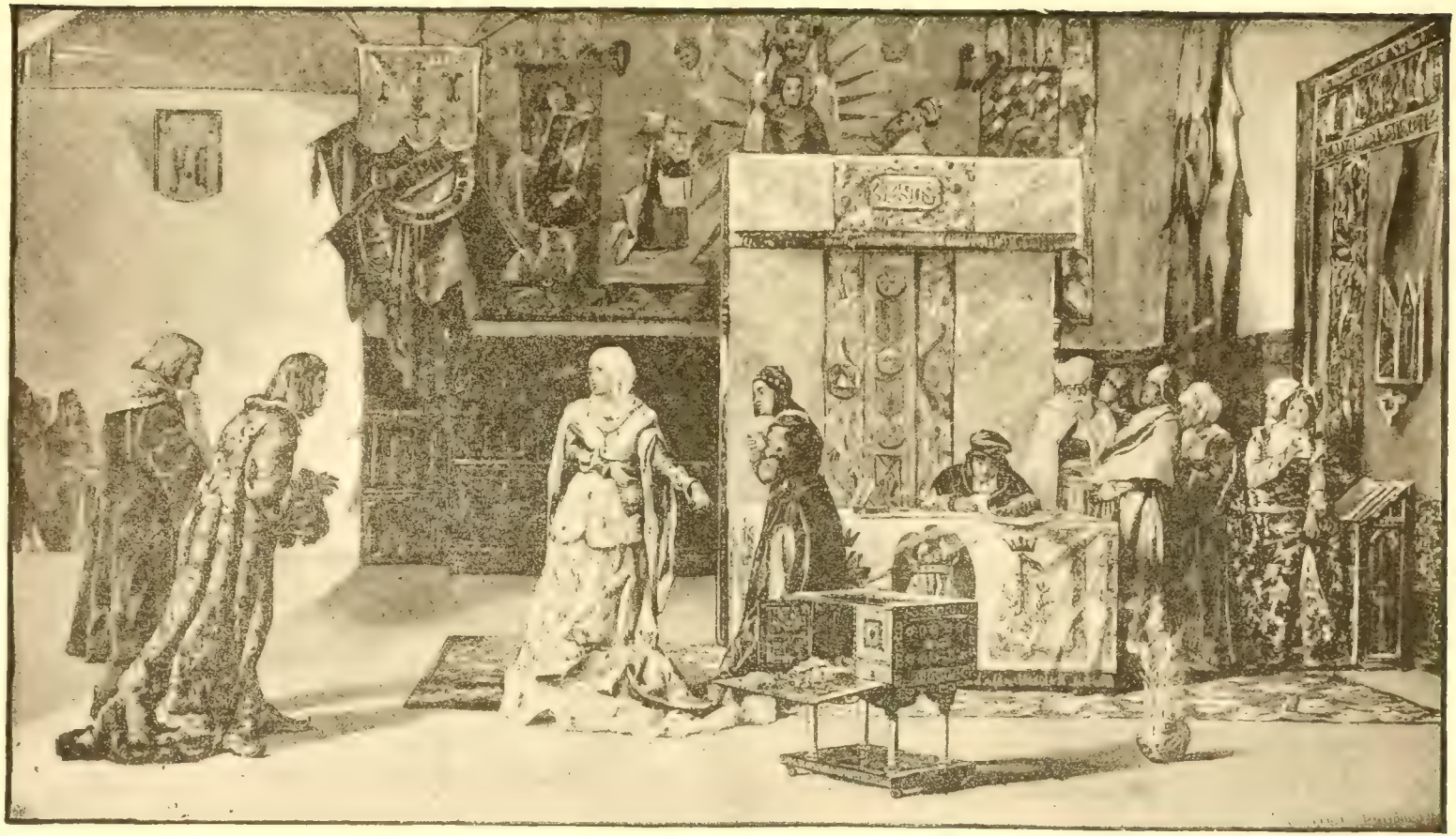
It is impossible not to admire the great constancy of purpose, and loftiness of spirit, here displayed by Columbus. Though so large a portion of life had

worn away in fruitless soliciting, during which he had experienced the bitterness of poverty, neglect, ridicule, and disappointment; though there was no certainty that he would not have to enter upon the same career at any other court; yet nothing could shake his perseverance, or make him descend to terms which he considered beneath the dignity of his enterprise. Indignant at the repeated disappointments he had experienced in Spain, he now determined to abandon it forever, and mounting his mule, sallied forth from Santa Fe,* on his way to Cordova, with the intention of immediately proceeding from thence to France.

When the few friends, who were zealous believers in the theory of Columbus, saw him on the point of abandoning the country, they were filled with distress. Among the number was Luis de St. Angel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues of Arragon, and Alonzo de Quintanilla, who determined to make one bold effort to avert the evil. They hastened to the queen, and St. Angel addressed her with a courage and eloquence inspired by the exigency of the moment. He did not confine himself to entreaties, but almost mingled reproaches. He expressed his astonishment that a queen who had evinced the spirit to undertake so many great and perilous enterprises, should hesitate at one where the loss could be but trifling, while the gain might be incalculable; for all that was required for this great expedition was but two vessels, and about thirty thousand crowns, and Columbus himself had offered to bear an eighth of the expense. He reminded her how much might be done for the glory of God, the promotion of the Christian faith, and the extension of her own power and dominion, should this enterprise be adopted; but what cause of regret it would be to herself, of sorrow to her friends, and triumph to her enemies, should it be rejected by her, and accomplished by some other power. He vindicated the judgment of Columbus, and the soundness and practicability of his plans, and observed, that even a failure would reflect no disgrace upon the crown. It was worth the trouble and expense to clear up even a doubt, upon a matter of such importance, for it belonged to enlightened and magnanimous princes, to investigate questions of the kind, and to explore the wonders and secrets of the universe.

These, and many more arguments, were urged, with that per-

* Santa Fé, was a camp town on the Jenil, near Granada, occupied by Ferdinand and Isabella.



ISABELLA OFFERS TO PLEDGE HER JEWELS TO DEFRAY THE EXPENSE OF THE FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS:
"I UNDERTAKE THE ENTERPRISE FOR MY OWN CROWN OF CASTILE," SHE EXCLAIMED,
WITH ENTHUSIASM WORTHY OF HERSELF, AND OF THE CAUSE.
PAINTING BY MUNOZ DEGRAIN.

suasive power which honest zeal imparts. The generous spirit of Isabella was enkindled, and it seemed as if the subject, for the first time, broke upon her mind in its real grandeur. She declared her resolution to undertake the enterprise, but paused for a moment, remembering that King Ferdinand looked coldly on the affair, and that the royal treasury was absolutely drained by the war. Her suspense was but momentary. With an enthusiasm worthy of herself and of the cause, she exclaimed, "I undertake the enterprise for my own crown of Castile, and will pledge my jewels to raise the necessary funds." This was the proudest moment in the life of Isabella; it stamped her renown forever as the patroness of the discovery of the New World.

St. Angel, eager to secure this favorable resolution, assured her majesty that there would be no need of pledging her jewels, as he was ready to advance the necessary funds, as a loan, from the treasury of Arragon; his offer was gladly accepted.

Columbus had proceeded on his solitary journey across the vega* of Granada, and had reached the bridge of Pinos, about two leagues from that city, a pass famous for bloody encounters during the Moorish wars. Here he was overtaken by a courier sent after him in all speed by the queen, requesting him to return to Santa Fé. He hesitated, for a moment, to subject himself again to the delays and equivocations of the court; but when he was informed that Isabella had positively undertaken the enterprise, and pledged her royal word, every doubt was dispelled, he turned the reins of his mule, and hastened back joyfully to Santa Fé, confiding implicitly in the noble probity of that princess.



THE RECALL OF COLUMBUS AT THE BRIDGE OF PINOS. DRAWING BY F. H. LUNGREN.

*Vega (Spanish) a fertile plain. The plain around Granada measures 32 miles in circumference.

CHAPTER IX.

ARRANGEMENT WITH THE SPANISH SOVEREIGNS. PREPARATION FOR THE EXPEDITION AT THE PORT OF PALOS. 1492.

ON arriving at Santa Fé, Columbus had an immediate audience of the queen, and the benignity with which she received him, atoned for all past neglect. Through deference to the zeal she thus suddenly displayed, the king yielded his tardy concurrence, but Isabella was the soul of this grand enterprise. She was prompted by lofty and generous enthusiasm, while the king remained cold and calculating, in this as in all his other undertakings.



ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC.

PORTRAIT FORMERLY IN POSSESSION OF THE CARTHUSIAN SCHOOL OF MIRAFLORES IN BURGOS, NOW THE PROPERTY OF THE MARQUIS DE PECAL

A perfect understanding being thus effected with the sovereigns, articles of agreement were drawn out by Juan de Coloma, the royal secretary. They were to the following effect:—

1. That Columbus should have, for himself, during his life, and his heirs and successors forever, the office of high admiral in all the seas, lands, and continents, he might discover, with similar honors and prerogatives to those enjoyed by the high admiral of Castile in his district.

2. That he should be viceroy and governor-general over all the said lands and continents, with the privilege of nominat-



SIGNING OF THE ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SPANISH SOVEREIGNS AND COLUMBUS, APRIL 17, 1492.

THE ARABIC MOTTO RUNNING AROUND THE ROOM AS A WALL DECORATION IS THE CELEBRATED ONE OF THE KINGS OF GRANADA: "THERE IS NO CONQUEROR BUT GOD." DRAWING BY ED. JOHNSON.

ing three candidates for the government of each island or province, one of whom should be selected by the sovereigns.

3. That he should be entitled to one-tenth of all free profits, arising from the merchandise and productions of the countries within his admiralty.

4. That he, or his lieutenant, should be the sole judge of causes and disputes arising out of traffic between those countries and Spain.

5. That he might then, and at all aftertimes, contribute an eighth part of the expense of expeditions to sail to the countries he expected to discover, and should receive in consequence an eighth part of the profits.

These capitulations were signed by Ferdinand and Isabella, at the city of Santa Fé, in the vega or plain of Granada, on the 17th of April, 1492. All the royal documents, issued in consequence, bore equally the signatures of Ferdinand and Isabella, but her separate crown of Castile defrayed all the expense. As to the money advanced by St. Angel out of the treasury of King Ferdinand, that prudent monarch indemnified himself, some few years afterwards, by employing some of the first gold brought by Columbus from the new world to gild the vaults and ceilings of the grand saloon, in his royal palace of Saragossa, in Arragon.

One of the great objects held out by Columbus in his undertaking, was, the propagation of the Christian faith. He expected to arrive at the extremity of Asia, or India, as it was then generally termed, at the vast empire of the Grand Khan, of whose maritime provinces of Mangi and Cathay, and their dependent islands, since ascertained to be a part of the kingdom of China, the most magnificent accounts had been given by Marco Polo. Various missions had been sent, in former times, by popes and pious sovereigns, to instruct this oriental potentate, and his subjects, in the doctrines of Christianity. Columbus hoped to effect this grand work, and to spread the light of the true faith among the barbarous countries and nations that were to be discovered in the unknown parts of the East. Isabella, from pious zeal, and Ferdinand from mingled notions of bigotry and ambition, accorded with his views, and when he afterwards departed on this voyage, letters were actually given him, by the sovereigns, for the Grand Khan of Tartary.

The ardent enthusiasm of Columbus did not stop here. Recol-

lecting the insolent threat once made by the soldan of Egypt, to destroy the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, he proposed that the profits which might arise from his discoveries, should be consecrated to a crusade for the rescue of the holy edifice from the power of the Infidels. The sovereigns smiled at this sally of the imagination, and expressed themselves well pleased with the idea; but what they may have considered a mere momentary thought, was a deep and cherished design of Columbus. It is a curious and characteristic fact, which has never been particularly noticed, that the recovery of the holy sepulchre was the leading object of his ambition, meditated throughout the remainder of his life, and solemnly provided for in his will, and that he considered his great discovery but as a preparatory dispensation of Providence, to furnish means for its accomplishment.

The port of Palos de Moguer, in Andalusia, was fixed upon as the place where the armament for the expedition was to be fitted out, the community of the place being obliged, in consequence of some misdemeanor, to serve the crown for one year with two armed caravels. A royal order was issued, commanding the authorities of Palos to have these caravels ready for sea within ten days, and to yield them and their crews to the command of Columbus. The latter was likewise empowered to fit out a third vessel; nor was any restriction put upon his voyage, excepting that he should not go to the coast of Guinea, or any other of the lately discovered possessions of Portugal. Orders were likewise issued by the sovereigns, commanding the inhabitants of the seaboard of Andalusia, to furnish supplies and assistance of all kinds for the expedition, at a reasonable rate, and threatening severe penalties to such as should cause any impediment.

As a mark of particular favor to Columbus, Isabella, before his departure from the court, appointed his son Diego page to Prince Juan, the heir apparent, an honor granted only to the sons of persons of distinguished rank. Thus gratified in his dearest wishes, Columbus took leave of the court on the 12th of May, and set out joyfully for Palos. Let those who are disposed to faint under difficulties, in the prosecution of any great and worthy undertaking, remember that



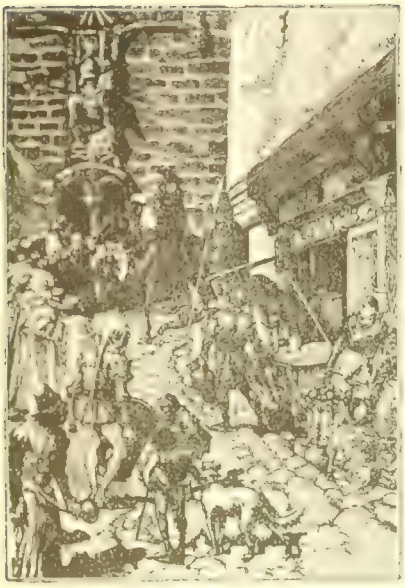


A PAGE OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

eighteen years elapsed after Columbus conceived his enterprise, before he was enabled to carry it into effect, that the most of that time was passed in almost hopeless solicitation, amidst poverty, neglect, and taunting ridicule; that the prime of his life had wasted away in the struggle; and that when his perseverance was finally crowned with success, he was about fifty-six years of age. His example should teach the enterprising never to despair.

When Columbus arrived at Palos, and presented himself once more before the gates of the convent of La Rabida, he was received with open arms by the worthy Juan Perez, and again entertained as his guest. The zealous friar accompanied him to the parochial church of St. George, in Palos, where Columbus caused the royal order for the caravels to be read by a notary public, in presence of the authorities of the place. Nothing could equal the astonishment and horror of the people of this maritime community, when they heard of the nature of the expedition, in which they were ordered to engage. They considered the ships and crews demanded of them, in the light of sacrifices devoted to destruction. All the frightful tales and fables with which ignorance and superstition are prone to people obscure and distant regions, were conjured up concerning the unknown parts of the deep, and the boldest seamen shrunk from such a wild and chimerical cruise into the wilderness of the ocean.

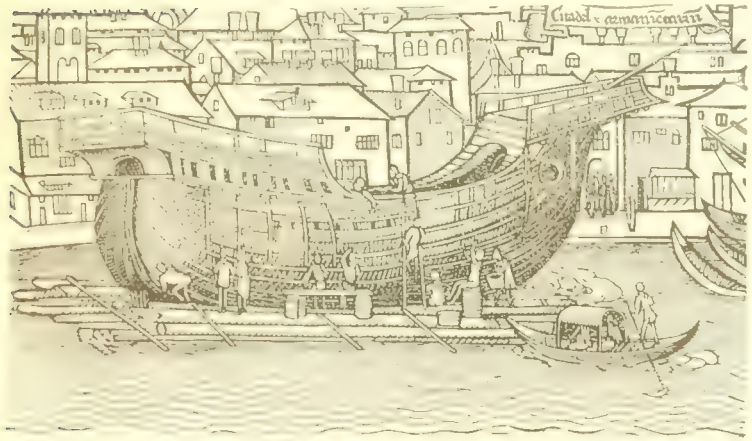
Repeated mandates were issued by the sovereigns, ordering the magistrates of Palos, and the neighboring town of Moguer, to press into the service any Spanish vessels and crews they might think proper, and threatening severe punishments on all who should prove refractory. It was all in vain, the communities of those places were thrown into complete confusion, tumults and alterca



tions took place, but nothing of consequence was effected.

At length, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the wealthy and enterprising navigator, who has already been mentioned, came forward and engaged personally in the expedition. He and his brother Vincente Yañez Pinzon, who was likewise a navigator of great courage and ability, possessed vessels, and had seamen in their employ. They were related to many of the seafaring inhabitants of Palos and Moguer, and had great influence throughout the neighborhood. It is supposed that they furnished Columbus with funds to pay the eighth share of the expense, which he had engaged to advance. They furnished two of the vessels required, and determined to sail in the expedition. Their example and persuasions had a wonderful effect; a great many of their relations and friends agreed to embark, and the vessels were ready for sea within a month after they had engaged in their enterprise.

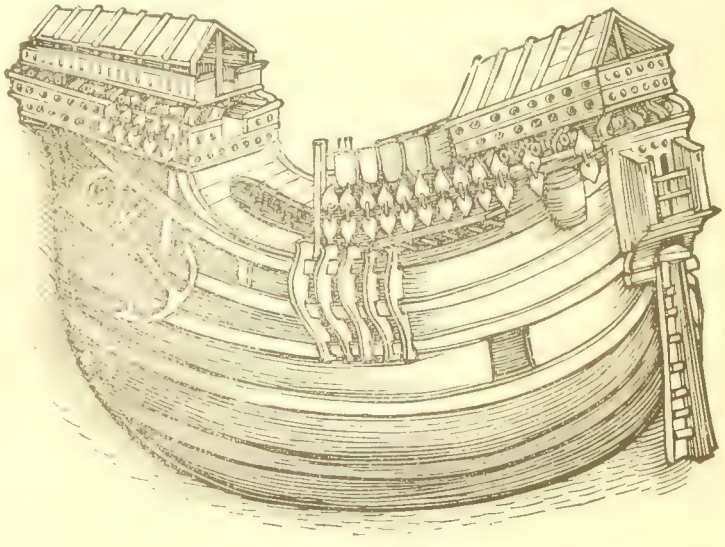
During the equipment of the armament, various difficulties occurred. A third vessel, called the Pinta, had been pressed into the service, with its crew. The owners, Gomez Rascon, and Christoval Quintero, were strongly repugnant to the voyage, as were most of the mariners under them. These people, and their friends, endeavored in various ways to retard or defeat the voyage. The caulkers did their work in a careless manner, and, on being ordered to do it over again, absconded; several of the seamen who had enlisted willingly, repented and deserted. Every thing had to be effected by harsh and arbitrary measures, and in defiance of popular opposition.



At length, by the beginning of August, every difficulty was vanquished, and the vessels were ready for sea. After all the ob-

jections made by various courts, to undertake this expedition, it is surprising how inconsiderable an armament was required. Two of the vessels were light barques, called caravels, not superior to river and coasting craft of modern days. They were built high at the prow and stern, with forecastles and cabins for the crew, but were without deck in the centre. Only one of the three, called the Santa Maria, was completely decked, on board of which Columbus hoisted his flag. Martin Alonzo Pinzon commanded one of the caravels, called the Pinta, and was accompanied by his brother, Francisco Martin, as mate or pilot. The other, called the Niña, had latine sails,* and was commanded by Vincente Yañez Pinzon; on board of this vessel went Garcia Fernandez, the physician of Palos, in the capacity of steward. There were three other able pilots, Sancho Ruiz, Pedro Alonzo Niño, and Bartholomew Roldan, and the whole number of persons embarked was one hundred and twenty.

The squadron being ready to put to sea, Columbus confessed himself to the friar Juan Perez, and partook of the communion, and his example was followed by the officers and crews, committing themselves, with the most devout and affecting ceremonials, to the especial guidance and protection of Heaven, in this perilous enterprise. A deep gloom was spread over the whole community of Palos, for almost every one had some relation or friend on board of the squadron. The spirits of the seamen, already depressed by their own fears, were still more cast down, at beholding the affliction of those they left behind, who took leave of them with tears and lamentations and dismal forebodings, as of men they were never to behold again.



COPY OF THE ARMS OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF A WOOD CUT FROM THE SCHOOL OF ALBRECHT DURER.

* Three cornered sails, also called reed sails. They hang on a tree, fastened in a diagonal manner to the mast.



THE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS, THE SANTA MARIA, NINA AND PINTA. RESTORED FROM THE MODELS IN THE MARINE MUSEUM, MADRID.

CHAPTER X.

EVENTS OF THE FIRST VOYAGE. DISCOVERY OF LAND. (1492.)

IT was early in the morning of Friday, the 3d of August, 1492, that Columbus set sail from the bar of Saltes, a small island formed by the rivers Odiel and Tinto, in front of Palos, steering for the Canary Islands, from whence he intended to strike due west. As a guide by which to sail, he had the conjectural map or chart, sent him by Paolo Toscanelli of Florence. In this it is supposed the coasts of Europe and Africa, from the south of Ireland to the end of Guinea, were delineated as immediately opposite to the extremity of Asia, while the great island of Cipango, described by Marco Polo, lay between them, fifteen hundred miles from the Asiatic coast; at this island Columbus expected first to arrive.

On the third day after setting sail, the Pinta made signal of distress, her rudder being broken and unhung. This was suspected to have been done through the contrivance of the owners, Gomez

Rascon and Christoval Quintero, to disable the vessel, and cause her to be left behind. Columbus was much disturbed at this occurrence. It gave him a foretaste of the difficulties to be apprehended, from people partly enlisted on compulsion, and full of doubt and foreboding. Trivial obstacles might, in this early stage of the voyage, spread panic and mutiny through his crews, and induce them to renounce the prosecution of the enterprise.

Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who commanded the Pinta, secured the rudder with cords, but these fastenings soon gave way, and the caravel proving defective in other respects, Columbus remained three weeks cruising among the Canary Islands, in search of another vessel to replace her. Not being able to find one, the Pinta was repaired, and furnished with a new rudder. The latine sails of the Niña were also altered into square sails, that she might work more steadily and securely. While making these repairs, and taking in wood and water, Columbus was informed that three Portuguese caravels had been seen hovering off the island of Ferro. Dreading some hostile stratagem, on the part of the king of Portugal, in revenge for his having embarked in the service of Spain, he put to sea early on the morning of the 6th of September, but for three days a profound calm detained the vessels within a short distance of the land. This was a tantalizing delay, for Columbus trembled lest something should occur to defeat his expedition, and was impatient to find himself far upon the ocean, out of sight of either land or sail; which, in the pure atmosphere of these latitudes, may be descried at an immense distance.

On Sunday, the 9th of September, as day broke, he beheld Ferro about nine leagues distant; he was in the very neighborhood, therefore, where the Portuguese caravels had been seen. Fortunately a breeze sprang up with the sun, and in the course of the day the heights of Ferro gradually faded from the horizon.

On losing sight of this last trace of land, the hearts of the crews failed them, for they seemed to have taken leave of the world. Behind them was every thing dear to the heart of man—country, family, friends, life itself; before them every thing was chaos, mystery, and peril. In the perturbation of the moment, they despaired of ever more seeing their homes. Many of the rugged seamen shed tears, and some broke into loud lamentations. Columbus tried in every way to soothe their distress, describing

the splendid countries to which he expected to conduct them, and promising them land, riches, and every thing that could arouse their cupidity or inflame their imaginations; nor were these promises made for purposes of deception, for he certainly believed he should realize them all.

He now gave orders to the commanders of the other vessels, in case they should be separated by any accident, to continue directly westward; but that after sailing seven hundred leagues, they should lay by from midnight until daylight, as at about that distance he confidently expected to find land. Foreseeing that the vague terrors already awakened among the seamen would increase with the space which intervened between them and their homes, he commenced a stratagem which he continued throughout the voyage. This was to keep two reckonings, one private, in which the true way of the ship was noted, and which he retained in secret for his own government; the other public, for general inspection, in which a number of leagues was daily subtracted from the sailing of the ships, so as to keep the crews in ignorance of the real distance they had advanced.

When about one hundred and fifty leagues* west of Ferro, they fell in with part of a mast of a large vessel, and the crews, tremblingly alive to every portent, looked with a rueful eye upon this fragment of a wreck, drifting ominously at the entrance of these unknown seas.

On the 13th of September, in the evening, Columbus, for the first time, noticed the variation of the needle, a phenomenon which had never before been remarked. He at first made no mention of it, lest his people should be alarmed; but it soon attracted the attention of the pilots, and filled them with consternation. It seemed as if the very laws of Nature were changing as they advanced, and that they were entering another world subject to unknown influences. They apprehended that the compass was about to lose its mysterious virtues, and, without this guide, what was to become of them in a vast and trackless ocean? Columbus taxed his science and ingenuity for reasons with which to allay their terrors. He told them that the direction of the needle was not to the polar star, but to some fixed and invisible point. The variation, therefore, was not caused by any fallacy in the compass, but by the movement of

* A Spanish nautical mile equal to about four English miles.

the north star itself, which, like the other heavenly bodies, had its changes and revolutions, and every day described a circle round the pole. The high opinion they entertained of Columbus as a profound astronomer, gave weight to his theory, and their alarm subsided.

They had now arrived within the influence of the trade wind, which, following the sun, blows steadily from east to west between the tropics, and sweeps over a few adjoining degrees of the ocean. With this propitious breeze directly aft, they were wafted gently but speedily over a tranquil sea, so that for many days they did not

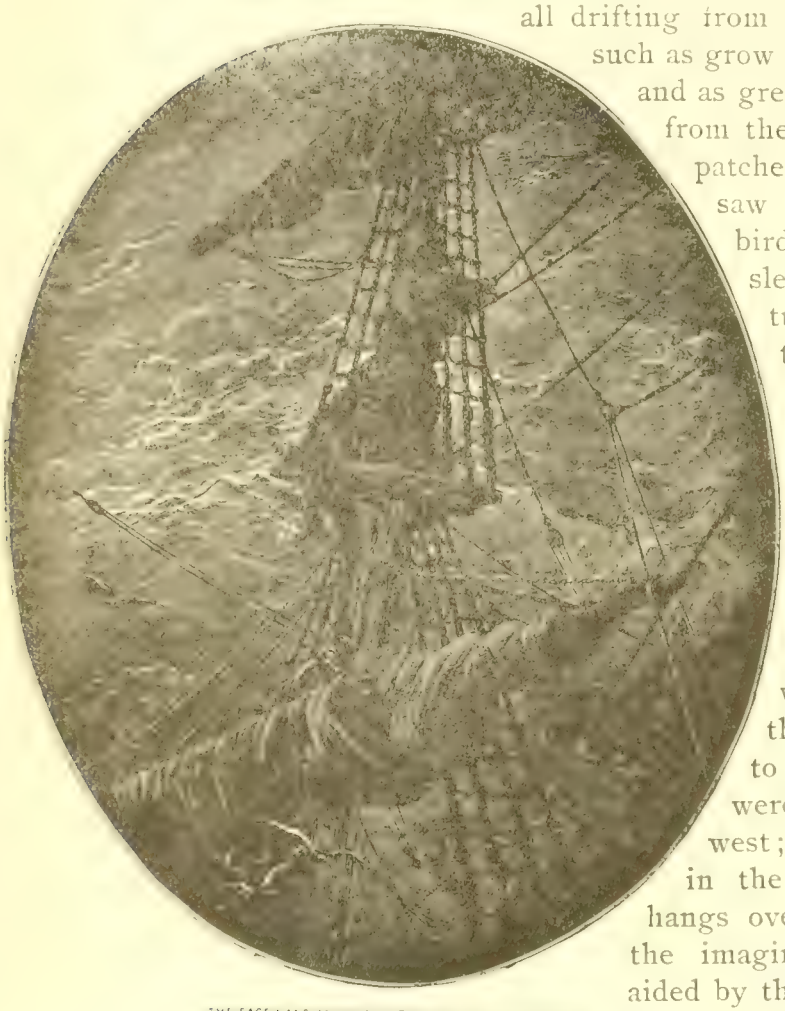


COLUMBUS NOTICES FOR THE FIRST TIME THE VARIATION OF THE NEEDLE.

PAINTING BY C. V. PILOTY. SEE PAGE 131

shift a sail. Columbus in his journal perpetually recurs to the bland and temperate serenity of the weather, and compares the pure and balmy mornings to those of April in Andalusia, observing, that the song of the nightingale was alone wanting to complete the illusion.

They now began to see large patches of herbs and weeds all drifting from the west. Some were such as grow about rocks or in rivers, and as green as if recently washed from the land. On one of the patches was a live crab. They saw also a white tropical bird, of a kind which never sleeps upon the sea; and tunny fish played about the ships. Columbus now supposed himself arrived in the weedy sea described by Aristotle, into which certain ships of Cadiz had been driven by an impetuous east wind.

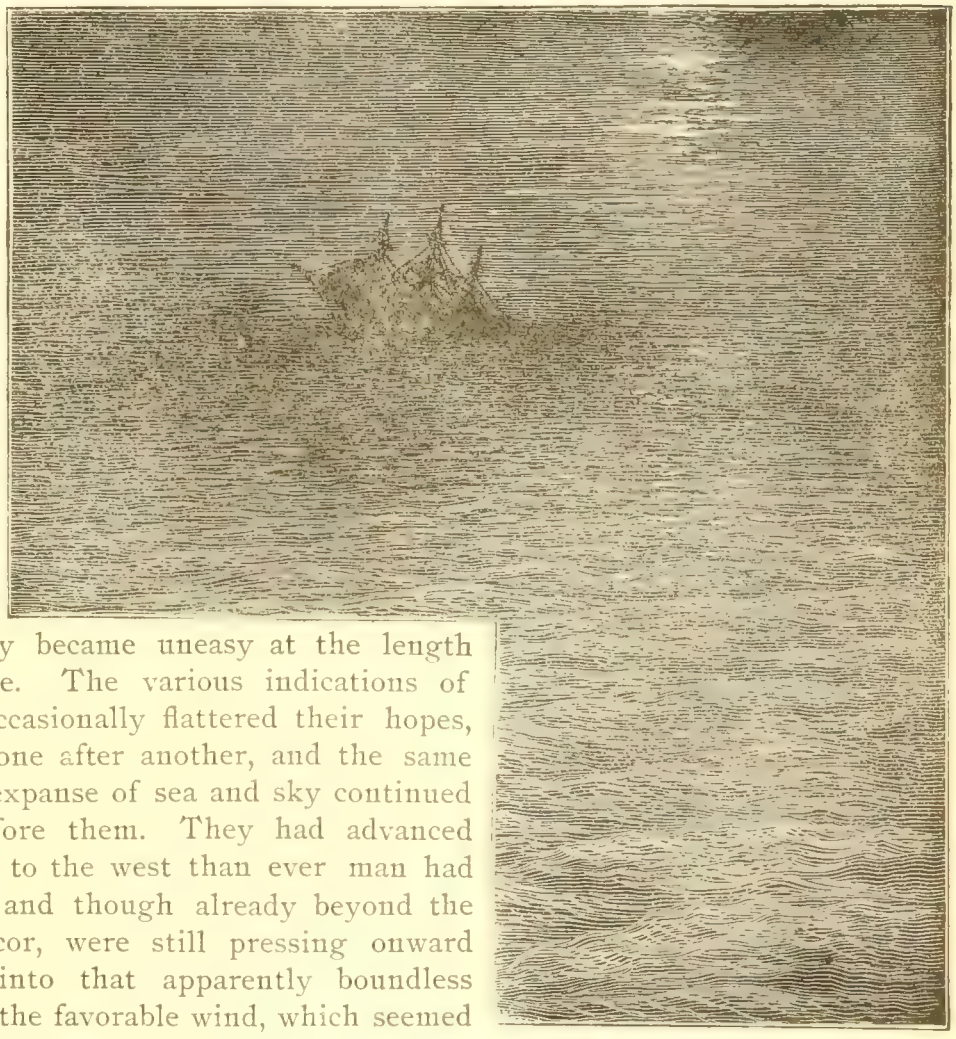


THE EAGER AND ANXIOUS WATCH FROM THE MASTHEAD.

As he advanced, there were various other signs that gave great animation to the crews, many birds were seen flying from the west; there was a cloudiness in the north, such as often hangs over land; and at sunset the imagination of the seamen, aided by their desires, would shape those clouds into distant islands. Every one was eager to be the first to behold and announce the wished-for shore; for the sovereigns had promised a pension of thirty crowns to whomsoever should first discover land. Columbus sounded occasionally with a line of two hundred fathoms,* but found no bo

* Fathom, equal to six feet.

tom. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, as well as others of his officers, and many of the seamen, were often solicitous for Columbus to alter his course, and steer in the direction of these favorable signs; but he persevered in steering to the westward, trusting that, by keeping in one steady direction, he should reach the coast of India, even if he should miss the intervening islands, and might then seek them on his return.



BECALMED IN THE SARGASSO SEA. (SEE PAGE 182.)

Notwithstanding the precaution which had been taken to keep the people ignorant of the distance they had sailed, they gradually became uneasy at the length of the voyage. The various indications of land which occasionally flattered their hopes, passed away one after another, and the same interminable expanse of sea and sky continued to extend before them. They had advanced much farther to the west than ever man had sailed before, and though already beyond the reach of succor, were still pressing onward and onward into that apparently boundless abyss. Even the favorable wind, which seemed as if providentially sent to waft them to the New World with such bland and gentle breezes, was conjured by their fears into a source of alarm. They feared that the wind in these seas always prevailed from the east, and if so, would never permit their return to Spain. A few light breezes from the west allayed for a time their last apprehension, and several small

birds, such as keep about groves and orchards, came singing in the morning, and flew away at night. Their song was wonderfully cheering to the hearts of the poor mariners, who hailed it as the voice of land. The birds they had hitherto seen had been large and strong of wing; but such small birds, they observed, were too feeble to fly far, and their singing showed that they were not exhausted by their flight.

On the following day there was a profound calm, and the sea, as far as the eye could reach, was covered with weeds, so as to have the appearance of a vast inundated meadow, a phenomenon attributed to the immense quantities of submarine plants which are detached by the currents from the bottom of the ocean. The seamen now feared that the sea was growing shallow; they dreaded lurking rocks, and shoals, and quicksands, and that their vessels might run aground, as it were, in the midst of the ocean, far out of the track of human aid, and with no shore where the crews could take refuge. Columbus proved the fallacy of this alarm, by sounding with a deep sea-line, and finding no bottom.

For three days there was a continuance of light summer airs, from the southward and westward, and the sea was as smooth as a mirror. The crews now became uneasy at the calmness of the weather. They observed that the contrary winds they experienced were transient and unsteady, and so light as not to ruffle the surface of the sea, the only winds of constancy and force were from the west, and even those had not power to disturb the torpid stillness of the ocean: there was a risk, therefore, either of perishing amidst stagnant and shoreless waters, or of being prevented, by contrary winds, from ever returning to their native country.

Columbus continued, with admirable patience, to reason with these absurd fancies, but in vain; when fortunately there came on a heavy swell of the sea, unaccompanied by wind, a phenomenon that often occurs in the broad ocean, caused by the impulse of some past gale, or distant current of wind. It was, nevertheless, regarded with astonishment by the mariners, and dispelled the imaginary terrors occasioned by the calm.

The situation of Columbus was daily becoming more and more critical. The impatience of the seamen rose to absolute mutiny. They gathered together in the retired parts of the ships, at first in little knots of two and three, which gradually increased and became

formidable, joining in murmurs and menaces against the admiral. They exclaimed against him as an ambitious desperado, who, in a mad phantasy, had determined to do something extravagant to render himself notorious. What obligation bound them to persist, or when were the terms of their agreement to be considered as fulfilled? They had already penetrated into seas untraversed by a sail, and where man had never before adventured. Were they to sail on until they should perish, or until all return with their frail ships should become impossible? Who would blame them should they consult their safety and return? The admiral was a foreigner, without friends or influence. His scheme had been condemned by the learned as idle and visionary, and discountenanced by people of all ranks. There was, therefore, no party on his side, but rather a large number who would be gratified by his failure.



MARTIN ALONZO PINZON MISTAKES AN EVENING CLOUD FOR LAND.

Such are some of the reasonings by which these men prepared themselves for open rebellion. Some even proposed, as an effectual mode of silencing all after-complaints of the admiral, that they should throw him into the sea, and give out that he had fallen overboard, while contemplating the stars and signs of the heavens, with his astronomical instruments.

Columbus was not ignorant of these secret cabals, but he kept a serene and steady countenance, soothing some with gentle words, stimulating the pride or the avarice of others, and openly menacing the most refractory with punishment. New hopes diverted them for a time. On the 25th of September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon mounted on the stern of his vessel, and shouted,

"Land! land! Señor, I claim the reward!" There was, indeed, such an appearance of land in the southwest, that Columbus threw himself upon his knees, and returned thanks to God, and all the crews joined in chanting *Gloria in excelsis.** The ships altered their course, and stood all night to the southwest, but the morning light put an end to all their hopes as to a dream: the fancied land proved to be nothing but an evening cloud, and had vanished in the night.

For several days, they continued on with alternate hopes and murmurs, until the various signs of land became so numerous, that the seamen, from a state of despondency, passed to one of high excitement. Eager to obtain the promised pension, they were continually giving the cry of land; until Columbus declared, that should any one give a notice of the kind, and land not be discovered within three days afterwards, he should thenceforth forfeit all claim to the reward.

On the 7th of October, they had come seven hundred and fifty leagues, the distance at which Columbus had computed to find the island of Cipango. There were great flights of small field birds to the southwest, which seemed to indicate some neighboring land in that direction, where they were sure of food and a resting place. Yielding to the solicitations of Martin Alonzo Pinzon and his brothers, Columbus, on the evening of the 7th, altered his course, therefore, to the west-southwest. As he advanced, the signs of land increased; the birds came singing about the ships; and herbage floated by as fresh and green as if recently from shore. When, however, on the evening of the third day of this new course, the seamen beheld the sun go down upon a shoreless horizon, they again broke forth into loud clamors, and insisted upon abandoning the voyage. Columbus endeavored to pacify them by gentle words and liberal promises; but finding these only increased their violence, he assumed a different tone, and told them it was useless to murmur; the expedition had been sent by the sovereigns to seek the Indies, and happen what might, he was determined to persevere, until, by the blessing of God, he should accomplish the enterprise.

He was now at open defiance with his crew, and his situation would have been desperate, but, fortunately, the manifestations of land on the following day were such as no longer to admit of doubt.

*Gloria in excelsis, Latin beginning of the hymn, "Praise God from whom all blessings fl w."



THE MUTINY ABOARD THE SANTA MARIA.

COLUMBUS ENDEAVORS TO PACIFY HIS CREW BY GENTLE WORDS AND LIBERAL PROMISES.

DRAWING BY F. H. LUNGREN

A green fish, such as keeps about rocks, swam by the ships; and a branch of thorn, with berries on it, floated by; they picked up, also, a reed, a small board, and, above all, a staff artificially carved. All gloom and murmuring was now at an end, and throughout the day each one was on the watch for the long-sought land.

In the evening, when, according to custom, the mariners had sung the *salve regina*, or vesper hymn to the Virgin, Columbus made an impressive address to his crew, pointing out the goodness of God in thus conducting them by soft and favoring breezes across a tranquil ocean to the promised land. He expressed a strong confidence of making land that very night, and ordered that a vigilant lookout should be kept from the forecastle, promising to whomsoever should make the discovery, a doublet of velvet, in addition to the pension to be given by the sovereigns.



COLUMBUS AND PEDRO GUTIERREZ WATCHING THE GLIMMERING LIGHT IN THE NIGHT OF OCTOBER 11TH. FROM A PAINTING BY E. LAMBERT-ESCURAL.

The breeze had been fresh all day, with more sea than usual; at sunset they stood again to the west, and were ploughing the waves at a rapid rate, the Pinta keeping the lead from her superior sailing. The greatest animation prevailed throughout the ships; not an eye was closed that night. As the evening darkened, Columbus took his station on the top of the castle or cabin on the high poop of his vessel. However he might carry a cheerful and confident countenance during the day, it was to him a time of the most painful anxiety; and now when he was wrapped from observation by the shades of night, he maintained an intense and unremitting watch, ranging his eye along the dusky horizon, in search of the most vague indications of land. Suddenly, about ten o'clock, he thought he beheld a light glimmering at a distance. Fearing that his eager hopes might deceive him, he called Pedro Gutierrez, a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, and demanded whether he saw a light in that direction; the latter replied in the affirmative. Columbus, yet doubtful whether it might not be some delusion of the fancy, called Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and made the same inquiry. By the time the latter had ascended the round-house, the light had disappeared. They saw it once or twice afterwards in sudden and passing gleams, as if it were a torch in the



THE MORNING OF OCTOBER 12TH, 1492,
ABOARD THE SANTA MARIA.
PAINTING BY RUBENS.

bark of a fisherman, rising and sinking with the waves; or in the hands of some person on shore, borne up and down as he walked from house to house. So transient and uncertain were these gleams, that few attached any importance to them; Columbus, however, considered them as certain signs of land, and, moreover, that the land was inhabited.

They continued on their course until two in the morning, when a gun from the Pinta gave the joyful signal of land. It was first discovered by a mariner named Rodriguez Bermejo, resident of Triana, a suburb of Seville, but native of Alcala de la Guadaira: but the reward was afterwards adjudged to the Admiral, for having previously perceived the light. The land was now clearly seen about two leagues distant, whereupon they took in sail, and laid to, waiting impatiently for the dawn.

The thoughts and feelings of Columbus in this little space of time must have been tumultuous and intense. At length, in spite of every difficulty and danger, he had accomplished his object. The great mystery of the ocean was revealed; his theory, which had been the scoff of sages, was triumphantly established; he had secured to himself a glory which must be as durable as the world itself.

It is difficult even for the imagination to conceive the feelings of such a man, at the moment of so sublime a discovery. What a bewildering crowd of conjectures must have thronged upon his mind, as to the land which lay before him, covered with darkness! That it was fruitful was evident from the vegetables which floated from its shores. He thought, too, that he perceived in the balmy air the fragrance of aromatic groves. The moving light which he had beheld, proved that it was the residence of man. But what were its inhabitants? Were they like those of other parts of the globe; or were they some strange and monstrous race, such as the imagination in those times was prone to give to all remote and unknown regions? Had he come upon some wild island, far in the Indian seas; or was this the famed Cipango itself, the object of his golden fancies? A thousand speculations of the kind must have swarmed upon him, as he watched for the night to pass away; wondering whether the morning light would reveal a savage wilderness, or dawn upon spicy groves, and glittering fanes, and gilded cities, and all the splendors of oriental civilization.

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST LANDING OF COLUMBUS IN THE NEW WORLD. CRUISE AMONG THE BAHAMA ISLANDS. DISCOVERY OF CUBA AND HISPANIOLA. 1492.

WHEN the day dawned, Columbus saw before him a level and beautiful island, several leagues in extent, of great freshness and verdure, and covered with trees like a continual orchard. Though every thing appeared in the wild luxuriance of untamed nature, yet the island was evidently populous, for the inhabitants were seen issuing from the woods, and running from all parts to the shore. They were all perfectly naked, and, from their attitudes and gestures, appeared lost in astonishment at the sight of the ships. Columbus made signal to cast anchor, and to man the boats. He entered his own boat, richly attired in scarlet, and bearing the royal standard. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and Vincente Yañez his brother, likewise put off in their boats, each bearing the banner of the enterprise, emblazoned with a green cross, having, on each side, the letters F and Y, surmounted by crowns, the Spanish initials of the Castilian monarchs, Fernando and Ysabel.

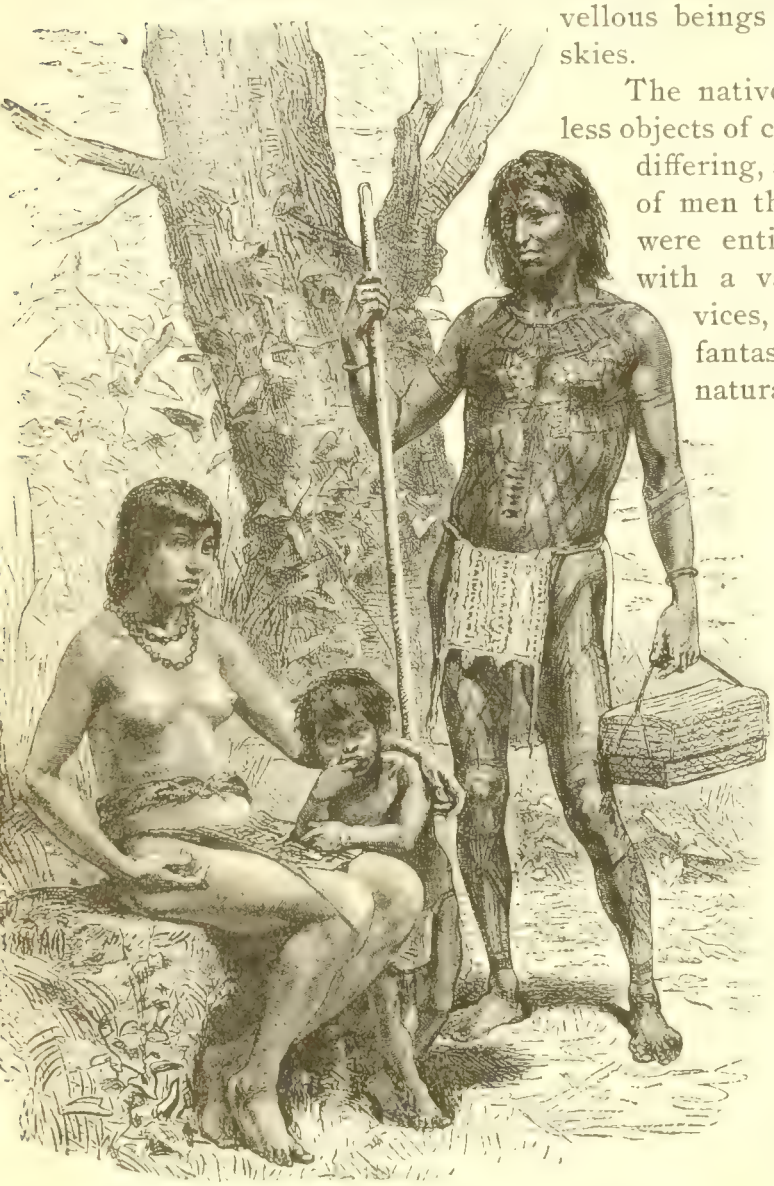
As they approached the shores, they were delighted by the beauty and grandeur of the forests; the variety of unknown fruits on the trees which overhung the shores; the purity and suavity of the atmosphere, and the crystal transparency of the seas which bathe these islands. On landing, Columbus threw himself upon his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was followed by his companions, whose breasts, indeed, were full to overflowing. Columbus, then rising, drew his

sword, displayed the royal standard, and took possession in the names of the Castilian sovereigns, giving the island the name of San Salvador. He then called upon all present to take the oath of obedience to him, as admiral and viceroy, and representative of the sovereigns.

His followers now burst forth into the most extravagant transports. They thronged around him, some embracing him, others kissing his hands. Those, who had been most mutinous and turbulent during the voyage, were now most devoted and enthusiastic. Some begged favors of him, as of a man who had already wealth and honors in his gift. Many abject spirits, who had outraged him by their insolence, now crouched at his feet, begging his forgiveness, and offering, for the future, the blindest obedience to his commands.

The natives of the island, when, at the dawn of day, they had beheld the ships hovering on the coast, had supposed them some monsters, which had issued from the deep during the night. Their veering about, without any apparent effort, and the shifting and furling of their sails, resembling huge wings, filled them with astonishment. When they beheld the boats approach the shore, and a number of strange beings, clad in glittering steel, or raiment of various colors, landing upon the beach, they fled in affright to the woods. Finding, however, that there was no attempt to pursue or molest them, they gradually recovered from their terror, and approached the Spaniards with great awe, frequently prostrating themselves, and making signs of adoration. During the ceremony of taking possession, they remained gazing, in timid admiration, at the complexion, the beards, the shining armor, and splendid dress of the Spaniards. The admiral particularly attracted their attention, from his commanding height, his air of authority, his scarlet dress, and the deference paid to him by his companions; all which pointed him out to be the commander. When they had still further recovered from their fears, they approached the Spaniards, touched their beards, and examined their hands and faces, admiring their whiteness. Columbus, pleased with their simplicity, their gentleness, and the confidence they reposed in beings who must have appeared so strange and formidable, submitted to their scrutiny with perfect acquiescence. The wondering savages were won by this benignity; they now supposed that the ships had sailed out of the

crystal firmament which bounded their horizon, or that they had descended from above, on their ample wings, and that these marvellous beings were inhabitants of the skies.



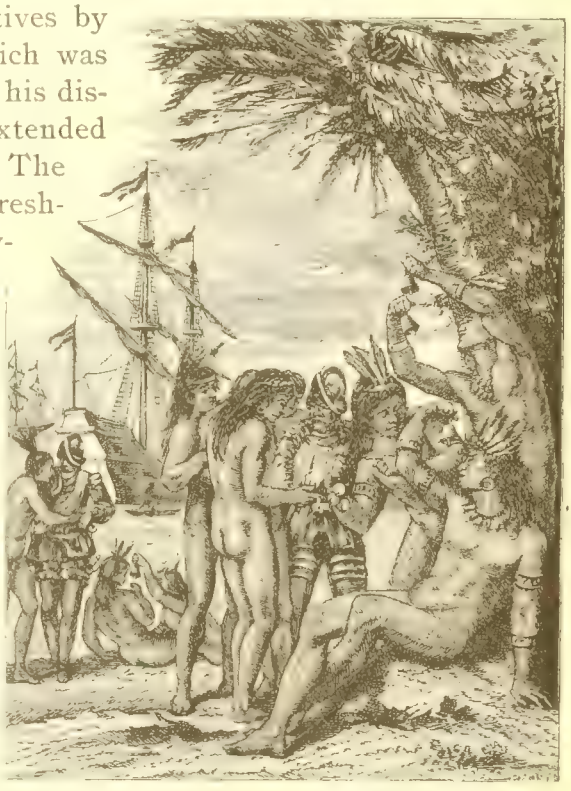
NATIVES OF THE LUCAYAS.

REDRAWN FROM THE ENGRAVING PUBLISHED BY THE EARLY NAVIGATORS, AND DATA OBTAINED FROM THE TYPES OF NATIVES INHABITING THE ATLANTIC COAST OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA AT PRESENT.

The natives of the island were no less objects of curiosity to the Spaniards, differing, as they did, from any race of men they had ever seen. They were entirely naked, and painted with a variety of colors and devices, so as to have a wild and fantastic appearance. Their natural complexion was of a tawny, or copper hue, and they were entirely destitute of beards. Their hair was not crisped, like the recently discovered tribes of Africa, under the same latitude, but straight and coarse, partly cut above the ears, but some locks behind left long, and falling upon their shoulders. Their features, though disfigured by paint, were agreeable; they had lofty foreheads and remarkably fine eyes. They were of moderate stature, and well shaped; most of them appeared to be under thirty years of age. There was but one female with them, quite young, naked like her companions, and beautifully formed. They appeared to be a simple and artless people, and of gentle and friend-

ly dispositions. Their only arms were lances, hardened at the end by fire, or pointed with a flint or the bone of a fish. There was no iron to be seen among them, nor did they know its properties, for when a drawn sword was presented to them, they ungardedly took it by the edge. Columbus distributed among them colored caps, glass beads, hawk's bells, and other trifles, which they received as inestimable gifts, and decorating themselves with them, were wonderfully delighted with their finery.

As Columbus supposed himself to have landed on an island at the extremity of India, he called the natives by the general appellation of Indians, which was universally adopted before the nature of his discovery was known, and has since been extended to all the aboriginals of the New World. The Spaniards remained all day on shore, refreshing themselves, after their anxious voyage, amidst the beautiful groves of the island, and they returned to their ships late in the evening, delighted with all they had seen.

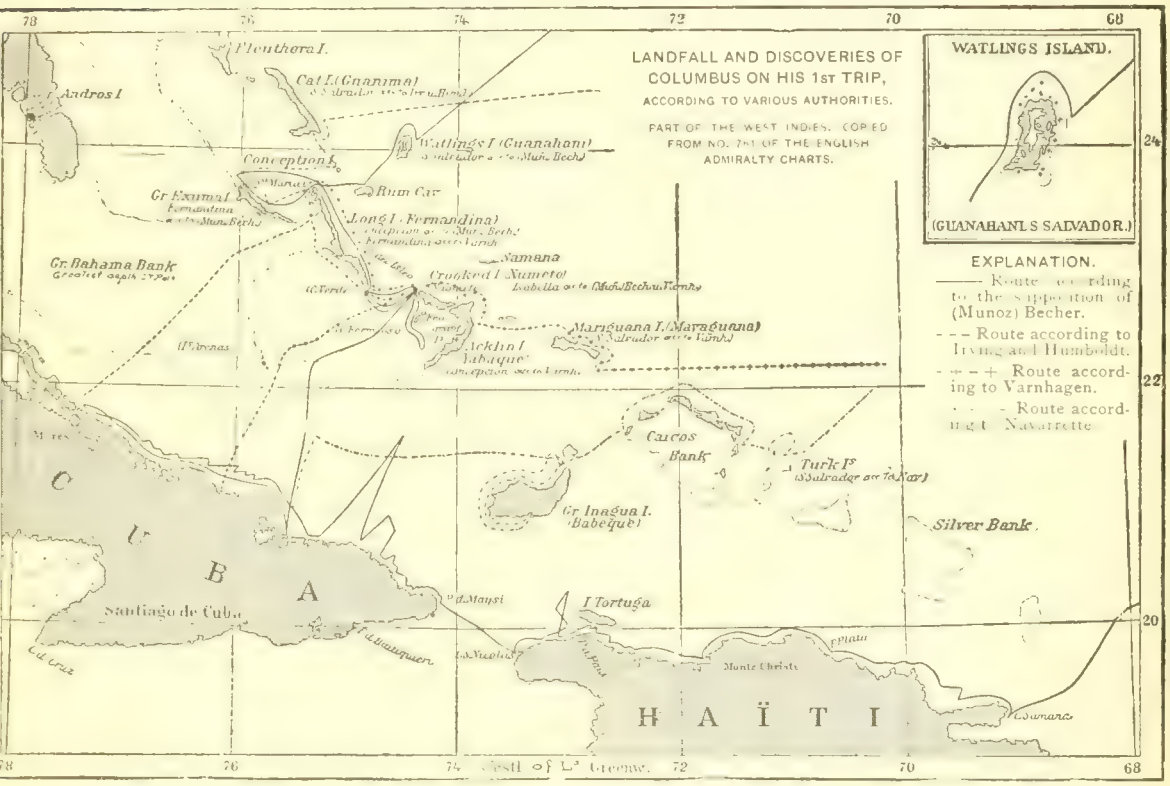


COLUMBUS DISTRIBUTES HAWK'S BELLS AND OTHER TRIFLES AMONG THE NATIVES OF GUANAHANI.

The island where Columbus had thus, for the first time, set his foot upon the new world, is one of the Lucayas, or Bahama Islands, and was called by the natives Guanahani; it still retains the name of San Salvador, which he gave it, though called by the English, Cat Island. The light which he had seen the evening previous to his making land, may have been on Watling's Island, which lies a few leagues to the east.

On the following morning, at daybreak, some of the natives came swimming off to the ships, and others came in light barks, which they called canoes, formed of a single tree, hollowed, and capable of holding from one man to the number of forty or fifty. The Spaniards soon discovered that they were destitute of wealth, and had little to offer in return for trinkets, except balls of cotton yarn, and domesticated parrots. They brought cakes of a kind of bread called cassava, made from the yuca root, which constituted a principal part of their food.

The avarice of the discoverers was awakened by perceiving small ornaments of gold in the noses of some of the natives. On being asked where this precious metal was procured, they answered by signs, pointing to the south; and Columbus understood them to say, that a king resided in that quarter, of such wealth that he was served in great vessels of gold. He interpreted all their imperfect communications according to his previous ideas and his cherished wishes. They spoke of a warlike people, who often invaded their island from the northwest, and carried off the inhabitants. These



he concluded to be the people of the mainland of Asia, subjects to the Grand Khan, who, according to Marco Polo, were accustomed to make war upon the islands, and make slaves of the natives. The rich country to the south could be no other than the island of Cipango, and the king who was served out of golden vessels, must be the monarch whose magnificent palace was said to be covered with plates of gold.

Having explored the island of Guanahani, and taken in a supply of wood and water, Columbus set sail in quest of the opulent

country to the south, taking seven of the natives with him, to acquire the Spanish language, and serve as interpreters and guides.

He now beheld a number of beautiful islands, green, level, and fertile, and the Indians intimated by signs, that they were innumerable; he supposed them to be a part of the great archipelago described by Marco Polo as stretching along the coast of Asia, and abounding with spices and odoriferous trees. He visited three of them, to which he gave the names of Santa Maria de la Conception, Fernandina, and Isabella. The inhabitants gave the same proofs as those of San Salvador of being totally unaccustomed to the sight of civilized man. They regarded the Spaniards as superhuman beings, approached them with propitiatory offerings, of whatever their poverty, or rather their simple and natural mode of life, afforded; the fruits of their fields and groves, their cotton yarn, and their domesticated parrots. When the Spaniards landed in search of water, they took them to the coolest springs, the sweetest and freshest runs, filling their casks, rolling them to the boats, and seeking in every way to gratify their celestial visitors.

Columbus was enchanted by the lovely scenery of some of these islands. "I know not," says he, "where first to go, nor are my eyes ever weary of gazing on the beautiful verdure. The singing of the birds is such, that it seems as if one would never desire to depart hence. There are flocks of parrots that obscure the sun, and other birds of many kinds, large and small, entirely different from ours. Trees, also, of a thousand species, each having its particular fruit, and all of marvellous flavor. I believe there are many herbs and trees, which would be of great value in Spain for tinctures, medicines, and spices, but I know nothing of them, which gives me great vexation."

The fish, which abounded in these seas, partook of the novelty which characterized most of the objects in this new world. They rivalled the birds in the tropical brilliancy of their colors, the scales of some of them glanced back the rays of light like precious stones, and as they sported about the ships, they flashed gleams of gold and silver through the crystal waves.

Columbus was disappointed in his hopes of finding any gold or spices in these islands; but the natives continued to point to the south, as the region of wealth, and began to speak of an island in that direction, called Cuba, which, the Spaniards understood them

to say, abounded in gold, pearls, and spices, and carried on an extensive commerce, and that large merchant ships came to trade with the inhabitants. Columbus concluded this to be the desired Cipango, and the merchant ships to be those of the Grand Khan. He set sail in search of it, and after being delayed for several days, by contrary winds and calms, among the small islands of the Bahama bank and channel, he arrived in sight of it on the 28th of October.

As he approached this noble island, he was struck with its magnitude, the grandeur of its mountains, its fertile valleys and long sweeping plains, covered by stately forests, and watered by noble rivers. He anchored in a beautiful river to the west of Nuevitas del Principe, and taking formal possession of the island, gave it the name of Juana, in honor of Prince Juan, and to the river the name of San Salvador.

Columbus spent several days coasting this part of the island, and exploring the fine harbors and rivers with which it abounds. From his continual remarks in his journal on the beauty of the scenery, and from the pleasure which he evidently derived from rural sounds and objects, he appears to have been extremely open to those delicious influences, exercised over some spirits by the graces and wonders of nature. He was, in fact, in a mood to see every thing through a fond and favoring medium, for he was enjoying the fulfillment of his hopes, the hard-earned but glorious reward of his toils and perils; and it is difficult to conceive the rapturous state of his feelings, while thus exploring the charms of a virgin world, won by his enterprise and valor.

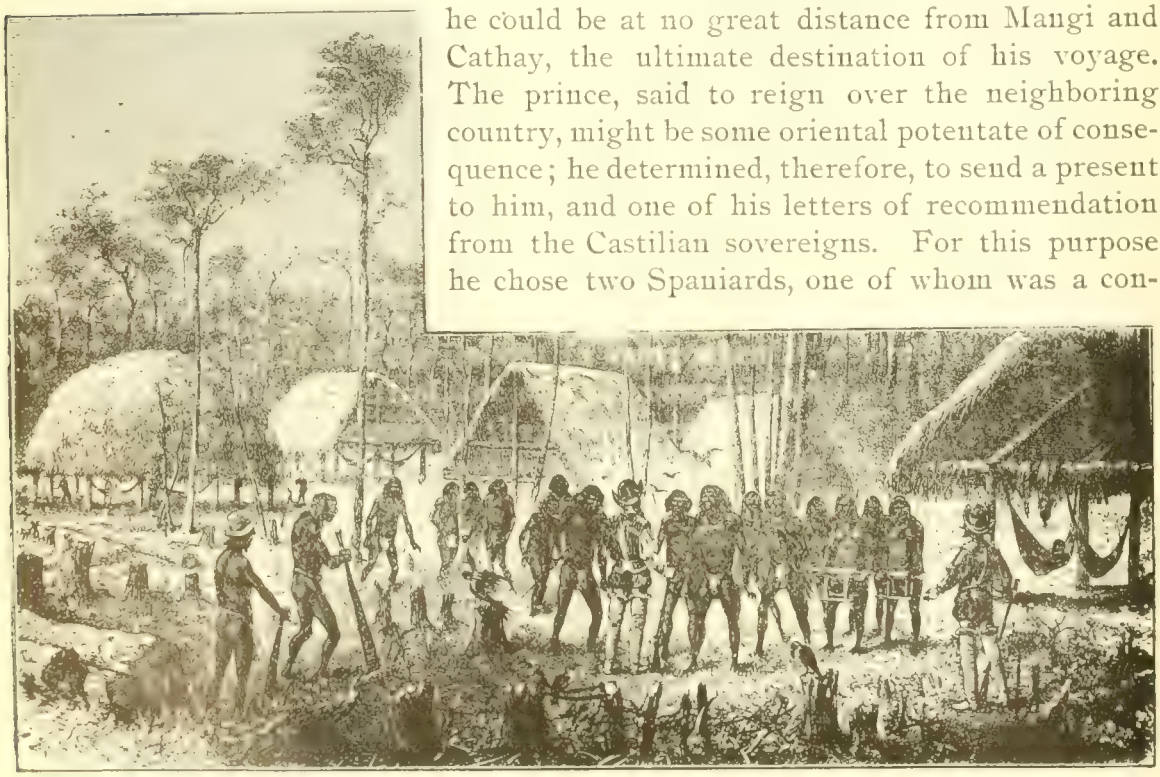
In the sweet smell of the woods, and the odor of the flowers, he fancied he perceived the fragrance of oriental spices, and along the shores he found shells of the oyster which produces pearls. He frequently deceived himself, in fancying that he heard the song of the nightingale, a bird unknown in these countries. From the grass growing to the very edge of the water, he inferred the peacefulness of the ocean which bathes these islands, never lashing the shores with angry surges. Ever since his arrival among these Antilles, he had experienced nothing but soft and gentle weather, and he concluded that a perpetual serenity reigned over these seas, little suspicious of the occasional bursts of fury to which they are liable, and of the tremendous hurricanes which rend and devastate the face of nature.



COLUMBUS COASTING ALONG THE NORTHERN SHORE OF CUBA.

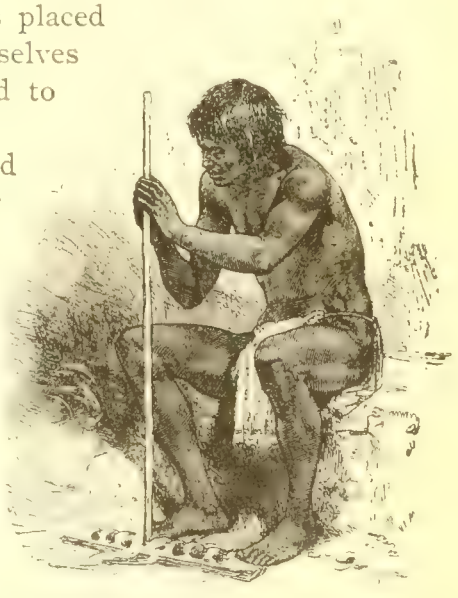
While coasting the island, he landed occasionally and visited the villages, the inhabitants of which fled to the woods and mountains. The houses were constructed of branches of palm trees, in the shape of pavilions, and were scattered under the spreading trees, like tents in a camp. They were better built than those he had hitherto visited, and extremely clean. He found in them rude images, and wooden masks, carved with considerable ingenuity. Finding implements for fishing in all the cabins, he concluded that the coasts were inhabited merely by fishermen, who supplied the cities in the interior.

After coasting to the northwest for some distance, Columbus came in sight of a great headland, to which, from the groves which covered it, he gave the name of the Cape of Palms. Here he learnt that behind this bay there was a river, from whence it was but four days' journey to Cubanacan. By this name the natives designated a province in the centre of Cuba; *nacan*, in their language signifying the midst. Columbus fancied, however, that they were talking of Cublay Khan, the Tartar sovereign, and understood them to say that Cuba was not an island, but terra firma. He concluded that this must be a part of the mainland of Asia, and that he could be at no great distance from Mangi and Cathay, the ultimate destination of his voyage. The prince, said to reign over the neighboring country, might be some oriental potentate of consequence; he determined, therefore, to send a present to him, and one of his letters of recommendation from the Castilian sovereigns. For this purpose he chose two Spaniards, one of whom was a con-



ARRIVAL OF THE EMBASSY TO THE IMAGINARY CUBLAY KHAN, AT AN INDIAN VILLAGE.

verted Jew, and knew Hebrew, Chaldaic, and a little Arabic, one or other of which languages, it was thought, must be known to this oriental prince. Two Indians were sent with them as guides; they were furnished with strings of beads, and various trinkets, for their traveling expenses, and enjoined to inform themselves accurately concerning the situation of certain provinces, ports, and rivers of Asia, and to ascertain whether drugs and spices abounded in the country. The ambassadors penetrated twelve leagues into the interior, when they came to a village of fifty houses, and at least a thousand inhabitants. They were received with great kindness, conducted to the principal house, and provisions placed before them, after which the Indians seated themselves on the ground around their visitors, and waited to hear what they had to communicate.



INDIAN PRODUCING FIRE BY THE RAPID TWIRLING OF A HARD STICK IN AN INDENT[illegible]

The Israelite found his Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic of no avail, and the Lucayan interpreter had to be the orator. He made a regular speech after the Indian manner, extolling the power, wealth, and munificence of the white men. When he had finished, the Indians crowded round the Spaniards, touched and examined their skin and raiment, and kissed their hands and feet in token of adoration. There was no appearance of gold, or any other article of great value, among them; and when they were shown specimens of various spices, they said there was nothing of the kind to be found in the neighborhood, but far off to the southwest.

Finding no traces of the city and court they had anticipated, the envoys returned to their ships; on the way back they beheld several of the natives going about with firebrands in their hands, and certain dried herbs which they rolled up in a leaf, and lighting one end, put the other in their mouths, and continued inhaling and puffing out the smoke. A roll of this kind they called a tobacco; a name since transferred to the weed itself. The Spaniards were struck with astonishment at this singular, and apparently preposterous luxury, although prepared to meet with wonders.

The report of the envoys put an end to many splendid fancies of Columbus, about this barbaric prince and his capital; all that

they had seen betokened a primitive and simple state of society; the country, though fertile and beautiful, was wild, and but slightly and rudely cultivated; the people were evidently strangers to civilized man, nor could they hear of any inland city, superior to the one they had visited.

As fast as one illusion passed away, however, another succeeded. Columbus now understood from the signs of the Indians, that there was a country to the eastward where the people collected gold along the river banks by torch-light, and afterwards wrought it into bars with hammers. In speaking of this place they frequently used the words Babeque and Bohio, which he supposed to be the names of islands or provinces. As the season was advancing, and the cool nights gave hints of approaching winter, he resolved not to proceed further to the north, and turning eastward, sailed in quest of Babeque, which he trusted might prove some rich and civilized island.

After running along the coast for two or three days, and passing a great cape, to which he gave the name of Cape Cuba, he stood out to sea in the direction pointed out by the Indians. The wind, however, came directly ahead, and after various ineffectual attempts he had to return to Cuba. What gave him great uneasiness was, that the Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, parted company with him during this attempt. She was the best sailer, and had worked considerably to windward of the other ships. Pinzon paid no attention to the signals of Columbus to turn back, though they were repeated at night by lights at the mast-head; when morning dawned, the Pinta was no longer to be seen.

Columbus considered this a willful desertion, and was much troubled and perplexed by it. Martin Alonzo had for some time shown impatience at the domination of the admiral. He was a veteran navigator of great abilities, and accustomed from his wealth and standing to give the law among his nautical associates. He had furnished two of the ships, and much of the funds for the expedition, and thought himself entitled to an equal share in the command; several disputes, therefore, had occurred between him and the admiral. Columbus feared he might have departed to make an independent cruise, or might have the intention to hasten back to Spain, and claim the merit of the discovery. These thoughts distracted his mind, and embarrassed him in the further prosecution of his discoveries.

For several days he continued exploring the coast of Cuba, until he reached the eastern end, to which, from supposing it the extreme point of Asia, he gave the name of Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. While steering at large beyond this cape, undetermined which course to take, he descried high mountains towering above the clear horizon to the southeast, and giving evidence of an island of great extent. He immediately stood for it, to the great consternation of his Indian guides, who assured him by signs that the inhabitants had but one eye, and were fierce and cruel cannibals.

In the transparent atmosphere of the tropics, objects are descried at a great distance, and the purity of the air and serenity of the deep blue sky, give a magical charm to scenery. Under these advantages, the beautiful island of Hayti revealed itself to the eye as they approached. Its mountains were higher and more rocky than those of the other islands, but the rocks rose from among rich forests. The mountains swept down into luxuriant plains and green savannahs, while the appearance of cultivated fields, with the numerous fires at night, and the columns of smoke which rose in various parts by day, all showed it to be populous. It rose before them in all the splendor of tropical vegetation, one of the most beautiful islands in the world, and doomed to be one of the most unfortunate.



INDIAN WOMAN TAKING A BATH; UPON A HEATED STONE HER COMPANION EMPTIES THE WATER, WHICH RISING IN STEAM, ENVELOPES THE WOMAN SWINGING IN THE HAMMOCK.



HOSPITABLE RECEPTION OF THE SHIPWRECKED COLUMBUS BY THE CACIQUE GUACANAGARI.

CHAPTER XII.

COASTING OF HISPANIOLA SHIPWRECK, AND OTHER OCCURENCES AT THE ISLAND. 1492.

ON the evening of the 6th of December, Columbus entered a harbor in the western end of the island, to which he gave the name of St. Nicholas, by which it is called at the present day. Not being able to meet with any of the inhabitants, who had fled from their dwellings, he coasted along the northern side of the island to another harbor, which he called Conception. Here the sailors caught several kinds of fish similar to those of their own country, they heard also the notes of a bird which sings in the night, and which they mistook for the nightingale, and they fancied the features of the surrounding country resembled those of the more beautiful provinces of Spain; in consequence of this idea, the admiral named the island Española, or, as it is commonly written, Hispaniola. After various ineffectual attempts to obtain a communication with the natives, three sailors succeeded in overtaking a young and handsome female, who was flying from them, and brought their wild beauty in triumph to the ships. She was treated with the greatest kindness, and dismissed

finely clothed, and loaded with presents of beads, hawk's bells, and other baubles. Confident of the favorable impression her account of her treatment, and the sight of her presents, must produce, Columbus, on the following day, sent nine men, well armed, to seek her village, accompanied by a native of Cuba as an interpreter. The village was situated in a fine valley, on the banks of a beautiful river, and contained about a thousand houses. The natives fled at first, but being reassured by the interpreter, they came back to the number of two thousand, and approached the Spaniards with awe and trembling, often pausing and putting their hands upon their heads in token of reverence and submission.



THREE SAILORS OF COLUMBUS SUCCEED IN CAPTURING A CACIQUE AND HANDSOME FEMALE, AND BRING THEIR WILD BEAUTY IN TRIUMPH TO THE SHIPS. DRAWING BY O. GRAEFF.

The female also, who had been entertained on board of the ships, came borne in triumph on the shoulders of some of her countrymen, followed by a multitude, and preceded by her husband, who was full of gratitude for the kindness with which she had been treated. Having recovered from their fears, the natives conducted the Spaniards to their houses, and set before them cassava bread, fish, roots, and fruits of various kinds; offering them freely whatever they possessed, for a frank hospitality reigned throughout the island, where as yet the passion of avarice was unknown.

The Spaniards returned to the vessels enraptured with the beauty of the country, surpassing, as they said, even the luxuriant

valley of Cordova; all that they complained of was, that they saw no signs of riches among the natives.

Continuing along the coast, Columbus had further intercourse with the natives, some of whom had ornaments of gold, which they readily exchanged for the merest trifle of European manufacture. At one of the harbors where he was detained by contrary winds, he was visited by a young cacique,* apparently of great importance, who came borne on a litter by four men, and attended by two hundred of his subjects. He entered the cabin where Columbus was dining, and took his seat beside him, with a frank, unembarrassed air, while two old men, who were his counsellors, seated themselves at his feet, watching his lips, as if to catch and communicate his ideas. If any thing were given him to eat, he merely tasted it, and sent it to his followers, maintaining an air of great gravity and dignity. After dinner, he presented the admiral with a belt curiously wrought, and two pieces of gold. Columbus made him various presents in return; he showed him a coin bearing the likenesses of Ferdinand and Isabella, and endeavored to give him an idea of the power and grandeur of those sovereigns. The cacique, however, could not be made to believe that there was a region on earth which produced such wonderful people and wonderful things, but persisted in the idea that the Spaniards were more than mortal, and that the country and sovereigns they spoke of, must exist somewhere in the skies.



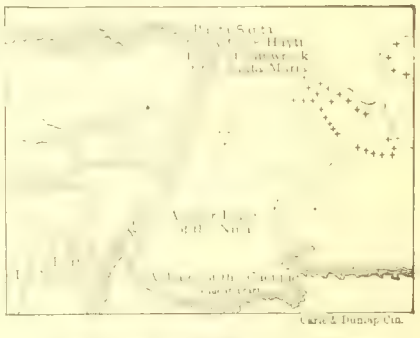
SPANISH COAT OF THE REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

On the 20th of December, Columbus anchored in a fine harbor, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, supposed to be what at present is called the bay of Acùl. Here a large canoe visited the ships, bringing messengers from a grand cacique named Guacanagari, who resided on the coast a little farther to the eastward, and reigned over all that part of the island. The messengers bore a present of a broad belt, wrought ingeniously with colored beads and bones, and a wooden mask, the eyes, nose and tongue of which were of gold. They invited Columbus, in the name of the cacique, to come with his ships opposite to the village where he resided. Adverse winds prevented an immediate compliance with this invitation; he therefore sent a boat well armed, with the notary of the squadron, to visit the chieftain. The latter returned with so favorable an account of the appearance of the village, and the hospital-

* Title of an Indian chief among South American Indians.

ity of the cacique, that Columbus determined to set sail for his residence as soon as the wind would permit.

Early in the morning of the 24th of December, therefore, he weighed anchor, with a light wind that scarcely filled the sails. By eleven o'clock at night, he was within a league and a half of the residence of the cacique: the sea was calm and smooth, and the ship almost motionless. The admiral having had no sleep the preceding night, retired to take a little repose. No sooner had he left the deck, than the steersman gave the helm in charge to one of the ship boys, and went to sleep. This was in direct violation of an invariable order of the admiral, never to intrust the helm to the boys. The rest of the mariners who had the watch, took like advantage of the absence of Columbus, and in a little while the whole crew was buried in sleep. While this security reigned over the ship, the treacherous currents, which run swiftly along this coast, carried her smoothly, but with great violence, upon a sand bank. The heedless boy, feeling the rudder strike, and hearing the rushing of the sea, cried out for aid. Columbus was the first to take the alarm, and was soon followed by the master of the ship, whose duty it was to have been on watch, and by his delinquent companions. The admiral ordered them to carry out an anchor astern, that they might warp the vessel off. They sprang into the boat, but being confused and seized with a panic, as men are apt to be when suddenly awakened by an alarm, instead of obeying the commands of Columbus, they rowed off to the other caravel. Vincente Yañez Pinzon, who commanded the latter, reproached them with their pusillanimity, and refused to admit them on board; and, manning his boat, he hastened to the assistance of the admiral.

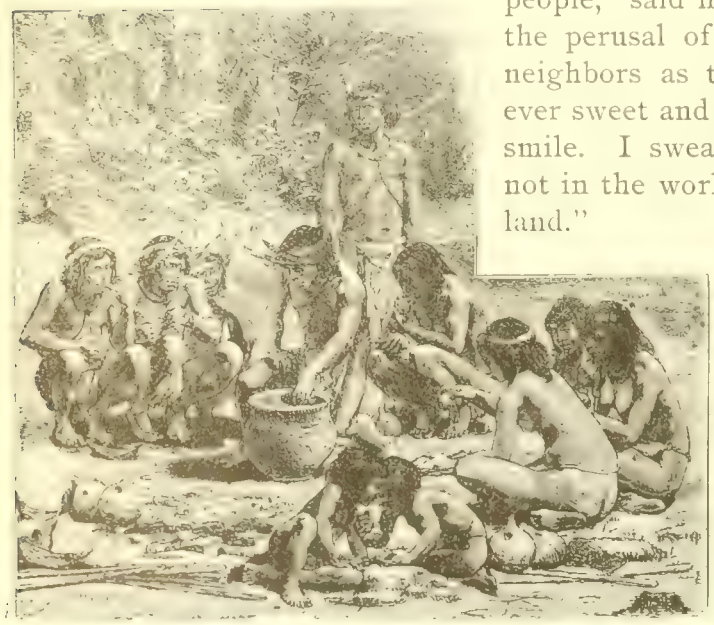


PLACE OF SHIPWRECK OF THE SANTA MARIA.
COPIED FROM THE MAP IN THE HYDROGRAPHIC OFFICE IN WASHINGTON.

In the mean time, the ship swinging across the stream, had been set more and more upon the bank. Efforts were made to lighten her, by cutting away the mast, but in vain. The keel was firmly bedded in the sand; the seams opened, and the breakers beat against her, until she fell over on one side. Fortunately, the weather continued calm, otherwise both ship and crew must have perished. The admiral abandoned the wreck, and took refuge,

with his men, on board of the caravel. He laid to until daylight, sending messengers on shore to inform the cacique Guacanagari of his disastrous shipwreck.

When the chieftain heard of the misfortune of his guest, he was so much affected as to shed tears; and never, in civilized country, were the vaunted rites of hospitality more scrupulously observed, than by this uncultured savage. He assembled his people, and sent off all his canoes to the assistance of the admiral, assuring him, at the same time, that every thing he possessed was at his service. The effects were landed from the wreck, and deposited near the dwelling of the cacique, and a guard set over them, until houses could be prepared, in which they could be stored. There seemed, however, no disposition among the natives to take advantage of the misfortune of the strangers, or to plunder the treasures thus cast upon their shores, though they must have been inestimable in their eyes. Even in transporting the effects from the ship, they did not attempt to pilfer or conceal the most trifling article. On the contrary, they manifested as deep a concern at the disaster of the Spaniards, as if it had happened to themselves, and their only study was how they could administer relief and consolation. Columbus was greatly affected by this unexpected goodness. "These people," said he in his journal, intended for the perusal of the sovereigns, "love their neighbors as themselves, their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied by a smile. I swear to your majesties there is not in the world a better nation or a better land."



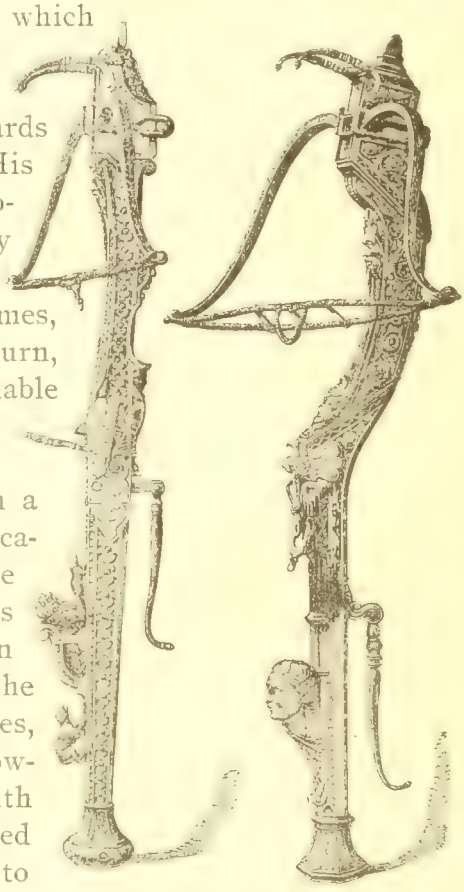
THE COMMUNAL EVENING MEAL.

FROM THE DESCENDANTS OF THE EARLY NAVIGATORS, AND THE DATA OBTAINED FROM THE NATIVES AT PRESENT INHABITING THE ATLANTIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

When the cacique first met with Columbus, he was much moved at beholding his dejection, and again offered him every thing he possessed that could be of service to him. He invited him on shore, where a banquet was prepared for his entertainment, consisting of various kinds of fish and

fruit, and an animal called Utia by the natives, which resembled a coney. After the collation he conducted Columbus to the beautiful groves which surrounded his residence, where upwards of a thousand of the natives were assembled, all perfectly naked, who performed several of their national games and dances. Thus did this generous cacique try, by every means in his power, to cheer the melancholy of his guest, showing a warmth of sympathy, a delicacy of attention, and an innate dignity and refinement, which could not have been expected from one in his savage state. He was treated with great deference by his subjects, and conducted himself towards them with a gracious and prince-like majesty. His whole deportment, in the enthusiastic eyes of Columbus, betokened the inborn grace and dignity of lofty lineage.

When the Indians had finished their games, Columbus gave them an entertainment in return, calculated to impress them with a formidable opinion of the military power of the Spaniards. A Castilian, who had served in the wars of Granada, exhibited his skill in shooting with a Moorish bow, to the great admiration of the cacique. A cannon and an arquebuss were likewise discharged; at the sound of which the Indians fell to the ground, as though they had been struck by a thunderbolt. When they saw the effect of the ball rending and shivering the trees, they were filled with dismay. On being told, however, that the Spaniards would protect them with these arms, against the invasions of their dreaded enemies, the Caribs, their alarm was changed into confident exultation, considering themselves under the protection of the sons of heaven, who had come from the skies, armed with thunder and lightning. The cacique placed a kind of coronet of gold on the head of Columbus, and hung plates of the same metal round his neck, and he dispensed liberal presents among his followers. Whatever trifles Columbus gave in return were regarded with reverence as celestial gifts, and were said by the Indians to have come from *Turey*, or heaven.



ARQUEBUSES, WITH CRANE ATTACHMENT, END OF 15TH CENTURY.
ARTILLERY MUSEUM, PARIS.

The extreme kindness of the cacique, the gentleness of his people, and the quantities of gold daily brought by the natives, and exchanged for trifles, contributed to console Columbus for his misfortunes. When Guacanagari perceived the great value which the admiral attached to gold, he assured him, by signs, that there was a place, not far off, among the mountains, where it abounded to such a degree as to be regarded with indifference; and he promised to procure him, from thence, as much as he desired. Columbus gathered many other particulars concerning this golden region. It was called Cibao, and lay among high and rugged mountains. The cacique who ruled over it owned many rich mines, and had banners of wrought gold. Columbus fancied that the name of Cibao must be a corruption of Cipango, and flattered himself that this was the very island productive of gold and spices, mentioned by Marco Polo.

Three houses had been given to the shipwrecked crew for their residence. Here, living on shore, and mingling freely with the natives, they became fascinated by their easy and idle mode of life. They were governed by their caciques with an absolute, but patriarchal and easy rule, and existed in that state of primitive and savage simplicity which some philosophers have fondly pictured as the most enviable on earth. "It is certain," says old Peter Martyr, "that the land among these people is as common as the sun and water; and that 'mine and thine,' the seeds of all mischief, have no place with them. They are content with so little, that, in so large a country, they have rather superfluity than scarceness; so that they seem to live in a golden world, without toil, in open gardens, neither intrenched, nor shut up by walls or hedges. They deal truly with one another, without laws, or books, or judges." In fact, they seemed to disquiet themselves about nothing; a few fields, cultivated almost without labor, furnished roots and vegetables, their groves were laden with delicious fruit, and the coast and rivers abounded with fish. Softened by the indulgence of nature, a great part of the day was passed by them in indolent repose, in that luxury of sensation inspired by a serene sky and voluptuous climate, and in the evening they danced in their fragrant groves, to their national songs, or the rude sound of their sylvan drums.

When the Spanish mariners looked back upon their own toilsome and painful life, and reflected upon the cares and hardships that must still be their lot, should they return to Europe, they

regarded with a wistful eye the easy and idle existence of these Indians, and many of them, representing to the admiral the difficulty and danger of embarking so many persons in one small caravel, entreated permission to remain in the island. The request immediately suggested to Columbus the idea of forming the germ of a future colony. The wreck of the caravel would furnish materials and arms for a fortress; and the people who should remain in the island, could explore it, learn the language of the natives, and collect gold, while the admiral returned to Spain for reinforcements. Guacanagari was overjoyed at finding that some of these wonderful strangers were to remain for the defense of his island, and that the admiral intended to revisit it. He readily gave permission to build the fort, and his subjects eagerly aided in its construction, little dreaming that they were assisting to place on their necks the galling yoke of perpetual and toilsome slavery.

While thus employed, a report was brought to Columbus, by certain Indians, that another ship was at anchor in a river at the



INDIANS PREPARING FOR ONE OF THEIR CEREMONIAL DANCES.

RESTORED FROM DESCRIPTION FURNISHED BY PETER MARTYR, AND DATA OBTAINED FROM THE NATIVES INHABITING THE ATLANTIC COAST OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA.

eastern end of the island; he concluded it of course to be the Pinta, and immediately dispatched a canoe in quest of it, with a letter for Pinzon, urging him to rejoin him immediately. The canoe coasted the island for thirty leagues, but returned without having heard or seen any thing of the Pinta, and all the anxiety of the admiral was revived; should that vessel be lost, the whole success of his expedition would depend on the return of his own crazy bark, across an immense expanse of ocean, where the least accident might bury it in the deep, and with it all record of his discovery. He dared not therefore prolong his voyage, and explore those magnificent regions, which seemed to invite on every hand, but determined to return immediately to Spain.

So great was the activity of the Spaniards, and the assistance of the natives, that in ten days the fortress was completed. It consisted of a strong wooden tower, with a vault beneath, and the whole surrounded by a wide ditch. It was supplied with the ammunition, and mounted with the cannon saved from the wreck, and was considered sufficient to overawe and repulse the whole of this naked and unwarlike people. Columbus gave the fortress and harbor the name of La Navidad, or the Nativity, in memorial of having been preserved from the wreck of his ship on Christmas day. From the number of volunteers that offered to remain, he selected thirty-nine of the most trustworthy, putting them under the command of Diego de Arana, notary and alguazil of the armament. In case of his death, Pedro Gutierrez was to take the command, and he, in like case, to be succeeded by Rodrigo de Escobido. He charged the men, in the most emphatic manner, to be obedient to their commanders, respectful to Guacanagari and his chieftains, and circumspect and friendly in their intercourse with the natives. He warned them not to scatter themselves asunder, as their safety would depend upon their united force, and not to stray beyond the territory of the friendly cacique. He enjoined it upon Arana, and the other commanders, to employ themselves in gaining a knowledge of the island, in amassing gold and spices, and in searching for a more safe and convenient harbor for that settlement.

Before his departure, he gave the natives another military exhibition, to increase their awe of the prowess of the white men. The Spaniards performed skirmishes, and mock fights, with swords, bucklers, lances, crossbows, and fire-arms. The Indians were as-



LEAVE TAKING OF COLUMBUS FROM HIS FRIEND THE CACIQUE GUACANAGARI,

ON THE EVE OF EMBARKING FROM FORT LA NAVIDAD.

DRAWING BY N. MAURIN

tonished at the keenness of the steeled weapons, and the deadly power of the crossbows and muskets; but nothing equalled their awe and admiration, when the cannon were discharged from the fortess, wrapping it in smoke, shaking the forests with their thunder, and shivering the stoutest trees.

When Columbus took leave of Guacanagari, the kind-hearted cacique shed many tears, for, while he had been awed by the dignified demeanor of the admiral, and the idea of his superhuman nature, he had been completely won by the benignity of his manners. The seamen too had made many pleasant connections among the Indians, and they parted with mutual regret. The sorest parting, however, was with their comrades who remained behind; from that habitual attachment formed by a companionship in perils and adventures. When the signal gun was fired, they gave a parting cheer to the gallant handful of volunteers thus left in the wilderness of an unknown world, who echoed their cheering as they gazed wistfully after them from the beach, but who were destined never to welcome their return.



CHAPTER XIII.

RETURN VOYAGE. VIOLENT STORMS. ARRIVAL AT PORTUGAL. (1493.)



IT was on the 4th of January that Columbus set sail from La Navidad on his return to Spain. On the 6th, as he was beating along the coast, with a head wind, a sailor at the mast-head cried out that there was a sail at a distance, standing towards them. To their great joy it proved to be the Pinta, which came sweeping before the wind with flowing canvass. On joining the admiral, Pinzon endeavored to excuse his desertion, by saying that he had been separated from him by stress of weather, and had ever since been seeking him. Columbus listened passively but incredulously to these excuses, avoiding any words that might produce altercations, and disturb the remainder of the voyage. He ascertained, afterwards, that Pinzon had parted company intentionally, and had steered directly east, in quest of a region where the Indians on board of his vessel had assured him he would find gold in abundance. They had guided him to Hispaniola, where he had been for some time in a river about fifteen leagues east of La Navidad, trading with the natives. He had collected a large quantity of gold, one half of which he retained as captain, and the rest he divided among his men, to secure their secrecy and fidelity. On leaving the river, he had carried off four Indian men and two girls, to be sold in Spain.

Columbus sailed for this river, to which he gave the name of Rio de Gracia, but it long continued to be known as the river of Martin Alonzo. Here he ordered the four men and two girls to be dismissed, well clothed and with many presents, to atone for the wrong they had experienced, and to allay the hostile feeling it might have caused among the natives. This restitution was not made without great unwillingness, and many angry words, on the part of Pinzon.

After standing for some distance further along the coast, they anchored in a vast bay, or rather gulf, three leagues in breadth, and extending so far inland that Columbus at first supposed it to be an arm of the sea. Here he was visited by the people of the mountains of Ciguay, a hardy and warlike race, quite different from the gentle and peaceful people they had hitherto met with on this island. They were of fierce aspect, and hideously painted, and their heads were decorated with feathers. They had bows and arrows, war clubs, and swords made of palm wood, so hard and heavy that a blow from them would cleave through a helmet to the very brain. At first sight of these ferocious-looking people, Columbus supposed them to be the Caribs, so much dreaded throughout these seas; but on asking for the Caribbean Islands, the Indians still pointed to the eastward.

With these people the Spaniards had a skirmish, in which several of the Indians were slain. This was the first contest they had had with the inhabitants of the new world, and the first time that native blood had been shed by white men. From this



SKIRMISH OF COLUMBUS WITH THE NATIVES OF THE BAY OF SAVANA

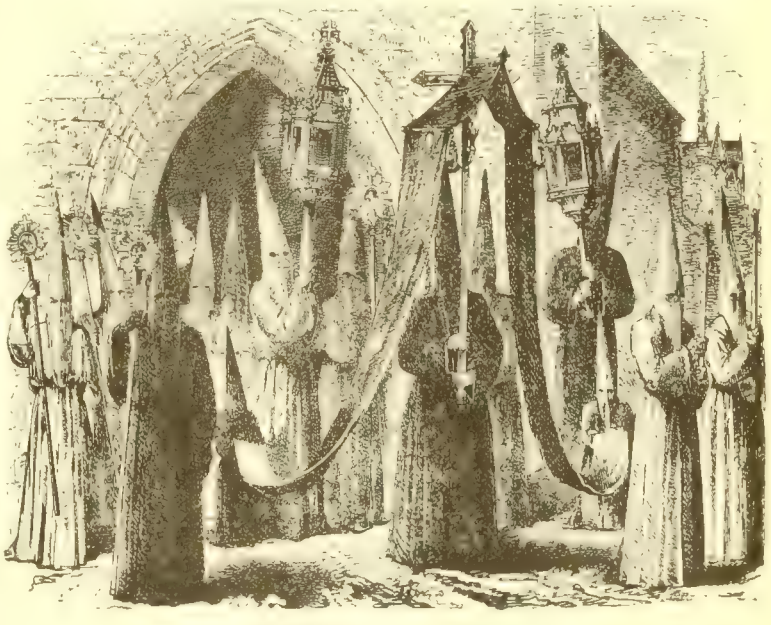
skirmish Columbus called the place El Golfo de las Fleches, or the gulf of Arrows; but it is now known by the name of the Gulf of Samana. He lamented that all his exertions to maintain an amicable intercourse had been ineffectual, and anticipated further hostility on the part of the natives; but on the following day, they approached the Spaniards as freely and confidently as if nothing had happened; the cacique came on board with only three attendants, and throughout all their subsequent dealings they betrayed no signs of lurking fear or enmity. This frank and confiding conduct, so indicative of a brave and generous nature, was properly appreciated by Columbus; he entertained the cacique with great distinction, and at parting made many presents to him and his attendants. This cacique of Ciguay was named Mayonabex, and in subsequent events of this history, will be found to acquit himself with valor and magnanimity, under the most trying circumstances.

Columbus, on leaving the bay, took four young Indians to guide him to the Caribbean Islands, situated to the east, of which they gave him very interesting accounts, as well as of the island of Mantinino, said to be inhabited by Amazons. A favorable breeze sprang up, however, for the voyage homeward, and, seeing gloom and impatience in the countenances of his men, at the idea of diverging from their route, he gave up his intention of visiting these islands for the present, and made all sail for Spain.

The trade winds, which had been so propitious on the outward voyage, were equally adverse to a return. The favorable breeze soon died away; light winds from the east, and frequent calms, succeeded; but they had intervals of favorable weather, and by the 12th of February they had made such progress as to begin to flatter themselves with the hopes of soon beholding land. The wind now came on to blow violently; on the following evening there were three flashes of lightning in the north-northeast, from which signs Columbus predicted an approaching tempest. It soon burst upon them with frightful violence; their small and crazy vessels were little fitted for the wild storms of the Atlantic; all night they were obliged to scud under bare poles at the mercy of the elements. As the morning dawned, there was a transient pause, and they made a little sail, but the wind rose with redoubled fury from the south, and increased in the night, the vessels laboring terribly in a cross sea, which threatened at each moment to overwhelm them, or dash

them to pieces. The tempest still augmenting, they were obliged again to scud before the wind. The admiral made signal lights for the Pinta to keep in company; for some time she replied by similar signals, but she was separated by the violence of the storm; her lights gleamed more and more distant, until they ceased entirely. When the day dawned, the sea presented a frightful waste of wild, broken waves, lashed into fury by the gale; Columbus looked round anxiously for the Pinta, but she was nowhere to be seen.

Throughout a dreary day the helpless bark was driven along by the tempest. Seeing all human skill baffled and confounded, Columbus endeavored to propitiate Heaven by solemn vows. Lots were cast to perform pilgrimages and penitences, most of which fell upon Columbus; among other things, he was to perform a solemn mass, and to watch and pray all night in the chapel of the convent of Santa Clara, at Moguer. Various private vows were made by the seamen, and one by the admiral and the whole crew, that, if they were spared to reach the land, they would walk in procession, barefooted, and in their shirts, to offer up thanksgivings in some church dedicated to the Virgin.

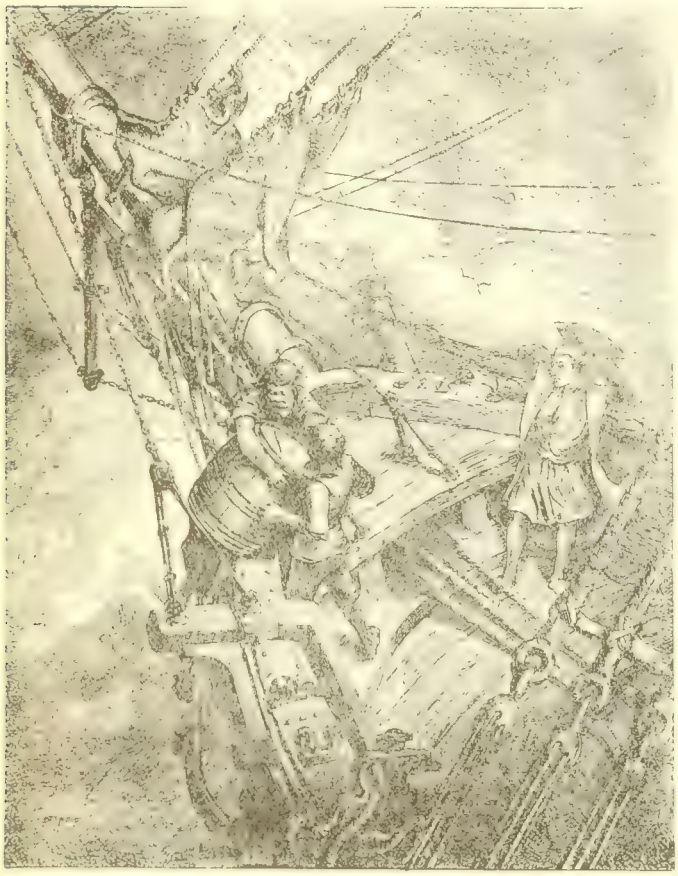


PROCESSION OF PENITENTS.

COSTUMES EXHIBITED IN 1893 IN THE HISTORICAL MUSEUM OF COSTUMES PARIS.

The heavens, however, seemed deaf to all their vows; the storm grew still more furious, and every one gave himself up for lost. During this long and awful conflict of the elements, the mind of Columbus was a prey to the most distressing anxiety. He was harassed by the repinings of his crew, who cursed the hour of their leaving their country, and their want of resolution in not compelling him to abandon the voyage. He was afflicted,

also, when he thought of his two sons, who would be left destitute by his death. But he had another source of distress, more intolerable than death itself. It was highly probable that the Pinta had foundered in the storm. In such case, the history of his discovery would depend upon his own feeble bark; one surge of the ocean might bury it forever in oblivion, and his name only remain as that of a desperate adventurer, who had perished in pursuit of a chimera.



COLUMBUS THROWING A CASK OVERBOARD

In the midst of these gloomy reflections, an expedient suggested itself, by which, though he and his ships might perish, the glory of his achievements might survive to his name, and its advantages be secured to his sovereigns. He wrote on parchment a brief account of his discovery, and of his having taken possession of the newly found lands in the name of their Catholic majesties. This he sealed and directed to the king and queen, and superscribed a promise of a thousand ducats to whomsoever should deliver the packet unopened. He then wrapped it in a waxed cloth, which he placed in the center of a cake of wax, and inclosing the whole in a cask, threw it into the sea. A copy of this memorial he inclosed in a similar manner, and placed it upon the poop of his vessel, so that, should the caravel sink, the cask might float off and survive.

Happily, these precautions, though wise, were superfluous; at sunset, there was a streak of clear sky in the west, the wind shifted to that quarter, and on the morning of the 15th of February, they came in sight of land. The transports of the crew at once more

beholding the old world, were almost equal to those they had experienced on discovering the new. For two or three days, however, the wind again became contrary, and they remained hovering in sight of land, of which they only caught glimpses through the mist and rack. At length they came to anchor, at the island of St. Mary's, the most southern of the Azores, and a possession of the crown of Portugal. An ungenerous reception, however, awaited the poor tempest-tossed mariners, on their return to the abode of civilized man, far different from the kindness and hospitality they had experienced among the savages of the new world. Columbus had sent one half of the crew on shore, to fulfill the vow of a barefooted procession to a hermitage or chapel of the Virgin, which stood on a solitary part of the coast, and awaited their return to perform the same ceremony with the remainder of his crew. Scarcely had they begun their prayers and thanksgiving, when a party of horse and foot, headed by the governor of the island, surrounded the hermitage and took them all prisoners. The real object of this outrage was to get possession of the person of Columbus; for the king of Portugal, jealous lest his enterprise might interfere with his own discoveries, had sent orders to his commanders of islands and distant ports, to seize and detain him wherever he should be met with.



THE GOVERNOR OF ST. MARY'S ATTEMPTS TO ARREST COLUMBUS.

Having failed in this open attempt, the governor next endeavored to get Columbus in his power by stratagem, but was equally unsuccessful. A violent altercation took place between them, and Columbus threatened him with the vengeance of his sovereigns. At length, after two or three days' detention, the sailors who had been captured in the chapel were released; the governor pretended to have acted through doubts of Columbus having a regular commission, but that being now convinced of his being in the service of the Spanish sovereigns, he was ready to yield him every service in his power. The admiral did not put his offers to the

proof. The wind became favorable for the continuation of his voyage, and he again set sail, on the 24th of February. After two or three days of pleasant sailing, there was a renewal of tempestuous weather. About midnight of the 2d of March, the caravel was struck by a squall, which rent all her sails, and threatened instant destruction. The crew were again reduced to despair, and made vows of fastings and pilgrimages. The storm raged throughout the succeeding day, during which, from various signs, they considered themselves in the vicinity of land, which they supposed must be the coast of Portugal. The turbulence of the following night was dreadful. The sea was broken, wild, and mountainous, the rain fell in torrents, and the lightning flashed, and the thunder pealed from various parts of the heavens.

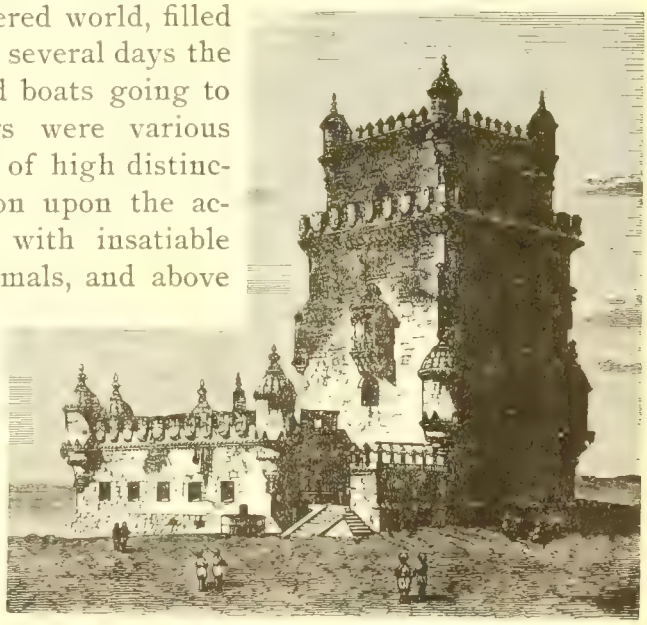
In the first watch of this fearful night, the seamen gave the usually welcome cry of land, but it only increased their alarm, for they were ignorant of their situation, and dreaded being driven on shore, or dashed upon the rocks. Taking in sail, therefore, they endeavored to keep to sea as much as possible. At daybreak, on the 4th of March, they found themselves off the rock of Cintra, at the mouth of the Tagus. Though distrustful of the good will of Portugal, Columbus had no alternative but to run in for shelter, and he accordingly anchored about three o'clock in the river, opposite to Rastello. The inhabitants came off from various parts of the shore, to congratulate him on what they deemed a miraculous preservation, for they had been watching the vessel the whole morning, with great anxiety, and putting up prayers for her safety. The oldest mariners of the place assured him, that they had never known so tempestuous a winter. Such were the difficulties and perils with which Columbus had to contend on his return to Europe; had one tenth part of them beset his outward voyage, his factious crew would have risen in arms against the enterprise, and he never would have discovered the New World.

CHAPTER XIV.

VISIT OF COLUMBUS TO THE COURT OF PORTUGAL. ARRIVAL AT PALOS. (1493.)

IMMEDIATELY on his arrival in the Tagus, Columbus dispatched a courier to the king and queen of Spain, with tidings of his discovery. He wrote also to the king of Portugal, entreating permission to go to Lisbon with his vessel, as a report had got abroad that she was laden with gold, and he felt himself insecure in the neighborhood of a place like Rastello, inhabited by needy and adventurous people. At the same time he stated the route and events of his voyage, lest the king should suspect him of having been in the route of the Portuguese discoveries.

The tidings of this wonderful bark, freighted with the people and productions of a newly discovered world, filled all Lisbon with astonishment. For several days the Tagus was covered with barges and boats going to and from it. Among the visitors were various officers of the crown, and cavaliers of high distinction. All hung with rapt attention upon the accounts of the voyage, and gazed with insatiable curiosity upon the plants, and animals, and above all upon the inhabitants of the new world. The enthusiasm of some, and the avarice of others, was excited; while many repined at the incredulity of the king and his counselors, by which so grand a discovery had been forever lost to Portugal.



THE ROYAL CASTLE OF BELEM, NEAR LISBON. EXQUISITE EXAMPLE OF HISPANO MAURESQUE ARCHITECTURE

On the 8th of March, Columbus received a message from King John, congratulating him upon his arrival, and inviting him to the court at Valparaiso, about nine leagues from Lisbon. The king at the same time ordered, that anything which the admiral required for himself or his vessel should be furnished free of cost.

Columbus distrusted the good faith of the king, and set out reluctantly for the court; but his reception was what might have been expected from an enlightened and liberal prince. On approaching the royal residence, he was met by the principal personages of the king's household, and conducted with great ceremony to the palace. The king welcomed him to Portugal, and congratulated him on the glorious result of his enterprise. He ordered him to seat himself in his presence, an honor only granted to persons of royal dignity, and assured him that every thing in his kingdom was at the service of his sovereigns and himself. They had repeated conversations about the events of the voyage, and the king made minute inquiries as to the soil, productions, and people of the newly discovered countries, and the routes by which Columbus had sailed. The king listened with seeming pleasure to his replies, but was secretly grieved at the thoughts that this splendid enterprise had been offered to him and refused. He was uneasy, also, lest this undefined discovery should in some way interfere with his own territories, comprehended in the Papal bull, which granted to the crown of Portugal all the lands it should discover from Cape Non to the Indies.

¶ Epistola Christofori Colom: cui ętas nostra multū debet: de Insulis Indię supra Gangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquirendas octauo antea mense auspicijs ꝛ ere inuictissimi Fernandi Hispaniarum Regis missus fuerat: ad Magnificum dñm Rapbaelem Sanxis: eiusdem sereniſſimi Regis Thesaurariū missas quam nobilis ac litteratus vir Aliander de Cosco ab Hispano ideomate in latinum conuertit: tertio kalas Maij. M.cccc.xciij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo.

QUoniam suscepte prouincie rem perfectam me cōsecutum fuisse gratum tibi fore scio: has constitui exarare: quę te vniuscuiusq; rei in hoc nostro itinere gestę inuentęq; admoneant: Tricesimotertio die postq̄ Gadibus discessi in mare Indicū perueni: vbi plurimas insulas innumeris habitatas hominibus repperi: quarum omnium pro foeliciſſimo Rege nostro pręconio celebrato ꝛ vexillis extensis contradicente nemine possessionem accepi: primęq; earum diui Saluatoris nomen imposui: cuius fretus auxilio tam ad hanc: q̄ ad ceteras alias peruenimus. Eam vo Indi Guanahanin vocant. Aliarum etiā vnam quamq; nouo nomine nuncupaui. Quippe aliā insulam Sancte Marię Conceptionis aliam Fernandinam. aliam Hysabellam. aliam Johannam. ꝛ sic de reliquis appellari iussi. Quamprimum in eam insulam quā dudum Johanā vocari diximus appulimus: iuxta eius littus occidentem versus aliquantulum processi: tamq; eam magnā nullo reperto fine inueni: vt non insulam: sed continentem Catai prouinciam esse crediderim: nulla tñ videns oppida municipiaue in maritimis sita confinib? pręter aliquos vicos ꝛ predia rustica: cum quor incolis loqui nequibam. quare simul ac nos videbant surripiebant fugam. Progrediebar vltra: existimans aliquā me vrbem villasue inuenturum. Demiq; videns q̄ longe admodum progressis nihil noui emergebat: ꝛ hmōi via nos ad Septentrionem deferebat: q̄ ipse fugere eoq̄ rabā: terris etenim regnabat hyuma: ad Austrinmq; erat in voto cōtendere:

THE FIRST PAGE OF A PAMPHLET WHICH BROUGHT THE NEWS TO THE WORLD OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



RECEPTION OF COLUMBUS AT THE COURT OF D. JUAN II OF PORTUGAL,

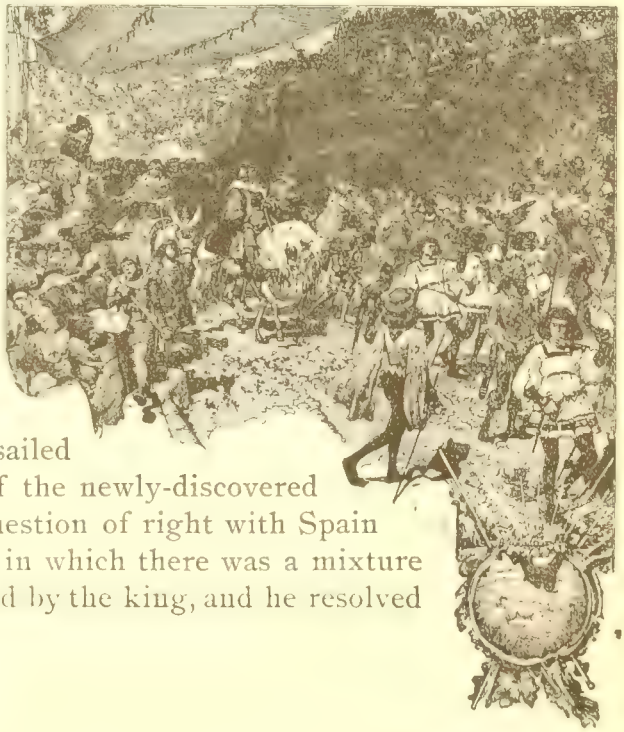
ON HIS FIRST RETURN FROM THE NEWLY DISCOVERED WORLD.

DRAWING BY N. MAURIN.

On suggesting these doubts to his counsellors, they eagerly encouraged them, for some of them were the very persons who had scoffed at Columbus as a dreamer, and his success covered them with confusion. They declared that the color, hair, and manners of the natives, brought in the caravel, agreed exactly with the descriptions given of the people of that part of India granted to Portugal by the Papal bull. Others observed that there was but little distance between the Terceira Islands and those which Columbus had discovered; the latter therefore clearly belonged to Portugal. Others endeavored to awaken the anger of the king, by declaring that Columbus had talked in an arrogant and vainglorious tone of his discovery, merely to revenge himself upon the monarch for having rejected his propositions.

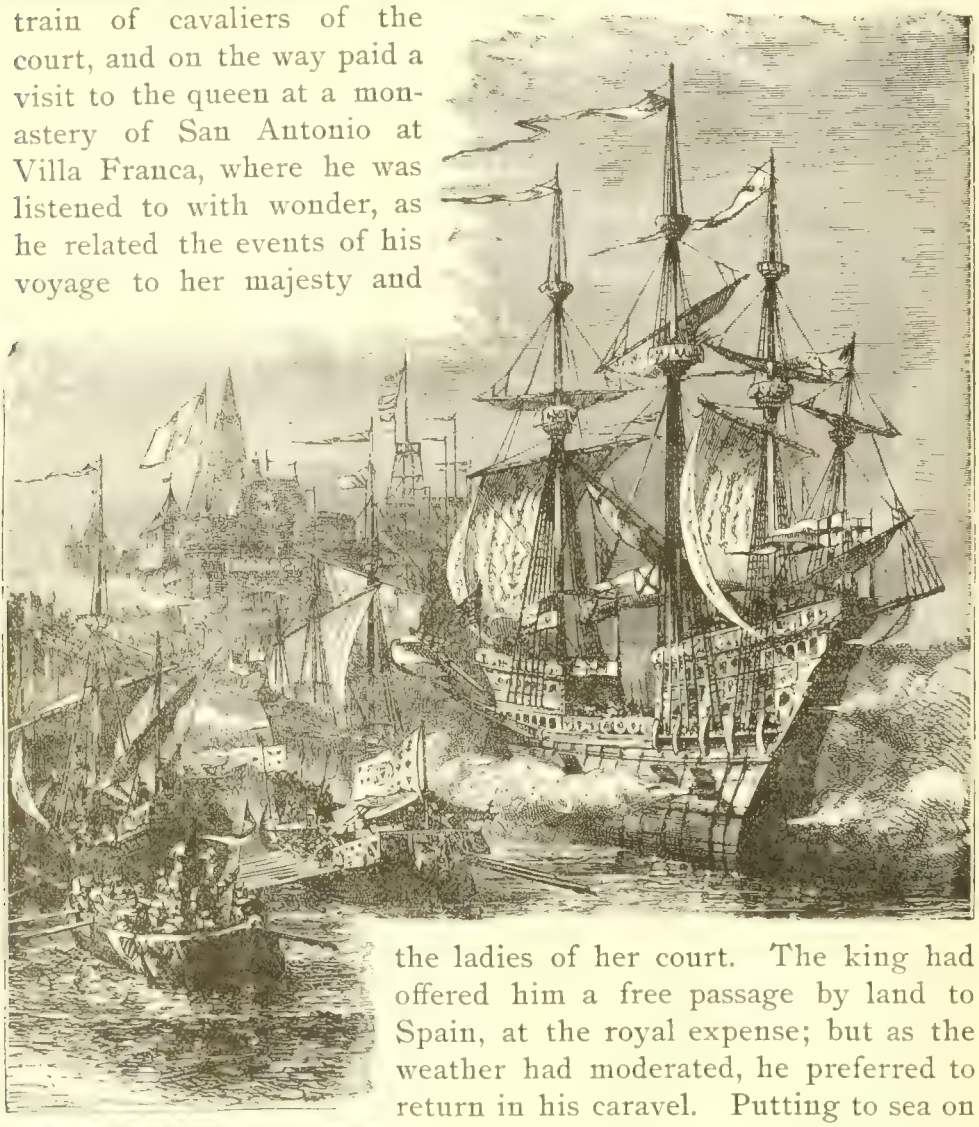
Seeing the king deeply perturbed in spirit, some even went so far as to propose, as an effectual means of impeding the prosecution of these enterprises, that Columbus should be assassinated. It would be an easy matter to take advantage of his lofty deportment, to pique his pride, provoke him to an altercation, and suddenly despatch him as if in casual and honorable encounter.

Happily, the king had too much magnanimity to adopt such wicked and dastardly counsel. Though secretly grieved and mortified that the rival power of Spain should have won this triumph which he had rejected, yet he did justice to the great merit of Columbus, and honored him as a distinguished benefactor to mankind. He felt it his duty, also, as a generous prince, to protect all strangers driven by adverse fortune to his ports. Others of his council advised that he should secretly fit out a powerful armament and despatch it, under guidance of two Portuguese mariners who had sailed with Columbus, to take possession of the newly-discovered country; he might then settle the question of right with Spain by an appeal to arms. This counsel, in which there was a mixture of courage and craft, was more relished by the king, and he resolved to put it promptly in execution.



COLUMBUS ESCORTED BACK TO HIS SHIPS BY THE PORTUGUESE CAVALIERS.

In the mean time, Columbus, after being treated with the most honorable attentions, was escorted back to his ship by a numerous train of cavaliers of the court, and on the way paid a visit to the queen at a monastery of San Antonio at Villa Franca, where he was listened to with wonder, as he related the events of his voyage to her majesty and the ladies of her court. The king had offered him a free passage by land to Spain, at the royal expense; but as the weather had moderated, he preferred to return in his caravel. Putting to sea on the 13th of March, therefore, he arrived safely at Palos on the 15th, having taken not quite seven months and a half to accomplish this most momentous of all maritime enterprises.



ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS IN THE HARBOR OF PALOS SALUTED BY THE SHIPS AT ANCHOR WITH SUCH HONORS AS ARE PAID TO SOVEREIGNS ONLY

The triumphant return of Columbus was a prodigious event in the little community of Palos, every member of which was more or less interested in the fate of the expedition. Many had la-

mented their friends as lost, while imagination had lent mysterious horrors to their fate. When, therefore, they beheld one of the adventurous vessels furling her sails in their harbor, from the discovery of a world, the whole community broke forth into a transport of joy, the bells were rung, the shops shut, and all business suspended. Columbus landed, and walked in procession to the church of St. George, to return thanks to God for his safe arrival. Wherever he passed, the air rang with acclamations, and he received such honors as are paid to sovereigns. What a contrast was this to his departure a few months before, followed by murmurs and execrations! or rather, what a contrast to his first arrival at Palos, a poor pedestrian, craving bread and water for his child at the gate of a convent!

Understanding that the court was at Barcelona, he at first felt disposed to proceed there in the caravel; but, reflecting on the dangers and disasters of his recent voyage, he gave up the idea, and despatched a letter to the sovereigns, informing them of his arrival. He then departed for Seville, to await their reply. It arrived within a few days, and was as gratifying as his heart could have desired. The sovereigns were dazzled and astonished by this sudden and easy acquisition of a new empire of indefinite extent, and apparently boundless wealth. They addressed Columbus by his titles of admiral and viceroy, promising him still greater rewards, and urging him to repair immediately to court to concert plans for a second and more extensive expedition.



THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE IN PALOS.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

It is fitting here to speak a word of the fate of Martin Alonzo Pinzon. By a singular coincidence, which appears to be well authenticated, he anchored at Palos on the evening of the same day that Columbus had arrived. He had been driven by the storm into the bay of Biscay, and had made the port of Bayonne. Doubting whether Columbus had survived the tempest, he had immediately written to the sovereigns, giving an account of the discovery, and requesting permission to come to court and relate the particulars in person. As soon as the weather was favorable, he again set sail, anticipating a triumphant reception in his native port of Palos.

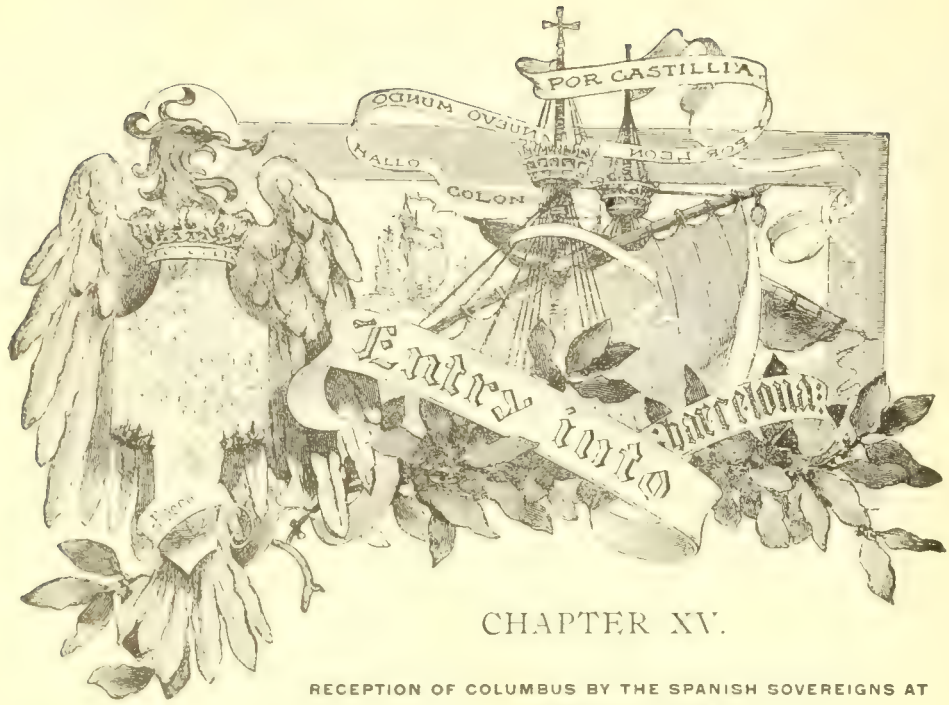
When, on entering the harbor, he beheld the vessel of the admiral riding at anchor, and learned the enthusiasm with which he had been received, his heart died within him. It is said he feared to meet Columbus in this hour of his triumph, lest he should put him under arrest for his desertion on the coast of Cuba; but this is not likely, for he was a man of too much resolution to yield to such a fear. It is more probable that a consciousness of his misconduct made him unwilling to appear before the public in the midst of their enthusiasm for Columbus, and to witness the honors heaped upon a man whose superiority he had been so unwilling to acknowledge. Whatever may have been his motive, it is said that he landed privately in his boat, and kept out of sight until the departure of the admiral, when he returned to his home, broken in health, and deeply dejected, awaiting the reply of the sovereigns to his letter. The reply at length arrived, forbidding his coming to court, and severely reproaching him for his conduct. This letter completed his humiliation; the wounds of his feelings gave virulence to his bodily malady, and in a few days he died, a victim to grief and repentance.

Let no one, however, indulge in harsh censures over the grave of Pinzon. His merits and services are entitled to the highest praise; his errors should be regarded with indulgence. He was one of the first in Spain to appreciate the project of Columbus, animating him by his concurrence, and aiding him with his purse when poor and unknown at Palos. He afterwards enabled him to procure and fit out his ships, when even the mandates of the sovereigns were ineffectual; and finally he embarked in the expedition with his brothers and his friends, staking life, property, every thing, upon the event. He had thus entitled himself to participate largely in the glory of this immortal enterprise, when, unfortunately, forgetting for a moment the grandeur of the cause, and the implicit obedience due to his commander, he yielded to the incitements of self-interest, and was guilty of that act of insubordination which has cast a shade upon his name. Much may be said, however, in extenuation of his fault; his consciousness of having rendered great services to the expedition, and of possessing property in the ships, and his habits of command, which rendered him impatient of control. That he was a man naturally of generous sentiments and honorable ambition is evident from the poignancy with which

he felt the disgrace drawn upon him by his conduct. A mean man would not have fallen a victim to self-upbraiding for having been convicted of a mean action. His story shows how one lapse from duty may counterbalance the merits of a thousand services; how one moment of weakness may mar the beauty of a whole life of virtue; and how important it is for a man, under all circumstances to be true, not merely to others, but to himself.

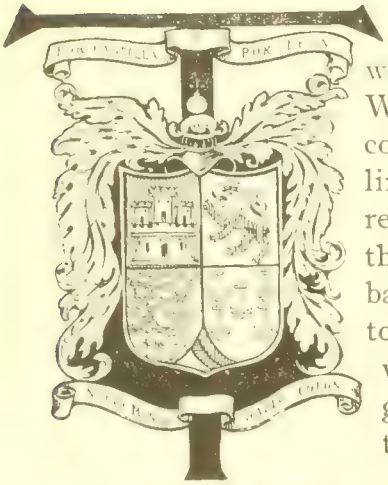


MONUMENT OF ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC AT MADRID, SPAIN.



RECEPTION OF COLUMBUS BY THE SPANISH SOVEREIGNS AT BARCELONA (1493)

CHAPTER XV.



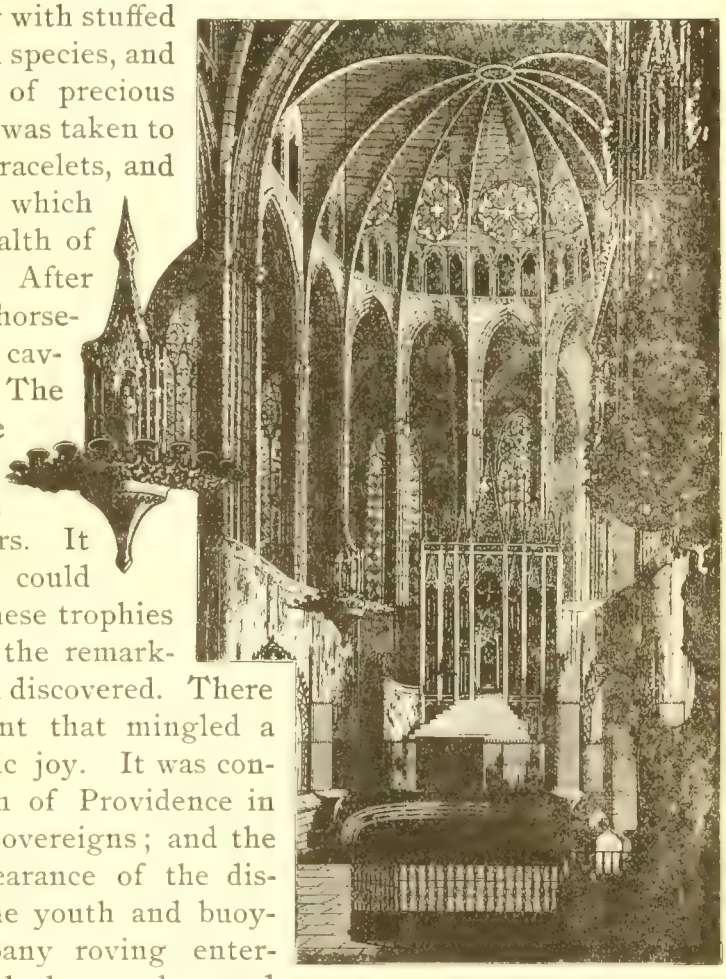
COAT OF ARMS GRANTED TO COLUMBUS BY THE SPANISH SOVEREIGNS.

UPPER FIELD, THE LION OF THE KINGDOM OF LEON, AND THE CASTLE OF THE KINGDOM OF CASTILE; LOWER FIELD, ANCHORS, AND THE NEWLY DISCOVERED ISLANDS; IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SHIELD AT THE BOTTOM THE CONTINENT OF ASIA, WHICH HE IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE DISCOVERED.

THE journey of Columbus to Barcelona, was like the progress of a sovereign. Wherever he passed, the surrounding country poured forth its inhabitants, who lined the road, and thronged the villages, rending the air with acclamations. In the large towns, the streets, windows, and balconies were filled with spectators, eager to gain a sight of him, and of the Indians whom he carried with him, who were regarded with as much astonishment as if they had been natives of another planet.

It was about the middle of April, that he arrived at Barcelona, and the beauty and serenity of the weather, in that genial season and favored climate, contributed to give splendor to the memorable ceremony of his reception. As he drew near the place, many of the youthful courtiers and cavaliers, followed by a vast concourse of the

populace, came forth to meet him. His entrance into this noble city has been compared to one of those triumphs which the Romans were accustomed to decree to conquerors. First were paraded the six Indians, painted according to their savage fashion, and decorated with their ornaments of gold. After these were borne various kinds of live parrots, together with stuffed birds and animals of unknown species, and rare plants supposed to be of precious qualities; while especial care was taken to display the Indian coronets, bracelets, and other decorations of gold, which might give an idea of the wealth of the newly-discovered regions. After this followed Columbus, on horseback, surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade of Spanish chivalry. The streets were almost impassable from the multitude; the houses, even to the very roofs, were crowded with spectators. It seemed as if the public eye could not be sated with gazing at these trophies of an unknown world; or on the remarkable man by whom it had been discovered. There was a sublimity in this event that mingled a solemn feeling with the public joy. It was considered a signal dispensation of Providence in reward for the piety of the sovereigns; and the majestic and venerable appearance of the discoverer, so different from the youth and buoyancy that generally accompany roving enterprise, seemed in harmony with the grandeur and dignity of the achievement.



INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL OF BARCELONA.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

To receive him with suitable distinction, the sovereigns had ordered their throne to be placed in public, under a rich canopy of brocade of gold, where they awaited his arrival, seated in state, with Prince Juan beside them, and surrounded by their principal nobility. Columbus arrived in their presence, accompanied by a brilliant crowd of cavaliers, among whom, we are told, he was con-

spicuous for his stately and commanding person, which, with his venerable gray hairs, gave him the august appearance of a senator of Rome. A modest smile lighted up his countenance, showing that he enjoyed the state and glory in which he came; and certainly nothing could be more deeply moving to a mind inflamed by noble ambition, and conscious of having nobly deserved, than these testimonials of the admiration and gratitude of a nation, or rather of a world. On his approach, the sovereigns rose, as if receiving a person of the highest rank. Bending on his knees, he would have kissed their hands in token of vassalage, but they raised him in the most gracious manner, and ordered him to seat himself in their presence; a rare honor in this proud and punctilious court.

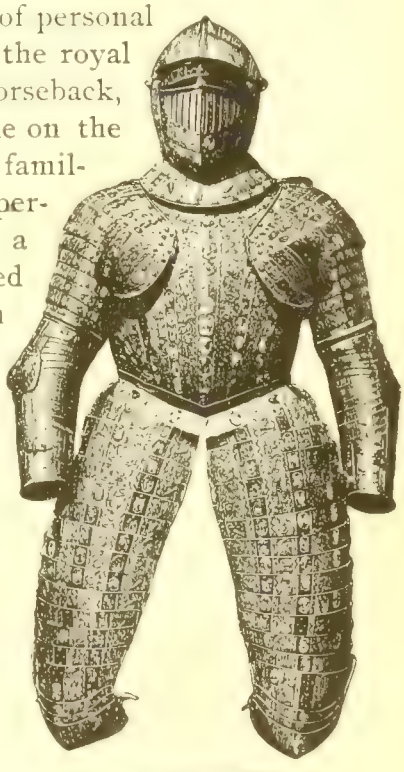
He now gave an account of the most striking events of his voyage, and displayed the various productions and the native inhabitants which he had brought from the new world. He assured their majesties that all these were but harbingers of greater discoveries which he had yet to make, which would add realms of incalculable wealth to their dominions, and whole nations of proselytes to the true faith.

When Columbus had finished, the king and queen sank on their knees, raised their hands to heaven, and, with eyes filled with tears of joy and gratitude, poured forth thanks and praises to God. All present followed their example; a deep and solemn enthusiasm pervaded that splendid assembly, and prevented all common acclamations of triumph. The anthem of *Te Deum laudamus*, chanted by the choir of the royal chapel, with the melodious accompaniments of instruments, rose up from the midst in a full body of harmony, bearing up, as it were, the feelings and thoughts of the auditors to heaven. Such was the solemn and pious manner in which the brilliant court of Spain celebrated this sublime event; offering up a grateful tribute of melody and praise, and giving glory to God for the discovery of another world.

While the mind of Columbus was excited by this triumph, and teeming with splendid anticipations, his pious scheme for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre was not forgotten. Flushed with the idea of the vast wealth that must accrue to himself from his discoveries, he made a vow to furnish, within seven years, an army of four thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, for a crusade to the Holy Land, and a similar force within the five following years. It

is essential to a full knowledge of the character and motives of this extraordinary man, that this visionary project should be borne in recollection. It shows how much his mind was elevated above selfish and mercenary views, and filled with those devout and heroic schemes which, in the time of the crusades, had inflamed the thoughts and directed the enterprises of the bravest warriors and most illustrious princes.

During his sojourn at Barcelona, the sovereigns took every occasion to bestow on Columbus the highest marks of personal consideration. He was admitted at all times to the royal presence; appeared occasionally with the king on horseback, riding on one side of him, while Prince Juan rode on the other side; and the queen delighted to converse familiarly with him on the subject of his voyage. To perpetuate in his family the glory of his achievement, a coat of arms was given him, in which he was allowed to quarter the royal arms, the castle and lion, with those more peculiarly assigned him, which were a group of islands surrounded by waves; to these arms was afterwards annexed the motto:



ARMOR OF COLUMBUS
PRESERVED IN THE ROYAL ARSENAL, MADRID.

A CASTILLA Y A LEON
NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON.

(To Castile and Leon
Columbus gave a new world.)

The pension of thirty crowns, which had been decreed by the sovereigns to whomsoever should first discover land, was adjudged to Columbus, for having first seen the light on the shore. It is said that the seaman who first descried the land was so incensed at being disappointed at what he deemed his merited reward, that he renounced his country and his faith, and, crossing into Africa, turned Mussulman; an anecdote, however, which rests on rather questionable authority.

The favor shown Columbus by the sovereigns ensured him for a time the caresses of the nobility; for, in a court every one is eager to lavish attentions upon the man "whom the king delighteth to honor." At one of the banquets which were given him occurred the well known circumstance of the egg. A shallow courtier

present, impatient of the honors paid to Columbus, and meanly jealous of him as a foreigner, abruptly asked him, whether he thought that, in case he had not discovered the Indies, there would have been wanting men in Spain capable of the enterprise. To this Columbus made no direct reply, but, taking an egg, invited the company to make it stand upon one end. Every one attempted it, but in vain; whereupon he struck it upon the table, broke one end, and left it standing on the broken part; illustrating, in this simple manner, that when he had once shown the way to the new world, nothing was easier than to follow it.



FAC-SIMILE OF WOOD ENGRAVE TITLE OF AN ITALIAN PAMPHLET, PRINTED IN FLORENCE, 1493, REPRESENTING THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS. ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The joy occasioned by this great discovery was not confined to Spain; the whole civilized world was filled with wonder and delight. Every one rejoiced in it as an event in which he was more or less interested, and which opened a new and unbounded field for inquiry and enterprise. Men of learning and science shed tears of joy, and those of ardent imaginations indulged in the most extravagant and delightful dreams. Notwithstanding all this triumph, however, no one had an idea of the real importance of the discovery. The opinion of Columbus was universally adopted, that Cuba was the end of the Asiatic continent, and that the adjacent islands were in the Indian Seas. They were called, therefore, the West Indies, and as the region thus discovered appeared to be of vast and indefinite extent, and existing in a state of nature, it received the comprehensive appellation of "the New World."

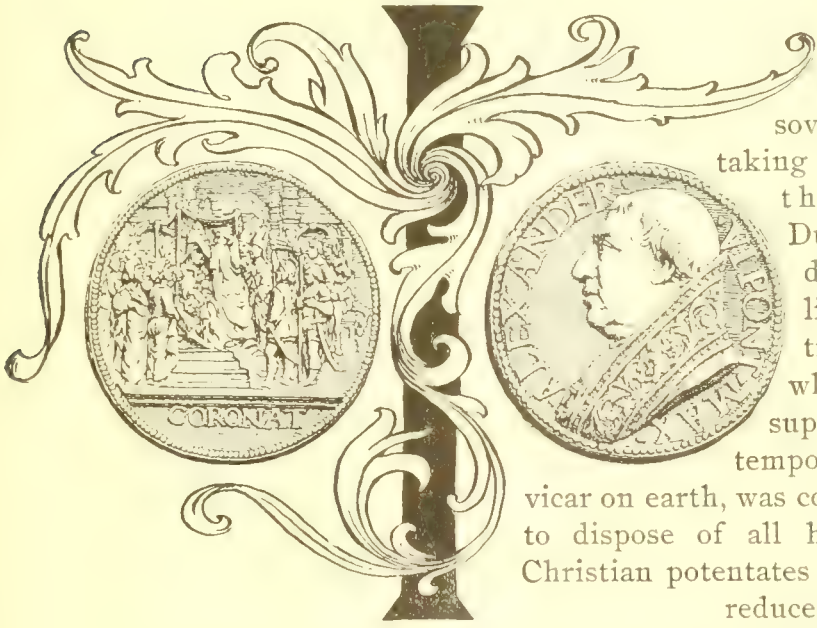


COLUMBUS REBUKES A SHALLOW COURTIER AT A BANQUET GIVEN IN HIS HONOR.
"The Egg of Columbus."
DRAWING BY N. MAURIN.

CHAPTER XVI.

PAPAL BULL OF PARTITION. PREPARATIONS FOR A SECOND VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY. (1493.)

IN the midst of their rejoicings, the Spanish sovereigns lost no time in taking every measure to secure their new acquisitions. During the Crusades, a doctrine had been established among the Christian princes, according to which, the Pope, from his supreme authority over all temporal things, as Christ's vicar on earth, was considered as empowered to dispose of all heathen lands to such Christian potentates as would undertake to reduce them to the dominion of the Church, and to introduce into them the light of religion.



COPPER COIN OF POPE ALEXANDER VI. REDUCED ONE-HALF. OBVERSE, BUST OF THE POPE IN THE PLUVIAL PONT MAX.; REVERSE, REPRESENTATION OF HIS CORONATION; INSCRIPTION CORONAT (TO.), BERLIN

Alexander the Sixth, a native of Valencia, and born a subject to the crown of Arragon, had recently been elevated to the Papal chair. He was a pontiff whom some historians have stigmatized with every vice and crime that could disgrace humanity, but whom all have represented as eminently able and politic. Ferdinand was well aware of his worldly and perfidious character, and endeavored to manage him accordingly. He dispatched ambassadors to him, announcing the new discovery as an extraordinary triumph of the faith, and a vast acquisition of empire to the Church. He took care to state, that it did not in the least interfere with the possessions ceded by the holy chair to Portugal, all which had been sedulously avoided; he supplicated his Holiness, therefore, to issue a bull, granting to the crown of Castile dominion over all those lands, and such others as might be discovered in those parts, artfully intimating, at the same time, his determination to maintain possession of them, however his Holiness might decide. No difficulty was made in granting what was considered but a reasonable and modest request, though it is probable that the acquiescence of the worldly-minded pontiff was quickened by the insinuation of the politic monarch.



A bull was accordingly issued, dated May 2d, 1493, investing the Spanish sovereigns with similar rights, privileges, and indulgences, in respect to the newly-discovered regions, to those granted to the Portuguese with respect to their African discoveries, and under the same condition of propagating the Catholic faith. To prevent any conflicting claims, however, between the two powers, the famous line of demarcation was established. This was an ideal line drawn from the north to the south pole, a hundred leagues west of the Azores and the Cape de Verde Islands. All land discovered by the Spanish navigators to the west of this line, was to belong to the crown of Castile; all land discovered in the contrary direction was to belong to Portugal. It seems never to have occurred to the pontiff, that, by pushing their opposite discoveries, they might some day or other come again in collision, and renew the question of territorial right at the antipodes.

In the mean time, the utmost exertions were made to fit out the second expedition of Columbus. To insure regularity and despatch in the affairs relative to the new world, they were placed under the superintendence of Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, who successively was promoted to the sees of Badajoz, Palencia, and Burgos, and finally appointed patriarch of the Indies. Francisco Pinelo was associated with him as treasurer, and Juan de Soria as contador, or comptroller. Their office was fixed at Seville, and was the germ of the Royal India house, which afterwards rose to such great power and importance. No one was permitted to embark for the newly-discovered lands, without express license from either the sovereigns, Columbus, or Fonseca. The ignorance of the age as to enlarged principles of commerce, and the example of the Portuguese in respect to their African possessions, have been cited in excuse for the narrow and jealous spirit here manifested; but it always, more or less, influenced the policy of Spain in her colonial regulations.

Another instance of the despotic sway exercised by the crown over commerce, is manifested in a royal order, empowering Columbus and Fonseca to freight or purchase any vessels in the ports of Andalusia, or to take them by force, if refused, even though freighted by other persons, paying what they should conceive a reasonable compensation, and compelling their captains and crews to serve in the expedition. Equally arbitrary powers were given with respect to arms, ammunition, and naval stores.

As the conversion of the heathen was professed to be the grand object of these discoveries, twelve ecclesiastics were chosen to accompany the expedition, at the head of whom was Bernardo Buyl, or Boyle, a Benedictine monk, a native of Catalonia, a man of talent and reputed sanctity, but a subtle politician, of intriguing spirit. He was appointed by the Pope his apostolical vicar for the new world. These monks were charged by Isabella with the spiritual instruction of the Indians, and provided, by her, with all things necessary for the dignified performance of the rites and ceremonies of the Church. The queen had taken a warm and compassionate interest in the welfare of the natives, looking upon them as committed by Heaven to her peculiar care. She gave general orders that they should be treated with the utmost kindness, and enjoined Columbus to inflict signal punishment on all Spaniards who should

wrong them. The six Indians brought by the admiral to Barcelona, were baptized with great state and solemnity, the king, the queen, and Prince Juan officiating as sponsors, and were considered as an offering to Heaven of the first fruits of these pagan nations.

The preparations for the expedition were quickened by the proceedings of the court of Portugal. John the Second, unfortunately for himself, had among his counsellors certain politicians of that short-sighted class who mistake craft for wisdom. By adopting their perfidious policy, he had lost the new world when it was an object of honorable enterprise; in compliance with their advice, he now sought to retrieve it by subtle stratagem. A large armament was fitting out, the avowed object of which was an expedition to Africa, but its real destination to seize upon the newly-discovered countries. To lull suspicion, he sent ambassadors to the Spanish court, to congratulate the sovereigns on the success of Columbus, and to amuse them with negotiations respecting their discoveries. Ferdinand had received early intelligence of the naval preparations of Portugal, and perfectly understood the real purpose of this mission. A keen diplomatic game ensued between the sovereigns, wherein the parties were playing for a newly-discovered world. Questions and propositions were multiplied and entangled; the object of each being merely to gain time to dispatch his expedition. Ferdinand was successful, and completely foiled his adversary; for though John the Second was able and intelligent, and had crafty counsellors to advise him, yet, whenever deep and subtle policy was required, Ferdinand was master of the game.

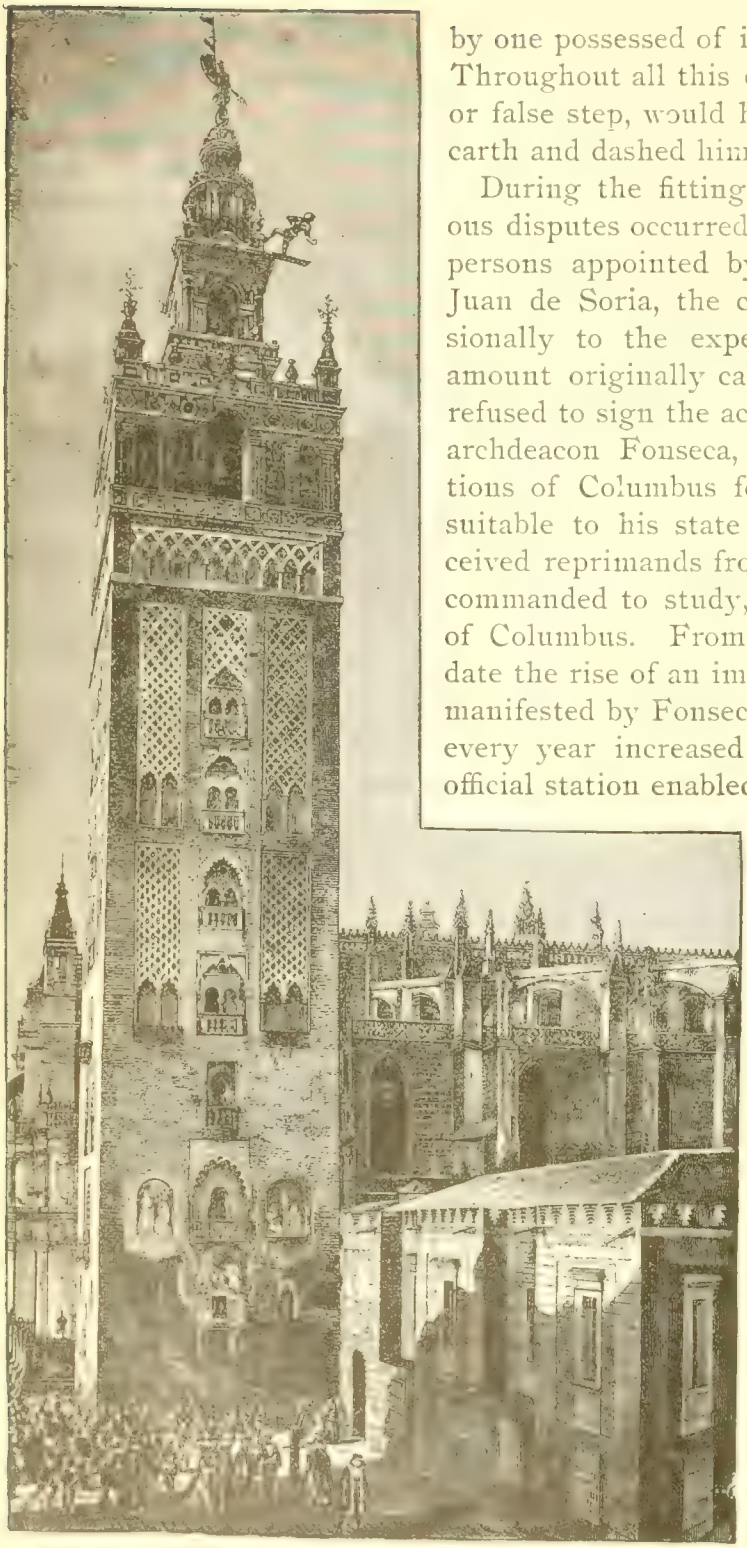
It may be as well to mention, in this place, that the disputes between the two powers, on the subject of their discoveries, was finally settled on June 4th, 1494, by removing the imaginary line of partition, three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verde Islands; an arrangement which ultimately gave to Portugal the possession of the Brazils.

By the indefatigable exertions of Columbus, aided by Fonseca and Soria, a fleet of seventeen sail, large and small, were soon in a state of forwardness; laborers and artificers of all kinds were engaged for the projected colony; and an ample supply was provided of whatever was necessary for its subsistence and defence, for the cultivation of the soil, the working of the mines, and the traffic with the natives.

The extraordinary excitement which prevailed respecting this expedition, and the magnificent ideas which were entertained concerning the new world, drew volunteers of all kinds to Seville. It was a romantic and stirring age, and the Moorish wars being over, the bold and restless spirits of the nation were in want of suitable employment. Many Hidalgos * of high rank, officers of the royal household, and Andalusian cavaliers, pressed into the expedition, and some into the royal service, others at their own cost, fancying they were about to enter upon a glorious career of arms, in the splendid countries, and among the semi-barbarous nations of the East. No one had any definite idea of the object or nature of the service in which he was embarked, or the situation and character of the region to which he was bound. Indeed, during this fever of the imagination, had sober facts and cold realities been presented, they would have been rejected with disdain, for there is nothing of which the public is more impatient, than of being disturbed in the indulgence of any of its golden dreams.

Among the noted personages who engaged in the expedition, was a young cavalier of a good family, named Don Alonzo de Ojeda, who deserves particular mention. He was small, but well proportioned and muscular, of a dark, but handsome and animated countenance, and possessed of incredible strength and agility. He was expert at all kinds of weapons, accomplished in all manly and warlike exercises, an admirable horseman, and a partisan soldier of the highest order. Bold of heart, free of spirit, open of hand; fierce in fight, quick in brawl, but ready to forgive and prone to forget an injury; he was for a long time the idol of the rash and roving youth who engaged in the early expeditions to the new world, and distinguished himself by many perilous enterprises and singular exploits. The very first notice we have of him, is a harebrained feat which he performed in presence of Queen Isabella, in the Giralda or Moorish tower of the Cathedral of Seville. A great beam projected about twenty feet from the tower, at an immense height from the ground; along this beam Ojeda walked briskly with as much confidence as if pacing his chamber. When arrived at the end, he stood on one leg, with the other elevated in the air, then turning nimbly, walked back to the tower; placed one foot against it, and threw an orange to the summit; which could only have been done

* Hidalgo, or Fidalgo, noblemen in Spain or Portugal.



DON ALONZO DE [illegible] EXHIBITS HIS SKILL AND PROWESS ON THE GIRALDA OF SEVILLE
[illegible] TOWER [illegible] MOORISH ARCHITECTURE

by one possessed of immense muscular strength. Throughout all this exploit, the least giddiness, or false step, would have precipitated him to the earth and dashed him to pieces.

During the fitting out of the armament, various disputes occurred between Columbus and the persons appointed by the crown to assist him. Juan de Soria, the comptroller, demurred occasionally to the expenses, which exceeded the amount originally calculated, and he sometimes refused to sign the accounts of the admiral. The archdeacon Fonseca, also, disputed the requisitions of Columbus for footmen and domestics, suitable to his state as viceroy. They both received reprimands from the sovereigns, and were commanded to study, in every thing, the wishes of Columbus. From this trifling cause we may date the rise of an implacable hostility, ever after manifested by Fonseca towards Columbus, which every year increased in rancor, and which his official station enabled him to gratify in the most invidious manner. Enjoying the unmerited favor of the sovereigns, he maintained a control of Indian affairs for about thirty years. He must undoubtedly have possessed talents for business, to ensure such perpetuity of office; but he was malignant and vindictive, and, in the gratification of his private resentments, often obstructed the national enterprises, and heaped wrongs and sorrows on the heads of the most illustrious of the early discoverers.



CHAPTER XVII.

DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS ON HIS SECOND VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY. ARRIVAL AT HISPANIOLA. (1493.)

THE departure of Columbus on his second voyage of discovery presented a brilliant contrast to his gloomy embarkation at Palos. On the 25th of September, at the dawn of day, the bay of Cadiz was whitened by his fleet. There were three large ships of heavy burden, and fourteen caravels. The number of persons permitted to embark had originally been limited to one thousand; but many volunteers were allowed to enlist without pay, others got on board of the ships by stealth, so that eventually about fifteen hundred set sail in the fleet. All were full of animation, and took a gay leave of their friends, anticipating a prosperous voyage and triumphant return. Instead of being regarded by the populace as devoted men, bound upon a dark and desperate enterprise, they were contemplated with envy as favored mortals, destined to golden regions and delightful climes, where nothing but wealth, and wonder, and enjoyment awaited them. Columbus moved among the throng, accompanied by his sons, Diego and Fernando, the eldest but a stripling, who had come to witness his departure. Wherever he passed, every eye followed him with admiration, and every tongue extolled and blessed him. Before sunrise the whole fleet

was under weigh; the weather was serene and propitious, and as the populace watched their parting, sails brightening in the morning beams, they looked forward to their joyful return, laden with the treasures of the new world.

Columbus touched at the Canary Islands, where he took in wood and water, and procured live stock, plants, and seeds, to be propagated in Hispaniola. On the 13th of October, he lost sight of the island of Ferro, and, favored by the trade winds, was borne pleasantly along, shaping his course to the south-west, hoping to fall in with the islands of the Caribs, of which he had received such interesting accounts in his first voyage. At the dawn of day of the 2d of November, a lofty island was descried to the west, to which he gave the name of Dominica, from having discovered it on Sunday. As the ships moved gently onward, other islands rose to sight, one after another, covered with forests, and enlivened by flights of parrots and other tropical birds, while the whole air was sweetened by the fragrance of the breezes which passed over them. These were a part of that beautiful cluster of islands called the Antilles, which sweep almost in a semicircle from the eastern end of Porto Rico, to the coast of Paria on the southern continent, forming a kind of barrier between the main ocean and the Caribbean Sea.

In one of those islands, to which they gave the name of Guadaloupe, the Spaniards first met with the delicious anana, or pine-apple. They found also, to their surprise, the sternpost of a European vessel, which caused much speculation, but which, most probably, was the fragment of some wreck, borne across the Atlantic by the constant current which accompanies the trade winds. What most struck their attention, however, and filled them with horror, was the sight of human limbs hanging in the houses, as if curing for provisions, and others broiling or roasting at the fire. Columbus now concluded that he had arrived at the islands of the cannibals, or Caribs, the objects of his search; and he was confirmed in this belief by several captives taken by his men. These Caribs were the most ferocious people of these seas; making roving expeditions in their canoes, to the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues, invading the islands, ravaging the villages, making slaves of the youngest and handsomest females, and carrying off the men to be killed and eaten.

While at this island, a party of eight men, headed by Diego

Marque, captain of one of the caravels, strayed into the woods, and did not return at night to the ships. The admiral was extremely uneasy at their absence, fearing some evil from the ferocious disposition of the islanders; on the following day, parties were sent in quest of them, each with a trumpeter, to sound calls and signals, and guns were fired from the ships, but all to no purpose. The parties returned in the evening, wearied by a fruitless search, with many dismal stories of the traces of cannibalism they had met with.

Alonzo de Ojeda, the daring young cavalier who has already been mentioned, then set off with forty men, into the interior of the island, beating up the forests, and making the mountains and valleys resound with trumpets and firearms, but with no better success. Their search was rendered excessively toilsome by the closeness and luxuriance of the forests, and by the windings and doublings of the streams, which were so frequent, that Ojeda declared he had waded through twenty-six rivers within the distance of six leagues. He gave the most enthusiastic accounts of the country. The forests, he said, were filled with aromatic trees and shrubs, which he had no doubt would be found to produce precious gums and spices.



CARIBS TORTURING A PRISONER, WHOSE FLESH THEY DEVOUR WHILE HE IS STILL ALIVE.

Several days elapsed without tidings of the stragglers, and Columbus, giving them up for lost, was on the point of sailing,



ALONZO DE [illegible]DA IN SEARCH OF THE LOST EXPLORING PARTY BESET BY INNUMERABLE HARDSHIPS

when they made their way back to the fleet, haggard and exhausted. For several days, they had been bewildered in the mazes of a forest so dense as almost to exclude the day. Some of them had climbed trees in hopes of getting a sight of the stars, by which to govern their course, but the height of the branches shut out all view of the heavens. They were almost reduced to despair, when they fortunately arrived at the seashore, and keeping along it, came to where the fleet was at anchor.

After leaving Guadaloupe, Columbus touched at other of the Caribbean Islands. At one of them, which he named Santa Cruz, a ship's boat, sent on shore for water, had an encounter with a canoe, in which were many Indians, some of whom were females. The women fought as desperately as the men, and plied their bows with such vigor, that one of them sent an arrow through a Spanish buckler, and wounded the soldier who bore it. The canoe being run down and overset, they continued to fight while in the water, gathering themselves occasionally on sunken rocks, and managing their weapons as dexterously as if they had been on firm ground. It was with the utmost difficulty they could be overpowered and taken. When brought on board the ships, the Spaniards could not but admire their untamed spirit and fierce demeanor. One of the females, from the reverence with which the rest treated her, appeared to be their queen; she was accompanied by her son, a young man strongly made, with a haughty and frowning brow, who had been wounded in the combat. One of the Indians had been transpierced by a lance, and died of the wound; and one of the Spaniards died a day or two afterwards, of a wound received from a poisoned arrow.

Pursuing his voyage, Columbus passed by a cluster of small islands, to which he gave the name of The Eleven Thousand Virgins, and arrived one evening in sight of a great island, covered with fine forests, and indented with havens. It was called by the natives Boriquen, but he named it San Juan Bautista; it is the same since known by the name of Porto Rico. After running for a whole day along its beautiful coast, and touching at a bay at the west end, he arrived, on the 22d of November, off the eastern extremity of Hayti, or Hispaniola. The greatest animation prevailed throughout the armada at the thoughts of soon arriving at the end of their voyage, while those who had accompanied Columbus in the

preceding expedition, looked forward to meeting with the comrades they had left behind, and to a renewal of pleasant scenes among the groves of Hayti. Passing by the gulf of Las Fleches, where the skirmish had occurred with the natives, Columbus set on shore one of the young Indians who had been taken from the neighborhood, and had accompanied him to Spain. He dismissed him finely apparelled and loaded with trinkets, anticipating favorable effects from the accounts he would be able to give to his countrymen of the power and munificence of the Spaniards, but he never heard any thing of him more. Only one Indian, of those who had been to Spain, remained in the fleet, a young Lucayan, native of the island of Guanahani, who had been baptized at Barcelona, and named after the admiral's brother, Diego Colon; he continued always faithful and devoted to the Spaniards.

Continuing along the coast, Columbus paused in the neighborhood of Monte Christi, to fix upon a place for a settlement, in the neighborhood of a stream said to abound in gold, to which, in his first voyage, he had given the name of Rio del Oro. Here, as the seamen were ranging the shore, they found the bodies of three men and a boy, one of whom had a rope of Spanish grass about his neck, and another, from having a beard, was evidently a European. The bodies were in a state of decay, but bore the marks of violence. This spectacle gave rise to many gloomy forebodings, and Columbus hastened forward to La Navidad, full of apprehensions that some disaster had befallen Diego de Arana and his companions.



FROM THE COLUMBUS STATUE AT GENOA.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FATE OF THE FORTRESS OF LA NAVIDAD. TRANSACTIONS AT THE HARBOR. (1493.)



N the evening of the 27th of November, Columbus anchored opposite to the harbor of La Navidad, about a league from the land. As it was too dark to distinguish objects, he ordered two signal guns to be fired. The report echoed along the shore, but there was no gun, or light, or friendly shout in reply. Several hours passed away in the most dismal suspense; about midnight, a number of Indians came off in a canoe and inquired for the admiral, refusing to come on board until they should see him personally. Columbus showed himself at the side of his vessel, and a light being held up, his countenance and commanding person were not to be mistaken. The Indians now entered the ship without hesitation. One of them was a cousin of the cacique Guacanagari, and the bearer of a present from him. The first inquiry of Columbus was concerning the garrison. He was informed that several of the Spaniards had died of sickness, others had fallen in a quarrel among themselves, and others had removed to a different part of the island;—that Guacanagari had been assailed by Caonabo, the fierce cacique of the golden mountains of Cibao, who had wounded him in combat, and burnt his village, and that he remained ill of his wound, in a neighboring hamlet.

Melancholy as were these tidings, they relieved Columbus from the painful suspicion of treachery on the part of the cacique and people in whom he had confided, and gave him hopes of finding

some of the scattered garrison still alive. The Indians were well entertained, and gratified with presents; on departing they promised to return in the morning with Guacanagari. The morning, however, dawned and passed away, and the day declined without the promised visit from the chieftain. There was a silence and an air of desertion about the whole neighborhood. Not a canoe appeared in the harbor; not an Indian hailed them from the land, nor was there any smoke to be seen rising from among the groves. Towards the evening, a boat was sent on shore to reconnoiter. The crew hastened to the place where the fortress had been erected. They found it burnt and demolished; the palisadoes beaten down, and the ground strewn with broken chests, spoiled provisions, and the fragments of European garments. Not an Indian approached them, and if they caught a sight of any lurking among the trees, they vanished on finding themselves perceived. Meeting no one from whom they could obtain information concerning this melancholy scene, they returned to the ships with dejected hearts.

Columbus, himself, landed on the following morning, and repairing to the ruins of the fortress, caused diligent search to be made for the dead bodies of the garrison. Cannon and arquebuses were discharged to summon any survivors that might be in the neighborhood, but none made their appearance. Columbus had ordered Arana and his fellow officers, in case of sudden danger, to bury all the treasure they might possess, or throw it in the well of the fortress. The well was therefore searched, and excavations were made among the ruins, but no gold was to be found. Not far from the fortress, the bodies of eleven Europeans were discovered buried in different places, and they appeared to have been for some time in the ground. In the houses of a neighboring hamlet were found several European articles, which could not have been procured by barter. This gave suspicions that the fortress had been plundered by the Indians in the vicinity; while, on the other hand, the village of Guacanagari was a mere heap of burnt ruins, which showed that he and his people had been involved in the same disaster with the garrison. Columbus was for some time perplexed by these contradictory documents of a disastrous story. At length a communication was effected with some of the natives; their evident apprehensions were dispelled, and by the aid of the interpreter the fate of the garrison was more minutely ascertained.

It appeared that Columbus had scarcely set sail for Spain, when all his counsels and commands faded from the minds of those who remained behind. Instead of cultivating the good will of the natives, they endeavored, by all kinds of wrongful means, to get possession of their golden ornaments and other articles of value, and seduced from them their wives and daughters. Fierce brawls occurred between themselves, about their ill-gotten spoils, or the favors of the Indian women. In vain did Diego de Arana interpose his authority; all order, all subordination, all unanimity, were at an end; factions broke out among them, and at length ambition arose to complete the destruction of this mimic empire. Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo de Escobedo, whom Columbus had left as lieutenants, to succed Arana in case of accident, now aspired to an equal share in the authority. In the quarrels which succeeded, a Spaniard was killed, and Gutierrez and Escobedo, having failed in their object, withdrew from the fortress, with nine of their adherents, and a number of women, and set off for the mountains of Cibao, with the idea of procuring immense wealth from its golden mines. These mountains were in the territories of the famous Caonabo, called by the Spaniards "the lord of the golden house." He was a Carib by



CACIQUE WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF HIS CAPTAINS FROM ISABELLA, FINDS THE BODIES OF SOME OF THE SLAIN GARRISON OF LA NAVIDAD.

birth, and had come an adventurer to the island, but, possessing the fierceness and enterprise of his nation, had gained such an ascendancy over these simple and unwarlike people, as to make himself their most powerful cacique. The wonderful accounts of the white men had reached him among his mountains, and he had the shrewdness to perceive that his own consequence must decline before such formidable intruders. The departure of Columbus had given him hopes that their intrusion would be but temporary; the discords of those who remained increased his confidence. No sooner, therefore, did Gutierrez and Escobedo, with their companions, appear in his dominions, than he seized them and put them to death. He then assembled his subjects, and traversing the forests with profound secrecy, arrived in the vicinity of La Navidad without being discovered. But ten men remained in the fortress with Arana; the rest were living in careless security in the village. In the dead of the night Caonabo and his warriors burst upon the place with frightful yells, and set fire to the fortress and village. The Spaniards were completely taken by surprise. Eight were driven to the seaside, and, rushing into the waves, were drowned; the rest were massacred. Guacanagari and his subjects fought faithfully in defence of their guests, but, not being of a warlike character, they were easily routed. The cacique was wounded in the conflict, and his village burnt to the ground.

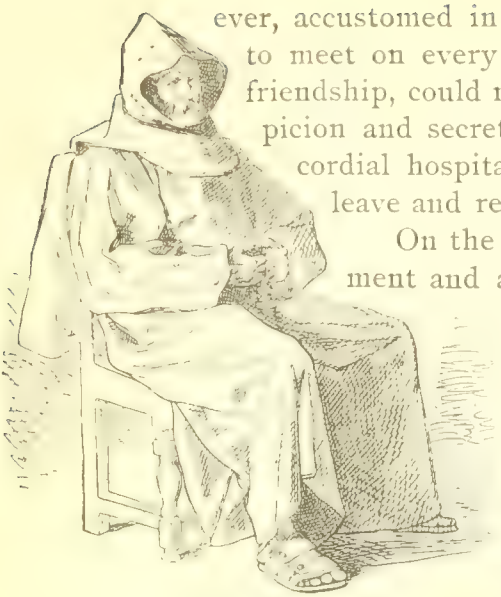
Such is the story of the first European establishment in the new world. It presents in a diminutive compass an epitome of the gross vices which degrade civilization, and the grand political errors which sometimes subvert the mightiest empires. All law and order were relaxed by licentiousness; public good was sacrificed to private interest and passion; the community was convulsed by divers factions, until the whole body politic was shaken asunder by two aspiring demagogues, ambitious of the command of a petty fortress in a wilderness, and the supreme control of eight and thirty men!

This account of the catastrophe of the fortress satisfied Columbus of the good faith of Guacanagari; but circumstances concurred to keep alive the suspicions entertained of him by the Spaniards. Columbus paid a visit to the chieftain, whom he found in a neighboring village, suffering apparently from a bruise which he had received in the leg from a stone. Several of his subjects, also, exhibited recent wounds, which had evidently been made by Indian

weapons. The cacique was greatly agitated at seeing Columbus, and deplored with tears the misfortunes of the garrison. At the request of the admiral, his leg was examined by a Spanish surgeon, but no sign of a wound was to be seen, though he shrunk with pain whenever the leg was touched. As some time had elapsed since the battle, the external bruise might have disappeared, while a tenderness might remain in the part. Many of the Spaniards, however, who had not witnessed the generous conduct of the cacique in the first voyage, looked upon his lameness as feigned, and the whole story of the battle a fabrication, to conceal his perfidy. Columbus persisted in believing him innocent, and invited him on board of his ships, where the cacique was greatly astonished at the wonders of art and nature, brought from the old world. What most amazed him were the horses. He had never seen any but the most diminutive quadrupeds, and gazed with awe at the grandeur of these noble animals, their great strength, terrific appearance, yet perfect docility. The sight of the Carib prisoners also increased his idea of the prowess of the Spaniards, having the hardihood to invade these terrible beings, even in their strongholds, while he could scarcely look upon them without shuddering, though in chains.

On board the ship were several Indian women who had been captives to the Caribs. Among them was one distinguished above her companions by a certain loftiness of demeanor; she had been much noticed and admired by the Spaniards, who had given her the name of Catalina. She particularly attracted the attention of the cacique, who is represented to have been of an amorous complexion. He spoke to her repeatedly, with great gentleness of tone and manner, pity in all probability being mingled with his admiration; for, though rescued from the hands of the Caribs, she and her companions were still, in a manner, captives on board of the ship.

A collation was served up for the entertainment of Guacanagari, and Columbus endeavored by kindness and hospitality to revive their former cordial intercourse, but it was all in vain; the cacique was evidently distrustful and ill at ease. The suspicions of his guilt gained ground among the Spaniards. Father Boyle, in particular, regarded him with an evil eye, and advised Columbus, now that he had him securely on board of his ship, to detain him prisoner; but Columbus rejected the counsel of the crafty friar, as contrary to sound policy and honorable faith. The cacique, how-



THE CRAFTY FRIAR.

ever, accustomed in his former intercourse with the Spaniards to meet on every side with faces beaming with gratitute and friendship, could not but perceive the altered looks of cold suspicion and secret hostility. Notwithstanding the frank and cordial hospitality of the admiral, therefore, he soon took leave and returned to land.

On the following day, there was a mysterious movement and agitation among the natives on shore. The brother of Guacanagari came on board, under pretext of bartering a quantity of gold, but, as it afterwards proved, to bear a message to Catalina, the Indian female, whose beauty had captivated the heart of the cacique, and whom, with a kind of native gallantry, he wished to deliver from bondage.

At midnight, when the crew were buried in their first sleep, Catalina awakened her female companions, and proposed a bold attempt to gain their liberty. The ship was anchored full three miles from the shore, and the sea was rough; but these island women were accustomed to buffet with the waves, and the water was, to them, almost as their natural element. Letting themselves down silently from the side of the vessel, they trusted to the strength of their arms, and swam bravely for the shore. They were overheard by the watch, the alarm was given, the boats were manned and gave chase in the direction of a light blazing on the shore, an evident beacon for the fugitives. Such was the vigor of these sea nymphs, however, that they reached the land before they were overtaken. Four were captured on the beach, but the heroic Catalina, with the rest of her companions, escaped in safety to the forest. Guacanagari disappeared on the same day with all his household and effects, and it was supposed had taken refuge, with his island beauty, in the interior. His desertion gave redoubled force to the doubts heretofore entertained, and he was generally stigmatized as the perfidious destroyer of the garrison.

CHAPTER XIX.

FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF ISABELLA. DISCONTENTS OF THE 1493.)

THE misfortunes which had befallen the Spaniards, both by sea and land, in the vicinity of this harbor, threw a gloom over the place, and it was considered by the superstitious mariners as under some baneful influence, or malignant star. The situation, too, was low, moist, and unhealthy, and there was no stone in the neighborhood for building. Columbus searched, therefore, for a more favorable place for his projected colony, and fixed upon a harbor about ten leagues east of Monte Christi, protected on one side by a natural rampart of rocks, and on the other by an impervious forest, with a fine plain in the vicinity, watered by two rivers. A great inducement also for settling here was, that it was at no great distance from the mountains of Cibao, where the gold mines were situated.

The troops and the various persons to be employed in the colony were immediately disembarked, together with the stores, arms, ammunition, and all the cattle and live stock. An encampment was formed on the margin of the plain, round a sheet of water, and the plan of a town traced out, and the houses commenced. The public edifices, such as a church, a storehouse, and a residence for the admiral, were constructed of stone; the rest of wood, plaster,

·ds, and such other materials as could be readily procured. Thus was founded the first Christian city of the new world, to which Columbus gave the name of Isabella, in honor of his royal patroness.

For a time every one exerted himself with zeal; but maladies to make their appearance. Many had suffered from sea sickness, and the long confinement on board of the ships; others, from the exposures on the land, before houses could be built for their reception, and from the exhalations of a hot and moist climate, dense natural forests, and a new, rank soil, so trying to constitutions accustomed to a dry climate, and open, cultivated country. The important and hurried labors of building the city and cultivating the earth, bore hard upon the Spaniards, many of whom were unaccustomed to labor, and needed repose and relaxation. The maladies of the mind also mingled with those of the body. Many, as has been shown, had embarked in the enterprise with the most visionary and romantic expectations. What, then, was their surprise at finding themselves surrounded by impracticable forests, doomed to toil painfully for mere subsistence, and to attain every comfort by the severest exertion! As to gold, which they had expected to find readily and in abundance, it was to be procured only in small quantities, and by patient and persevering labor. All these disappointments sank deep into their hearts, their spirits flagged as their golden dreams melted away, and the gloom of despondency aided the ravages of disease. Columbus, himself, was overcome by the fatigues, anxieties, and exposures he had suffered, and for several weeks was confined to his bed by severe illness; but his energetic mind rose superior to the maladies of the body, and he continued to give directions about the building of the city, and the general concerns of the expedition.

The greater part of the ships were ready to return to Spain, but he had no treasure to send with them. The destruction of the garrison had defeated all his hopes of finding a quantity of gold, amassed and ready to be sent to the sovereigns. It was necessary for him to do something, however, before the vessels sailed, to keep up the reputation of his discoveries, and justify his own magnificent representations. The region of the mines lay at a distance of but three or four days' journey, directly in the interior; the very name of the cacique, Caonabo, signifying "the lord of the



ALONZO DE OJEDA SETS OUT WITH A SMALL NUMBER OF WELL-ARMED MEN FOR THE GOLDEN MOUNTAINS OF CIBAO.

DRAWING BY F. H. LUNGREN.

golden house," seemed to indicate the wealth of his dominions. Columbus determined, therefore, to send an expedition to explore them. If the result should answer to the accounts given by the Indians, he would be able to send home the fleet with confidence, bearing tidings of the discovery of the golden mountains of Cibao.

The person chosen for this enterprise was Alonzo de Ojeda, who delighted in all service of an adventurous nature. He set out from the harbor early in January, 1494, accompanied by a small number of well-armed men, several of them young and spirited cavaliers like himself. They crossed the first range of mountains by a narrow and winding Indian path, and descended into a vast plain, covered with noble forests, and studded with villages and hamlets. The inhabitants overwhelmed them with hospitality, and delayed them in their journey by their kindness. They had to ford many rivers, also, so that they were six days in reaching the chain of mountains, which locked up, as it were, the golden region of Cibao. Here they saw ample signs of natural wealth. The sands of the mountain streams glittered with particles of gold; in some places they picked up large specimens of virgin ore, and stones streaked and richly impregnated with it. Ojeda, himself, found a mass of rude gold in one of the brooks, weighing nine ounces. The little band returned to the harbor, with enthusiastic accounts of the golden promise of these mountains. A young cavalier, named Gorvalan, who had been sent to explore a different tract of country, returned with similar reports. Encouraged by these good tidings, Columbus lost no time in despatching twelve of the ships, under the command of Antonio de Torres, retaining only five for the service of the colony. By these ships he sent home specimens of the gold found among the mountains of Cibao, and of all fruits and plants of unknown and valuable species, together with the Carib captives, to be instructed in the Spanish language and the Christian faith, that they might serve as interpreters, and aid in the conversion of their countrymen. He wrote, also, a sanguine account of the two expeditions into the interior, and expressed a confident expectation, as soon as the health of himself and his people would permit, of procuring and making abundant shipments of gold, spices, and valuable drugs. He extolled the fertility of the soil, evinced in the luxuriant growth of the sugar-cane, and of various European grains and vegetables; but entreated

supplies of provisions for the immediate wants of the colony, as their stores were nearly exhausted, and they could not accustom themselves to the diet of the natives.

Among many sound and salutary suggestions in this letter, there was one of a pernicious tendency. In his anxiety to lighten the expenses of the colony, and procure revenue to the crown, he recommended that the natives of the Caribbean Islands, being cannibals and ferocious invaders of their peaceful neighbors, should be captured and sold as slaves, or exchanged with merchants for live stock and other necessary supplies. He observed, that, by transmitting these infidels to Europe, where they would have the benefits of Christian instruction, there would be so many souls snatched from perdition, and so many converts gained to the faith. Such is the strange sophistry by which upright men may deceive themselves, and think they are obeying the dictates of their conscience, when, in fact, they are but listening to the incitements of their interest. It is but just to add that the sovereigns did not accord with him in his ideas, but ordered that the Caribs should be treated like the rest of the islanders; a command which emanated from the merciful heart of Isabella, who ever showed herself the benign protectress of the Indians.

When the fleet arrived in Europe, though it brought no gold, yet the tidings from Columbus and his companions kept up the popular excitement. The sordid calculations of petty spirits were as yet overruled by the enthusiasm of generous minds. There was something wonderfully grand in the idea of introducing new races of animals and plants, of building cities, extending colonies and sowing the seeds of civilization and of enlightened empire in this beautiful but savage world. It struck the minds of learned and classical men with admiration, filling them with pleasant dreams and reveries, and seeming to realize the poetical pictures of the olden time; of Saturn, Ceres, and Triptolemus, traveling about the earth to spread new inventions among mankind, and of the colonizing enterprises of the Phœnicians.

But while such sanguine anticipations were indulged in Europe, murmuring and sedition began to prevail among the colonists. Disappointed in their hopes of wealth, disgusted with the labors imposed upon them, and appalled by the prevalent maladies, they looked with horror upon the surrounding wilderness, and became

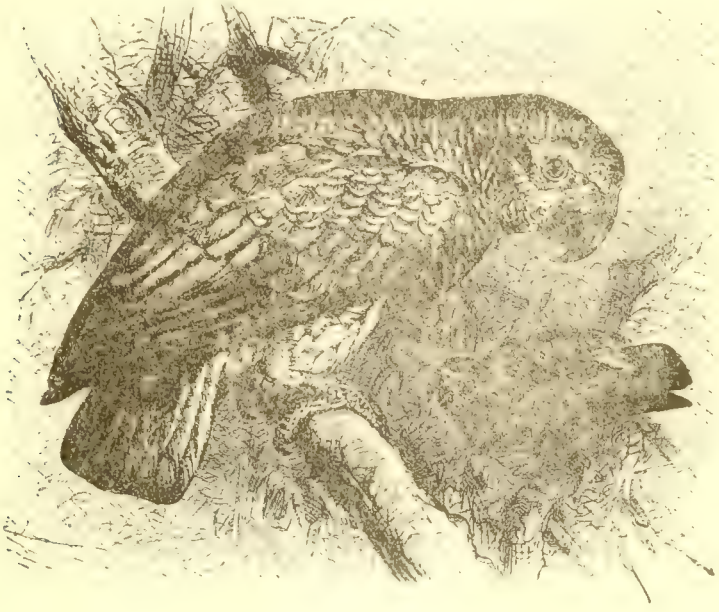
impatient to return to Spain. Their discontents were increased by one Firmin Cado, a wrong-headed and captious man, who had come out as assayer and purifier of metals, but whose ignorance in his art equaled his obstinacy of opinion. He pertinaciously insisted that there was scarcely any gold in the island, and that all the specimens brought by the natives, had been accumulated in the course of several generations, and been handed down from father to son in their families.



THE CONSPIRATOR, BERNAL DIAZ DE PISA, ARRESTED AND CONFINED ON ONE OF THE SHIPS, TO BE SENT TO SPAIN FOR TRIAL.

At length a conspiracy was formed, headed by Bernal Diaz de Pisa, the comptroller, to take advantage of the illness of Columbus, to seize upon the ships remaining in the harbor, and to return to Spain; where they thought it would be easy to justify their conduct, by accusing Columbus of gross deceptions and exaggerations concerning the countries he had discovered. Fortunately, Columbus received information in time, and arrested the ringleaders of the conspiracy. Bernal Diaz was confined on board of one of the ships, to be sent to Spain for trial; and several of the inferior mutineers were punished, but not with the severity their offense deserved. This was the first time Columbus exercised the right of punishing delinquents in his new government, and it immediately caused a great clamor against him. Already the disadvantage

of being a foreigner was clearly manifested. He had no natural friends to rally round him; whereas the mutineers had connections in Spain, friends in the colony, and met with sympathy in every discontented mind.



CHAPTER XX.

EXPEDITION OF COLUMBUS INTO THE INTERIOR OF HISPANIOLA. (1494.)

AS the surest means of quieting the murmurs and rousing the spirits of his people, Columbus, as soon as his health permitted, made preparations for an expedition to the mountains of Cibao, to explore the country, and establish a post in the vicinity of the mines. Placing his brother Diego in command at Isabella, during his absence, and taking with him every person in health that could be spared from the settlement, and all the cavalry, he departed, on the 12th of March, at the head of four hundred men, armed with helmets and corselets, with arquebuses, lances, swords, and cross-bows, and followed by laborers and miners, and a multitude of the neighboring Indians. After traversing a plain, and fording two rivers, they encamped in the evening at the foot of a wild and rocky pass of the mountains.

The ascent of this defile presented formidable difficulties to the little army, which was encumbered with various munitions, and with mining implements. There was nothing but an Indian footpath winding among rocks and precipices, and the entangled vegetation of a tropical forest. A number of high-spirited young cavaliers, therefore, threw themselves in the advance, and aiding the laborers and pioneers, and stimulating them with promises of liberal reward, they soon constructed the first road formed by Europeans in the new world, which, in commemoration of their generous zeal, was called *El Puerto de los Hidalgos*, or the Pass of the Hidalgos.

On the following day the army toiled up this steep defile, and arrived where the gorge of the mountain opened into the interior. Here a glorious prospect burst upon their view. Below lay a vast and delicious plain, enameled with all the rich variety of tropical vegetation. The magnificent forests presented that mingled beauty and majesty of vegetable forms, peculiar to these generous climates. Palms of prodigious height, and spreading mahogany trees, towered from amid a wilderness of variegated foliage. Universal freshness and verdure were maintained by numerous streams which meandered gleaming through the deep bosom of the woodland, while various villages and hamlets seen among the trees, and the smoke of others rising out of the forests, gave signs of a numerous population. The luxuriant landscape extended as far as the eye could reach, until it appeared to melt away and mingle with the horizon. The Spaniards gazed with rapture upon this soft, voluptuous country, which seemed to realize their ideas of a terrestrial paradise; and Columbus, struck with its vast extent, gave it the name of Vega Real, or Royal Plain.



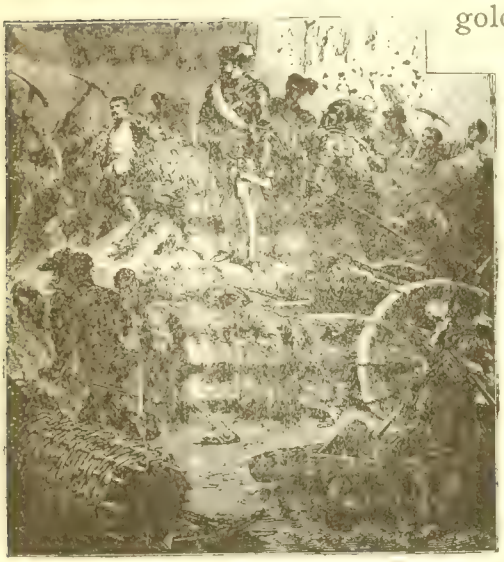
COLUMBUS AND HIS ARMY CROSSES THE HEIGHTS OF LOS HICACOS

Having descended the rugged pass, the army issued upon the plain, in military array, with great clangor of warlike instruments. When the Indians beheld this band of warriors, glittering in steel, emerging from the mountains with prancing steeds and floating banners, and heard, for the first time, their rocks and forests echoing to the din of drum and trumpet, they were bewildered with astonishment. The horses especially, excited their terror and admiration. They at first supposed the rider and his steed to be one animal, and nothing could exceed their surprise on seeing the horseman dismount.

On the approach of the army, the Indians generally fled with terror, but their fears were soon dispelled; they then absolutely retarded the march of the army by their kindness and hospitality; nor did they appear to have any idea of receiving a recompense for

the provisions they furnished in abundance. The untutored savage, in almost every part of the world, scorns to make a traffic of hospitality.

For two or three days, they continued their march across this noble plain, where every scene presented the luxuriance of wild, uncivilized nature. They crossed two large rivers; one, called the Yagui by the natives, was named by the admiral the river of Reeds; to the other he gave the name of Rio Verde, or Green River, from the verdure and freshness of its banks. At length they arrived at a chain of lofty and rugged mountains, which formed a kind of barrier to the vega, and amidst which lay the golden region of Cibao. On entering this vaunted country, the whole character of the scenery changed, as if nature delighted in contrarieties, and displayed a miser-like poverty of exterior when teeming with hidden treasures. Instead of the soft, luxuriant landscape of the vega, nothing was to be seen but chains of rocky and sterile mountains, scantily clothed with pines. The very name of the country bespoke the nature of the soil; Cibao, in the language of the natives, signifying a stone. But what consoled the Spaniards for the asperity of the soil, was to observe particles of gold among the sands of the streams, which they regarded as earnests of the wealth locked up in the mountains.



COLUMBUS BUILDS THE FORT ST. THOMAS IN THE GOLDEN REGIONS OF CIBAO.

Choosing a situation in a neighborhood that seemed to abound in mines, Columbus began to build a fortress, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, intended as a pleasant, though pious, reproof of Firmin Cado and his doubting adherents, who had refused to believe that the island contained gold, until they should behold it with their eyes, and touch it with their hands.

While the admiral remained superintending the building of the fortress, he dispatched a young cavalier of Madrid, named Juan de Luxan, with a small band of armed men, to explore the province. Luxan returned after a few days, with the most satisfactory accounts. He found many parts of Cibao more capable of cultiva-

tion than those that had been seen by the admiral. The forests appeared to abound with spices; the trees were overrun with vines bearing clusters of grapes of pleasant flavor; while every valley and glen had its stream, yielding more or less gold, and showing the universal prevalence of that precious metal.

The natives of the surrounding country likewise flocked to the fortress of St. Thomas, bringing gold to exchange for European trinkets. One old man brought two pieces of virgin ore weighing an ounce, and thought himself richly repaid on receiving a hawk's bell. On remarking the admiration of the admiral at the size of these specimens, he assured him that in his country, which lay at half a day's distance, pieces were found as big as an orange. Others spoke of masses of ore as large as the head of a child, to be met with in their neighborhood. As usual, however, these golden tracts were always in some remote valley, or along some rugged and sequestered stream; and the wealthiest spot was sure to lie at the greatest distance—for the land of promise is ever beyond the mountain.



CHAPTER XXI.

CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NATIVES.

THE fortress of St. Thomas being nearly completed, Columbus left it in command of Pedro Margarite, a native of Catalonia, and knight of the order of Santiago, with a garrison of fifty-six men, and set out on his return to Isabella. He paused for a time in the vega to establish routes between the fortress and the harbor; during which time he sojourned in the villages, that his men might become accustomed to the food of the natives, and that a mutual good-will might grow up between them.

Columbus had already discovered the error of one of his opinions concerning these islanders, formed during his first voyage. They were not so entirely pacific, nor so ignorant of warlike arts, as he had imagined. The casual descents of the Caribs had compelled the inhabitants of the sea-coast to acquaint themselves with the use of arms; and Caonabo had introduced something of his own warlike spirit into the center of the island. Yet, generally speaking, the habits of the people were mild and gentle. Their religious creed was of a vague yet simple nature. They believed in one Supreme Being, who inhabited the sky, who was immortal, omnipotent, and invisible; to whom they ascribed an origin, having had a mother, but no father. They never addressed their worship directly to him, but to inferior deities, called zemes, a kind of mes-



sengers, or mediators. Each cacique, each family, and each individual, had a particular zemi as a tutelary or protecting genius; whose image, generally of a hideous form, was placed about their houses, carved on their furniture, and sometimes bound to their foreheads when they went to battle. They believed their zemes to be transferable, with all their beneficial powers; they, therefore, often stole them from each other, and, when the Spaniards arrived, hid them away, lest they should be taken by the strangers.



ZEMI FIGURES IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WEST INDIES, SOMETIMES MADE FROM STONE.

They believed that these zemes presided over every object in nature. Some had sway over the elements, causing sterile or abundant years, sending whirlwinds and tempests of rain and thunder, or sweet and temperate breezes, and prolific showers. Some governed the seas and forests, the springs and fountains, like the nereids, the dryads, and satyrs of antiquity. They gave success in hunting and fishing; they guided the mountain streams into safe channels, leading them to meander peacefully through the plains; or, if incensed, they caused them to burst forth into floods and torrents, inundating and laying waste the valleys.

The Indians were well acquainted with the medicinal properties of trees and vegetables. Their butios, or priests, acted as physicians, curing diseases with simples, but making use of many mysterious rites; chanting and burning a light in the chamber of the patient, and pretending to exorcise the malady, and to send it to the sea or to the mountain. They practiced also many deceptions, making the idols to speak with oracular voice, to enforce the orders of the caciques.



INDIAN HUT IN THE ANTILLES.

(RESTORATION FROM DATA OBTAINED FROM SUCH AS MAY STILL BE SEEN ON THE COAST OF THE NEIGHBORING CONTINENT.)

Once a year, each cacique held a festival in honor of his zemi, when his subjects formed a procession to the temple, the married men and women decorated with their most precious ornaments; the young females entirely naked, carrying baskets of cakes, ornamented with flowers, and singing as they advanced, while the cacique beat time on an Indian drum. After the cakes had been offered to the zemi they were broken and distributed among the people, to be preserved in their houses as charms against all adverse accidents. The young females then danced to the cadence of songs in praise of their deities, and of the heroic actions of their ancient caciques; and the whole ceremony concluded by a grand invocation to the zemi to watch over and protect the nation.

The natives believed that their island of Hayti was the earliest part of creation, and that the sun and moon issued out of one of its caverns to give light to the universe. This cavern still exists near Cape François, and the hole in the roof may still be seen from whence the Indians believed the sun and moon had sallied forth to take their places in the sky. It was consecrated as a kind of temple; two idols were placed in it, and the walls were decorated with green branches. In times of great drought the natives made pilgrimages and processions to it, with songs and dances, and offerings of fruit and flowers.

They ascribed to another cavern, the origin of the human race, believing that the large men issued forth from a great aperture, but the little men from a little cranny. For a long time they dared venture from the cavern only in the night, for the sight of the sun was fatal to them, producing wonderful transformations. One of their number, having lingered on a river's bank, where he was fishing, until the sun had risen, was turned into a bird of melodious note, which yearly, about the time of his transformation, is heard singing plaintively in the night bewailing his misfortune. This is the same bird which Columbus mistook for a nightingale.

When the human race at length emerged from the cave, they for some time wandered about disconsolately without females, until, coming near a small lake, they beheld certain animals among the branches of the trees, which proved to be women. On attempting to catch them, however, they were found to be as slippery as eels, so that it was impossible to hold them, until they employed certain men whose hands had been rendered rough by a kind of leprosy.

These succeeded in securing four of them; and from these slippery females the world was peopled.

Like most savage nations, they had a tradition concerning the deluge, equally fanciful with the preceding. They said that there once lived in the island a mighty cacique, whose only son conspiring against him, he slew him. He afterwards preserved his bones in a gourd, as was the custom of the natives with the remains of their friends. On a subsequent day, the cacique and his wife opened the gourd to contemplate the bones of their son, when, to their surprise, several fish leaped out. Upon this the discreet cacique closed the gourd, and placed it on the top of his hut, boasting that he had the sea shut up within it, and could have fish whenever he pleased. Four brothers, however, children of the same birth, and curious intermeddlers, hearing of this gourd, came during the absence of the cacique to peep into it. In their carelessness they suffered it to fall upon the ground, where it was dashed to pieces; when, lo! to their astonishment and dismay, there issued forth a mighty flood, with dolphins and sharks, and tumbling porpoises, and great spouting whales; and the water spread until it overflowed the earth, and formed the ocean, leaving only the tops of the mountains uncovered, which are the present islands.

They had singular modes of treating the dying and the dead. When the life of a cacique was despaired of, they strangled him, out of a principle of respect, rather than suffer him to die like the vulgar. Common people, in like situation, were extended in their hammocks, bread and water placed beside them, and they were then abandoned to die in solitude. Sometimes they were carried to the cacique, and if he permitted them the distinction, they were strangled. The body of the deceased was sometimes consumed with fire in his habitation; sometimes the bones were retained, or the head, or a limb, and treasured up among the family relics. After the death of a cacique, his body was opened, dried at a fire, and preserved.

They had confused notions of the existence of the soul when separated from the body, and believed in apparitions of the deceased. They had an idea that the spirits of good men after death were reunited to the spirits of those they had most loved, and to those of their ancestors; they were transported to a happy region, generally supposed to be near a lake, in the beautiful province of Xaragua,

in the western part of the island. Here they lived in shady and blooming bowers, with lovely females, and banqueted on delicious fruits.

The dances to which the natives were so addicted were not mere idle pastimes, but were often ceremonials of a religious and mystic nature. In these were typified their historical events and their projected enterprises, whether of war or hunting. They were



INDIAN DANCE.

DRAWING MADE FROM DATA OBTAINED FROM PETER MARTYR, AND DESCRIPTIONS FURNISHED BY EARLY NAVIGATORS.

performed to the chant of certain metres and ballads handed down from generation to generation; some of a sacred character, containing their notions of theology and their religious fables; others heroic and historic, rehearsing the deeds of their ancestors. These rhymes they called areytos, and sang them to the accompaniment of rude timbrels, made from the shells of certain fishes, or to the sound of a drum made from a hollow tree.

The natives appeared to the Spaniards to be an idle and improvident race, and indifferent to most of the objects of human anxiety and toil. They were impatient of all kinds of labor, scarcely giving themselves the trouble to cultivate the yuca root, the maize, and the sweet potato, which formed their main articles of food. They loitered away existence under the shade of their trees, or amusing themselves occasionally with their games and dances.

In fact, they were destitute of all powerful motives to toil, being free from most of those wants which doom mankind, in civilized life, and in less genial climes, to incessant labor. In the soft region of the vega, the circling seasons brought each its store of fruits, and while some were gathered in full maturity, others were ripening on the boughs, and buds and blossoms gave promise of still succeeding abundance. What need was there of garnering up and anxiously providing for coming days, to men who lived amid a perpetual harvest? What need, too, of toilfully spinning or laboring at the loom, where a genial temperature prevailed throughout the year, and neither nature nor custom prescribed the necessity of clothing?



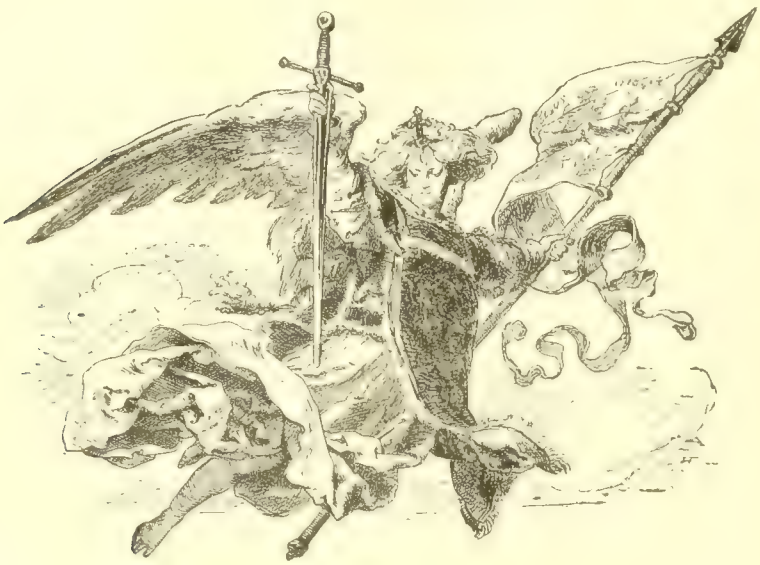
NATIVES OF HAYTI.

REDRAWN FROM THE DESCRIPTIONS FURNISHED BY THE EARLY NAVIGATORS.

The hospitality which characterizes men in such a simple and easy mode of existence, was evinced toward Columbus and his followers, during their sojourn in the vega. Wherever they went, it was a continual scene of festivity and rejoicing, and the natives hastened from all parts to lay the treasures of their groves, and streams, and mountains, at the feet of beings whom they still considered as descended from the skies, to bring blessings to their island.

As we accompany Columbus, in imagination, on his return to the harbor, over the rocky height from whence the vega first broke upon the eye of the Spaniards, we can not help pausing, to cast back a look of mingled pity and admiration, over this beautiful but

devoted region. The dream of natural liberty and ignorant content was as yet unbroken, but the fiat had gone forth; the white man had penetrated into the land; avarice, and pride, and ambition, and sordid care, and pining labor, were soon to follow, and the indolent paradise of the Indian was about to disappear for ever.



CHAPTER XXII.

SICKNESS AND DISCONTENT AT THE SETTLEMENT OF ISABELLA. PREPARATIONS OF COLUMBUS FOR A VOYAGE TO CUBA. 1494.)



COLUMBUS had scarcely returned to the harbor, when a messenger arrived from Pedro Margarite, the commander at Fort St. Thomas, informing him that the Indians of the vicinity had abandoned their villages, and broken off all intercourse, and that he understood Caonabo was assembling his warriors to attack the fortress. From what the admiral had seen of the Indians in the interior, and the awe in which they stood of the white men and their horses, he felt little apprehensions from their hostility, and contented himself with sending a reinforcement of twenty men to the fortress, and detaching thirty more to open the road between it and the port. What gave him most anxiety was the distress which continued to increase in the settlement. The heat and humidity of the climate, which gave wonderful fecundity to the soil, and rapid growth to all European vegetables, were fatal to the people. The exhalations from undrained marshes, and a vast continuity of forest, and the action of the sun upon a reeking vegetable soil, produced intermittent fevers, and those other violent maladies so trying to European constitutions in the uncultivated countries of the tropics. The greater part of the colonists were either confined by illness, or reduced to

great debility. The stock of medicines was exhausted; European provisions began to fail, much having been spoiled and much wasted. To avert an absolute famine, it was necessary to put the people upon allowance; this immediately caused loud murmurs, in which many in office, who ought to have supported Columbus in his measures for the common safety, took a leading part. Among the number was Friar Boyle, who was irritated when informed that himself and his household would be put on the same allowance with the rest of the community.

It was necessary, also, to construct a mill immediately, to grind the corn, as all the flour was exhausted. Most of the workmen, however, were ill, and Columbus was obliged to put every healthy person in requisition, not even excepting cavaliers and gentlemen of rank. As many of the latter refused to comply, he enforced their obedience by compulsory measures. This was another cause of the deep and lasting hostilities that sprang up against him. He was inveighed against, both by the cavaliers in the colony and their families in Spain, as an upstart foreigner, inflated with sudden authority, and who, in pursuit of his own profit and aggrandizement, trampled upon the dignity of Spanish gentlemen, and insulted the honor of the nation.



FRIAR BOYLE RECEIVES THE NEWS THAT HIMSELF AND ASSOCIATES ARE INCLUDED IN THE ORDER "TO BE PUT UPON ALLOWANCE," WITH IRRITATION.

The fate, in truth, of many of the young cavaliers who had come out in this expedition, deluded by romantic dreams, was lamentable in the extreme. Some of them, of noble and opulent connections, had been brought up in ease and indulgence, and were little calculated to endure the hardships and privations of a new settlement in the wilderness. When they fell ill, their case soon became incurable. They suffered under the irritation of wounded pride, and the morbid melancholy of disappointed hope; their sick-bed was destitute of the tender care and soothing attention to which they had been accustomed, and they sank into the grave in all the sullenness of despair, cursing the day that they had left

their country. So strong an effect had the untimely and dreary death of these cavaliers upon the public mind, that, many years afterwards, when the settlement of Isabella was abandoned, and had fallen to ruins, its deserted streets were said to be haunted by their spectres, walking about in ancient Spanish dresses, saluting the wayfarer in stately and mournful silence, and vanishing on being accosted. Their melancholy story was insidiously made use of by the enemies of the admiral, for it was said that they had been seduced from their homes by his delusive promises, and sacrificed by him to his private interests.

Columbus was desirous of departing on a voyage to explore the coast of Cuba, but it was indispensable, before sailing, to place the affairs of the island in such a state as to insure tranquillity. For this purpose he determined to send all the men that could be spared from the concerns of the city, or the care of the sick, into the interior, where they could subsist among the natives, and become accustomed to their diet, while their force would overawe the machinations of Caonabo, or any other hostile cacique. A little army was accordingly mustered of two hundred and fifty cross-bow-men, one hundred and ten arquebusiers, sixteen horsemen, and twenty officers. These were to be commanded by Pedro Margarite, while Ojeda was to succeed him in the command of Fort St. Thomas.

Columbus wrote a long and earnest letter of instructions to Margarite, desiring him to make a military tour, and to explore the principal parts of the island; but enjoining on him the strictest discipline of his army, and the most vigilant care to protect the rights of the Indians, and cultivate their friendship. Ojeda set off at the head of the little army for the fortress; on his way he learnt that three Spaniards had been robbed of their effects by five Indians, at the ford of one of the rivers of the vega, and that the delinquents had been sheltered by their cacique, who had shared their booty. Ojeda was a quick and impetuous soldier, whose ideas were all of a military kind. He seized one of the thieves, ordered his ears to be cut off in the public square of the village, and sent the cacique, with his son and nephew, in chains to the admiral, who, after terrifying them with preparations for a public execution, pretended to yield to the tears and entreaties of their friends, and set them at liberty.

Having thus distributed his forces about the island, and taken measures for its tranquillity, Columbus formed a junto for its government, of which his brother Don Diego was president, and Father Boyle, Pedro Fernandez Coronal, Alonzo Sanchez Caravajal, and Juan de Luxan, were counsellors. Leaving in the harbor two of his largest ships, which drew too much water to explore unknown coasts and rivers, he set sail on the 24th of April, with the Niña or Santa Clara, the San Juan, and the Cordera.



CHAPTER XXIII.

CRUISE OF COLUMBUS ALONG THE SOUTHERN COAST OF CUBA. (1494.)



HE plan of the present expedition of Columbus was, to revisit Cuba at the point where he had abandoned it on his first voyage, and thence to explore it on the southern side. As has already been observed, he supposed it to be a continent, and the extreme end of Asia; and if so, by following its shores in the proposed direction, he trusted to arrive at Mangi, and Cathay, and other rich and commercial, though semi-barbarous countries, forming part of the territories of the Grand Khan, as described by Mandeville and Marco Polo.

Having arrived, on the 29th of April, at the eastern end of Cuba, to which in his preceding voyage he had given the name of Alpha and Omega, but which is now known as Cape Maysi, he sailed along the southern coast, touching once or twice in the harbors. The natives crowded to the shores, gazing with astonishment at the ships as they glided gently along at no great distance. They held up fruits and other provisions, to tempt the Spaniards to land, while others came off in canoes, offering various refreshments, not in barter, but as free gifts. On inquiring of them for gold, they uniformly pointed to the south, intimating that a great island lay in that direction, where it was to be found in abundance. On the 3d of May, therefore, Columbus turned his prow directly south, and abandoning the coast of Cuba for a time, steered in quest of this reported island. He had not sailed many leagues before the blue summits of Jamaica began to rise above the horizon. It was two days and a night, however, before he reached it, filled with admira-

tion as he gradually drew near, at its vast extent, the beauty of its mountains, the majesty of its forests, and the great number of villages which animated the whole face of the country.

He coasted the island from about the center to a port at the western end, which he called the gulf of Buentiempo. He found the natives more ingenious as well as more warlike than those of Cuba and Hayti. Their canoes were constructed with more art, and ornamented at the bow and stern with carving and painting. Many were of great size, though formed of the hollow trunks of single trees, often a species of the mahogany. Columbus measured one which proved to be ninety-six feet long and eight broad; it was hollowed out of one of those magnificent trees which rise like verdant towers amidst the rich forests of the tropics. Every cacique possessed a large canoe of the kind, which he seemed to regard as his galley of state. The Spaniards at first were treated with hostility, and were compelled to skirmish with the natives, but a friendly intercourse succeeded.

Columbus being disappointed in his hopes of finding gold in Jamaica, and the breeze being fair for Cuba, he determined to return thither. Just as he was about to sail, a young Indian came off to the ship, and begged that the Spaniards would take him with them to their country. He was followed by his relatives and friends, supplicating him to abandon his purpose. For some time he was distracted between concern for their distress, and an ardent desire to see the home of the wonderful strangers. Curiosity, and the youthful propensity to rove, at length prevailed; he tore himself from the embraces of his friends, and took refuge in a secret part of the ship, from the tears and entreaties of his sisters. Touched by this scene of natural affection, and pleased with the confiding spirit of the youth, Columbus ordered that he should be treated with especial kindness.

It would have been interesting to have known something more of this curious savage, and of the effect which the first sight of the land of the white men had upon his mind, whether it equaled his hopes; or whether, as is usual with savages, he pined, amidst the splendors of cities, for his native forests; and whether he ever returned to the arms of his family. The Spanish voyagers, however, were indifferent to these matters; no further mention is made in their narratives of this youthful adventurer.

Having steered again for Cuba, Columbus, on the 18th of May, arrived at a great cape, to which he gave the name of Cabo de la Cruz, which it still retains. Coasting to the west, he soon got entangled in a complete labyrinth of small islands and keys; some of them were low, naked, and sandy, others covered with verdure, and others tufted with lofty and beautiful forests. To this archipelago, which extended as far as the eye could reach, and, in a manner, enamelled the face of the ocean with variegated verdure, he gave the name of the Queen's Garden. He persuaded himself that these were the islands mentioned by Sir John Mandeville, and Marco Polo, as fringing the coast of Asia; if so, he must soon arrive at the dominions of the Grand Khan.



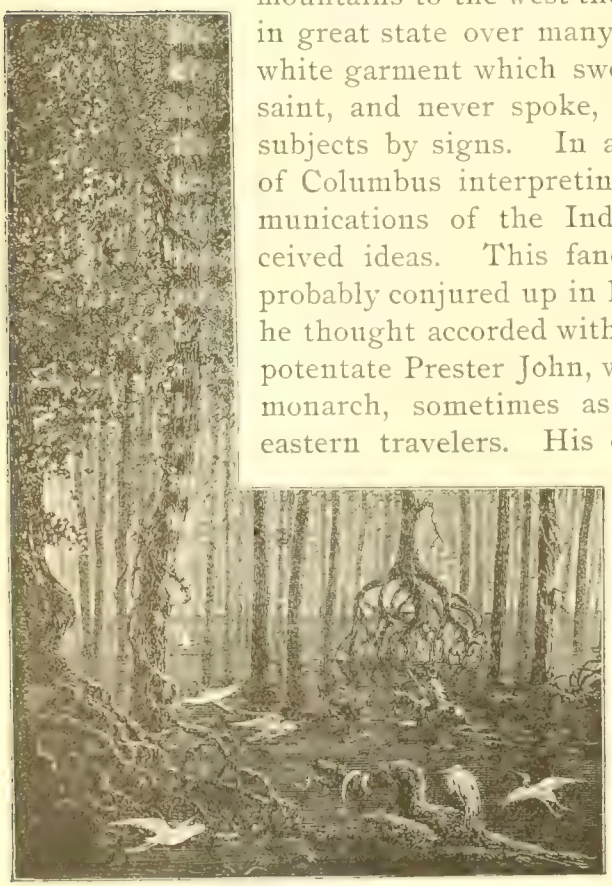
There was much in the character of the scenery to favor the idea. As the ships glided along the smooth and glassy channels which separated the islands, the magnificence of their vegetation, the soft odors wafted from flowers, and blossoms, and aromatic shrubs, the splendid plumage of scarlet cranes, flamingoes, and other tropical birds, and the gaudy clouds of butterflies, all resembled what is described of oriental climes.

Emerging from the labyrinth of the Queen's Garden, Columbus pursued his voyage with a prosperous breeze along that part of the southern side of Cuba, where, for nearly thirty-five leagues, the navigation is free from banks and islands; to his left was the broad and open sea, whose dark-blue color gave token of ample depth; to his right extended a richly-wooded country, called Ornofay, with noble mountains, frequent streams, and numerous villages. The appearance of the ships spread wonder and joy along the coast. The natives came off swimming, or in canoes, to offer fruits and other presents. After the usual evening shower, when the breeze blew from the shore, and brought off the sweetness of the land, it bore with it also the distant songs of the natives, and the sound of their rude music, as they were probably celebrating, with their na-

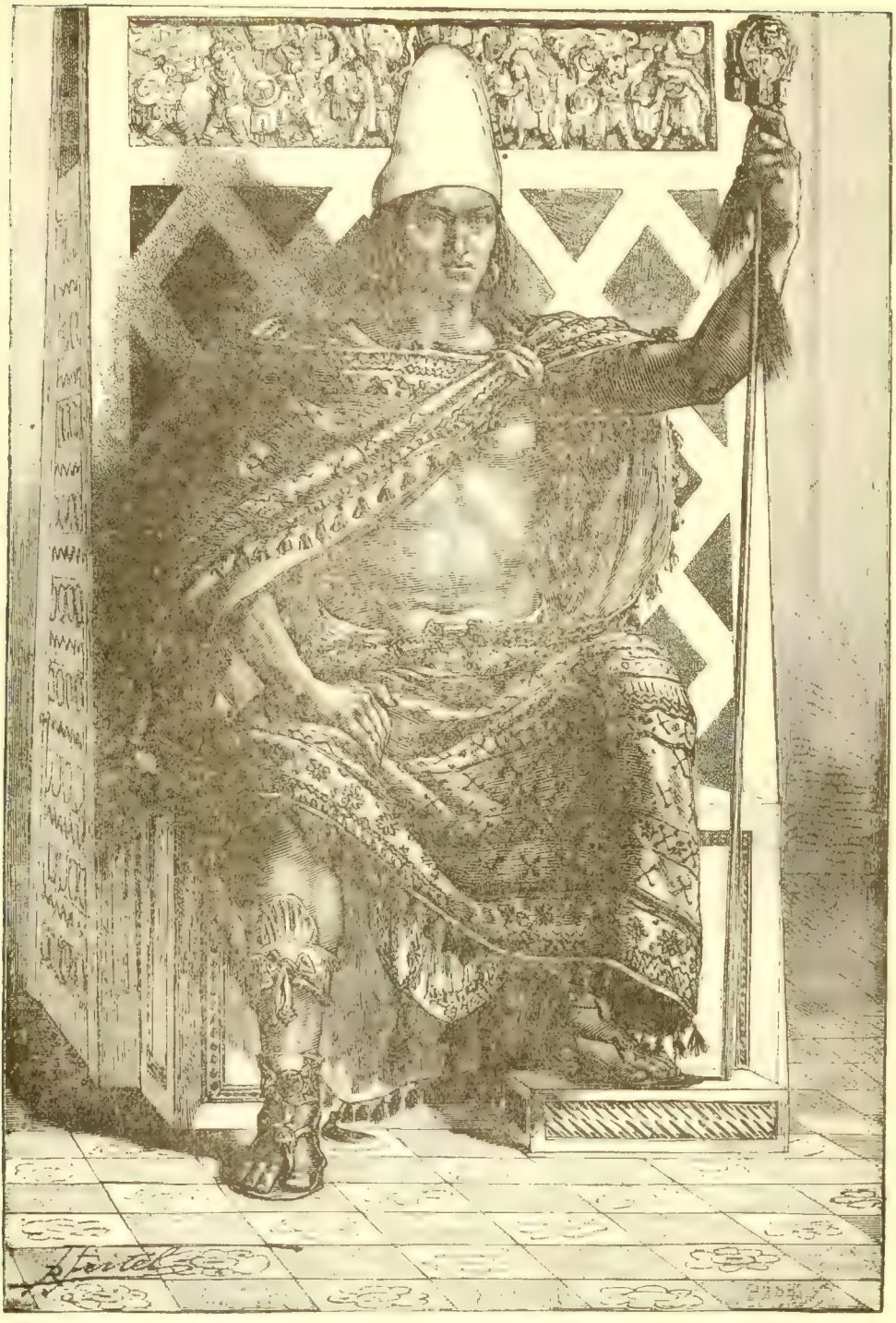
tional chants and dances, the arrival of these wonderful strangers on their coasts.

Animated by the delusions of his fancy, Columbus continued to follow up this supposed continent of Asia; plunging into another wilderness of keys and islets towards the western end of Cuba, and exploring that perplexed and lonely coast, whose intricate channels are seldom visited, even at the present day, except by the lurking bark of the smuggler and the pirate.

In this navigation he had to contend with almost incredible difficulties and perils; his vessels having to be warped through narrow and shallow passages, where they frequently ran aground. He was encouraged to proceed by information which he received, or fancied he received, from the natives, concerning a country farther on called Mangon, where the people wore clothing, and which he supposed must be Mangi, the rich Asiatic province described by Marco Polo. He also understood from them, that among the mountains to the west there was a powerful king, who reigned in great state over many populous provinces; that he wore a white garment which swept the ground, that he was called a saint, and never spoke, but communicated his orders to his subjects by signs. In all this we see the busy imagination of Columbus interpreting the imperfectly understood communications of the Indians into unison with his preconceived ideas. This fancied king with a saintly title was probably conjured up in his mind by some descriptions which he thought accorded with what he had read of that mysterious potentate Prester John, who had long figured, sometimes as a monarch, sometimes as a priest, in the narrations of all eastern travelers. His crews seem to have partaken of his delusion. One day a party being sent on shore for wood and water, while they were employed in cutting wood and filling their water casks, an archer strayed into the forest, with his crossbow, in search of game, but soon returned, flying in breathless terror. He declared that he had seen through an opening glade a man dressed in long white robes,



THE EXPEDITION IN QUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF MANGON



THE EMPEROR MONTEZUMA.

THE POWERFUL KING MENTIONED TO COLUMBUS BY THE NATIVES OF CUBA, AS THE POTENTATE WHO REIGNED AMONG THE MOUNTAINS TO THE WEST.

THE PICTURE RECONSTRUCTED FROM THE DATA FURNISHED BY THE RAMIREZ MSS. AND CLAVIGERO'S RESEARCH

followed by two others in white tunics reaching to their knees, and that they had complexions as fair as Europeans.

Columbus was rejoiced at this intelligence, hoping that he had found the clothed inhabitants of Mangon. Two parties were despatched, well armed, in quest of these people in white; the first returned unsuccessful; the other brought word of having tracked the footprints of some large animal with claws, supposed by them to have been either a lion or a griffin; but which most probably was an alligator. Dismayed at the sight, they hastened back to the seaside. As no tribe of Indians wearing clothing was ever discovered in Cuba, it is probable the men in white were nothing else than a flock of cranes, seen by the wandering archer. These birds, like the flamingoes, feed in company, with one stationed at a distance as a sentinel. When seen through an opening of the woodlands, standing in rows in a shallow glassy pool, their height and erectness give them, at first glance, the semblance of human figures.



CHAPTER XXIV.

RETURN VOYAGE. 1494



THE CAPRIOLO PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.
FROM AN ITALIAN WORK PUBLISHED IN ROME IN 1585.

COLUMBUS now hoped, by continuing on, to arrive ultimately at the Aura Chersonesus* of the ancients; doubling which, he might make his way to the Red Sea, thence to Joppa, and so by the Mediterranean to Spain; or might circumnavigate Africa, pass triumphantly by the Portuguese as they were groping along the coast of Guinea, and after having thus circumnavigated the globe, furl his adventurous sails at the Pillars of Hercules,† the *ne plus ultra* of the ancient world. But, though his fellow-voyagers shared his opinion that they were coasting the continent of Asia, they were far from sharing his enthusiasm, and shrunk from the increasing perils of the voyage. The ships were strained and crazed by frequently running aground. The cables and rigging were much worn, the provisions nearly exhausted, and the crews worn out and disheartened by incessant labor. The admiral, there-

*The golden Peninsula. The ancients understood by that the modern island of Malacca.

†Pillars of Hercules. The God Hercules is supposed to have erected columns as boundary marks to indicate the terminal points of his travels.

fore, was finally persuaded to abandon all further prosecution of the voyage; but, before he turned back, he obliged the whole of the officers and seamen to sign a deposition, declaring their perfect conviction that Cuba was a continent, the beginning and the end of India. This singular instrument was signed near that deep bay called by some the bay of Philipina, by others, of Cortes. At this very time, a ship-boy from the mast-head might have overlooked the group of islands to the south, and have beheld the open sea beyond. Had Columbus continued on for two or three days longer, he would have passed round the extremity of Cuba; his illusion would have been dispelled, and an entirely different course might have been given to his subsequent discoveries.



A CUBAN CACIQUE ADDRESSES COLUMBUS ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

Returning now towards the east, the crews suffered excessively from fatigue, and a scarcity of provisions. At length, on the 7th of July, they anchored at the mouth of a fine river, in a genial and abundant country, which they had previously visited, as they had come down along the coast. Here the natives brought them provisions of various kinds. It was a custom with Columbus to erect crosses in all remarkable places, to denote the discovery of the country, and its subjugation to the true faith. This was done on the banks of this river, on a Sunday morning, with great ceremony. Columbus was attended by the cacique, and by his principal favorite, a venerable Indian, fourscore years of age. While mass was performed in a stately grove, the natives looked on with awe and reverence. When it was ended, the old man of fourscore made a speech to Columbus in the Indian manner. "I am told," said he, "that thou hast lately come to these lands with a mighty force, and



COLUMBUS ATTENDING MASS

AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER MISA IN THE PRESENCE OF THE NATIVES, WHO LOOK ON WITH AWE AND REVERENCE.

PAINTING BY D. JOSÉ ARBURU Y MORELL

hast subdued many countries, spreading great fear among the people; but be not therefore vain-glorious. Know that, according to our belief, the souls of men have two journeys to perform after they have departed from the body; one to a place dismal, foul, and covered with darkness, prepared for such as have been unjust and cruel to their fellow-men; the other full of delight, for such as have promoted peace on earth. If, then, thou art mortal, and dost expect to die, beware that thou hurt no man wrongfully, neither do harm to those who have done no harm to thee."

When this speech was explained to Columbus by his interpreter, he was greatly moved by the simple eloquence of this untutored savage, and rejoiced to hear his doctrine of a future state of the soul, having supposed that no belief of the kind existed among the inhabitants of these countries. He assured the old man that he had been sent by his sovereigns to teach them the true religion, to protect them from harm, and to subdue their enemies the Caribs. The venerable Indian was exceedingly astonished to learn that the admiral, whom he had considered so great and powerful, was yet but a subject; and when he was told by the interpreter who had been in Spain, of the grandeur of the Spanish monarchs, and of the wonders of their kingdom, a sudden desire seized him to embark with the admiral, and accompany him to see this wonderful country, and it was with difficulty the tears and remonstrances of his wife and children could dissuade him from his purpose.

After leaving this river, to which, from the solemn mass performed on its banks, Columbus gave the name of Rio de la Misa, he continued on to Cape Cruz, and then stood over to Jamaica, to complete the circumnavigation of that island. For nearly a month he continued beating to the eastward along its southern coast, coming to anchor every evening under the land, and making but slow progress. Anchoring one evening in a great bay, he was visited by a cacique with a numerous train, who remained until a late hour conversing with the Lucayan interpreter, who had been in Spain, about the Spaniards and their country, and their prowess in vanquishing the Caribs.

On the following morning, when the ships were under weigh, they beheld three canoes issuing from among the islands of the bay. The center one was large, and handsomely carved and painted. In it were seated the cacique and his family, consisting of two daugh-

ters, young and beautiful, two sons, and five brothers. They were all arrayed in their jewels, and attended by the officers of the chieftain, decorated with plumes and mantles of variegated feathers. The standard-bearer stood in the prow with a fluttering white banner, while other Indians, fancifully painted, beat upon tabors, or sounded trumpets of fine black wood ingeniously carved. The cacique, entering on board of the ship, distributed presents among the crew, and approaching the admiral, "I have heard," said he, "of the irresistible power of thy sovereigns, and of the many nations thou hast subdued in their name. Thou hast destroyed the dwellings of the Caribs, slaying their warriors, and carrying their wives and children into captivity. All the islands are in dread of thee, for who can withstand thee, now that thou knowest the secrets of the land, and the weakness of the people? Rather, therefore, than thou shouldst take away my dominions, I will embark with all my household in thy ships, and will go to render homage to thy king and queen, and behold thy country, of which I hear such wonders."



PLUS ULTRA.
THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA
AN ALLEGORY IN MARBLE, REPRESENTING THE SPANISH LION TAKING POSSESSION OF AMERICA AND BRINGING IT UNDER THE DOMINION OF THE CROSS.
ESCURIAL, MADRID.

When this speech was interpreted to Columbus, and he beheld the wife, the sons, and daughters of the cacique, and considered to what ills they they would be exposed, he was touched with compassion, and determined not to take them from their native land. He received the cacique under his protection, as a vassal of his sovereigns, but informed him that he had many lands yet to visit, before he should return to his own country. He dismissed him, therefore, for the present, promising that at some future time he would gratify his wishes.

On the 19th of August, Columbus lost sight of the eastern extremity of Jamaica, and on the following day made that long peninsula of Hayti, since called Cape Tiburon, but to which he gave the name of San Miguel. He coasted the whole of the southern side of the island, and had to take refuge in the channel of Saona, from a violent storm which raged for several days, during which time he suffered great anxiety for the fate of the other vessels, which remained at sea, exposed to the fury of the tempest. Being rejoined by them, and the weather having moderated, he set sail eastward with the intention of completing the discovery of the

Caribbee Islands, but his physical strength did not correspond to the efforts of his spirit. The extraordinary fatigues which he had suffered, both in mind and body, during this harassing voyage, which had lasted for five months, had secretly preyed upon his health. He had shared in all the hardships and privations of the common seamen, and he had cares and trials from which they were exempt. When the sailor, worn out with the labors of his watch, slept soundly, in spite of the howling of the storms, the anxious commander maintained his painful vigil, through long sleepless nights, amidst the pelting of the tempest and the drenching surges of the sea, for the safety of the ships depended upon his watchfulness. During a great part of the voyage, he had been excited by the hope of soon arriving at the known parts of India, he was afterwards stimulated by a conflict with hardships and perils, as he made his way back against contrary winds and currents. The moment he was relieved from all solicitude, and found himself in a tranquil sea, which he had already explored, the excitement suddenly ceased, and mind and body sunk exhausted by almost superhuman exertions. He fell into a deep lethargy, resembling death itself. His crew feared that death was really at hand. They abandoned, therefore, all farther prosecution of the voyage, and spreading their sails to a favorable breeze from the east, bore Columbus back, in a state of complete insensibility, to the harbor of Isabella.

CHAPTER XXV.

EVENTS IN THE ISLAND OF HISPANIOLA. INSURRECTIONS OF THE NATIVES. EXPEDITION OF OJEDA AGAINST CAONABO. (1494.)

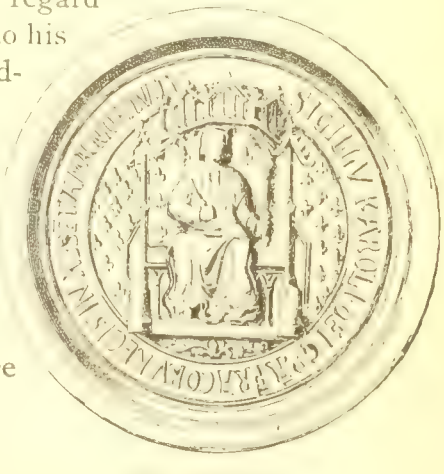


A JOYFUL and heartfelt surprise awaited Columbus on his arrival, in finding, at his bedside, his brother Bartholomew, the companion of his youth, his zealous coadjutor, and, in a manner, his second self, from whom he had been separated for several years. It will be recollected, that about the time of the admiral's departure for Portugal, he commissioned Bartholomew to repair to England, and offer his project of discovery to Henry the Seventh. Various circumstances occurred to delay this application. There is reason to believe that, in the interim, he accompanied Bartholomew Diaz in that celebrated voyage, in the course of which the Cape of Good Hope was discovered. On his way to England, also, Bartholomew Columbus was captured by a corsair, and reduced to extreme poverty. It is but justice to the memory of Henry the Seventh to say, that when, after a lapse of several years, the proposition was eventually made to him, it met with a more prompt attention than it had received from any other sovereign. An agreement was actually

made with Bartholomew, for the prosecution of the enterprise, and the latter departed for Spain in search of his brother. On reaching Paris, he received intelligence that the discovery was already made, and that his brother was actually at the Spanish court, enjoying his triumph, and preparing to sail on a second expedition. He hastened to rejoin him, and was furnished by the French monarch, Charles the Eighth, with a hundred crowns to defray the expenses of the journey. He reached Seville just as his brother had sailed; but being an accomplished navigator, the sovereigns gave him the command of three ships, freighted with supplies for the colony, and sent him to aid his brother in his enterprises. He again arrived too late, reaching the settlement of Isabella just after the departure of the admiral for the coast of Cuba.



The sight of this brother was an inexpressible relief to Columbus, disabled as he was by sickness, overwhelmed with cares, and surrounded by strangers. His chief dependence had hitherto been upon his brother, Don Diego; but the latter was of a mild and peaceable disposition, with an inclination for a clerical life, and was but little fitted to manage the affairs of a factious colony. Bartholomew was of a different and more efficient character. He was prompt, active, decided, and of a fearless spirit; whatever he determined he carried into instant execution, without regard to difficulty or danger. His person corresponded to his mind; it was tall, muscular, vigorous, and commanding. He had an air of great authority, but somewhat stern, wanting that sweetness and benignity which tempered the authoritative demeanor of the admiral. Indeed, there was a certain asperity in his temper, and a dryness and abruptness in his manners, which made him many enemies; yet, notwithstanding these external defects, he was of a generous disposition, free from arrogance or malevolence, and as placable as he was brave.



SEAL OF CHARLES VIII.

He was a thorough seaman, both in theory and practice, having been formed, in a great measure, under the eye of the admiral, to whom he was but little inferior in science. He was acquainted with Latin, but does not appear to have been highly educated; his knowledge, like that of his brother, being chiefly derived from a long course of varied experience and attentive observation, aided by the studies of maturer years. Equally vigorous and penetrating in intellect with the admiral, but less enthusiastic in spirit and soaring in imagination, and with less simplicity of heart, he surpassed him in the adroit management of business, was more attentive to pecuniary interests, and had more of that worldly wisdom which is so important in the ordinary concerns of life. His genius might never have excited him to the sublime speculation which led to the discovery of a world, but his practical sagacity was calculated to turn that discovery to more advantage.

Anxious to relieve himself from the pressure of public business, during his present malady, Columbus immediately invested his brother with the title and authority of adelantado,* an office equivalent to that of lieutenant-governor. He felt the importance of his assistance in the present critical state of the colony; for, during the few months that he had been absent, the whole island had become a scene of violence and discord. A brief retrospect is here necessary, to explain the cause of this confusion.

Pedro Margarite, to whom Columbus, on his departure, had given orders to make a military tour of the island, set forth on his expedition with the greater part of the forces, leaving Alonzo de Ojeda in command of Fort St. Thomas. Instead, however, of proceeding on his tour, Margarite lingered among the populous and hospitable villages of the vega, where he and his soldiery, by their licentious and oppressive conduct, soon roused the indignation and hatred of the natives. Tidings of their excesses reached Don Diego Columbus, who, with the concurrence of the council, wrote to Margarite, reprehending his conduct, and ordering him to depart on his tour. Margarite replied in a haughty and arrogant tone, pretending to consider himself independent in his command, and above all responsibility to Don Diego or his council. He was supported in his tone of defiance by a kind of aristocratical party com-

* Adelantado, formerly governor of a province; now a title of honor of some Spanish families.

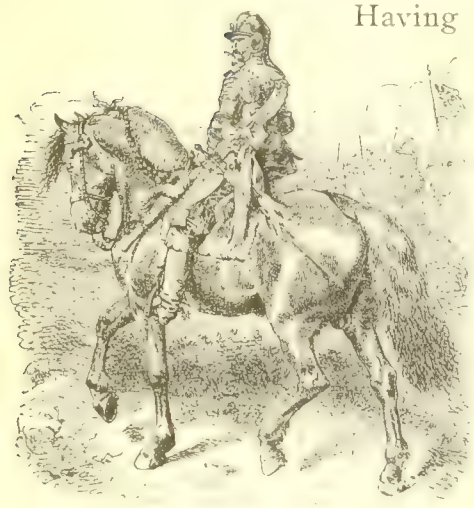
posed of the idle cavaliers of the colony, who had been deeply wounded in the *pundonor*, the proud punctilio so jealously guarded by a Spaniard, and affected to look down with contempt upon the newly-coined nobility of Don Diego, and to consider Columbus and his brothers mere mercenary and upstart foreigners. In addition to these partisans, Margarite had a powerful ally in his fellow-countryman, Friar Boyle, the apostolical vicar for the new world, an intriguing man, who had conceived a violent hostility against the admiral, and had become disgusted with his mission to the wilderness. A cabal was soon formed of most of those who were disaffected to the admiral, and discontented with their abode in the colony. Margarite and Friar Boyle acted as if possessed of paramount authority; and, without consulting Don Diego or the council, took possession of certain ships in the harbor, and set sail for Spain, with their adherents. They were both favorites of the king, and deemed it would be an easy matter to justify their abandonment of their military and religious commands, by a pretended zeal for the public good, and a desire to represent to the sovereigns the disastrous state of the colony, and the tyranny and oppression of Columbus and his brothers. Thus the first general and apostle of the new world set the flagrant example of unauthorized abandonment of their posts.

The departure of Margarite left the army without a head; the soldiers now roved about in bands, or singly, according to their caprice, indulging in all kinds of excesses. The natives, indignant at having their hospitality thus requited, refused any longer to furnish them with food; the Spaniards, therefore, seized upon provisions wherever they could be found, committing, at the same time, many acts of wanton violence. At length the Indians were roused to resentment, and, from confiding and hospitable hosts, were converted into vindictive enemies. They slew the Spaniards wherever they could surprise them singly or in small parties; and Guatiguana, cacique of a large town on the Grand River, put to death ten soldiers who were quartered in his town, set fire to a house in which forty sick Spaniards were lodged, and even held a small fortress called Magdalena, recently built in the vega, in a state of siege, insomuch, that the commander had to shut himself up within its walls, until relief should arrive from the settlement.

The most formidable enemy of the Spaniards was Caonabo, the

Carib cacique of the mountains. He had natural talents for war, great sagacity, a proud and daring spirit to urge him on, three valiant brothers to assist him, and a numerous tribe at his command. He had been enraged at seeing the fortress of St. Thomas erected in the very center of his dominions; and finding by his spies that the garrison was reduced to but fifty men, and the army of Margarite dismembered, he thought the time had arrived to strike a signal blow, and to repeat the horrors which he had wreaked upon La Navidad.

The wily cacique, however, had a different kind of an enemy to deal with in the commander of St. Thomas. Alonzo de Ojeda deserves particular notice as a specimen of the singular characters which arose among the Spanish discoverers. He had been schooled in Moorish warfare, and of course versed in all kinds of military stratagems. Naturally of a rash and fiery spirit, his courage was heightened by superstition. Having never received a wound in his numerous quarrels and encounters, he considered himself under the special protection of the holy Virgin, and that no weapon had power to harm him. He had a small Flemish painting of the Virgin, which he carried constantly with him; in his marches he bore it in his knapsack, and would often take it out, fix it against a tree, and address his prayers to his military patroness. In a word, he swore by the Virgin; he invoked the Virgin either in brawl or battle; and under favor of the Virgin he was ready for any enterprise or adventure. Such was Alonzo de Ojeda, bigoted in devotion, reckless in life, fearless in spirit, like many of the roving Spanish cavaliers of those days.

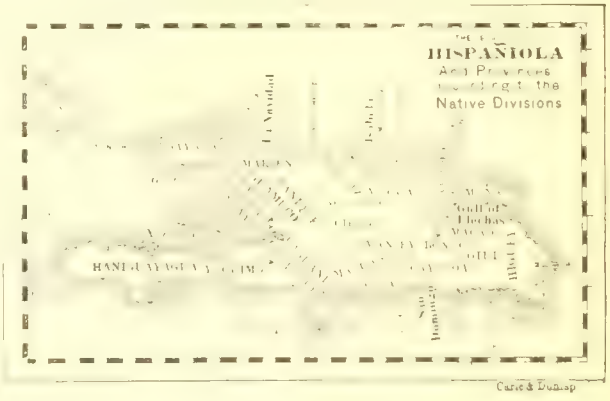


OJEDA

Having reconnoitered the fortress of St. Thomas, Caonabo assembled ten thousand warriors, armed with war clubs, bows and arrows, and lances, hardened in the fire, and led them secretly through the forests, thinking to surprise Ojeda; but found him warily drawn up within his fortress, which was built upon a hill, and nearly surrounded by a river. Caonabo then held the fortress in siege for thirty days, and reduced it to great distress. He lost many of his bravest warriors, however, by the impetuous sallies of Ojeda; others grew weary of the

siege and returned home. He at length relinquished the attempt, and retired, filled with admiration of the prowess of Ojeda.

The restless chieftain now endeavored to form a league of the principal caciques of the island to unite their forces, surprise the settlement of Isabella, and massacre the Spaniards wherever they could be found. To explain this combination, it is necessary to state the internal distribution of the island. It was divided into five domains, each governed by a sovereign cacique of absolute and hereditary powers, having many inferior caciques tributary to him. The most important domain comprised the middle part of the royal vega, and was governed by Guarionex. The second was Marion, under the sway of Guacanagari, on whose coast Columbus had been wrecked. The third was Maguana, which included the gold mines of Cibao, and was under the sway of Caonabo. The fourth was Xaragua, at the western end of the island, the most populous and extensive of all. The sovereign was named Behechio. The fifth domain was Higuey, and occupied the whole eastern part of the island, but had not as yet been visited by the Spaniards. The name of the cacique was Cotabanama.



Three of these sovereign caciques readily entered into the league with Caonabo, for the profligate conduct of the Spaniards had inspired hostility even in remote parts of the island, which had never been visited by them. The league, however, met with unexpected opposition from the fifth cacique, Guacanagari. He not merely refused to join the conspiracy, but entertained a hundred Spaniards in his territory, supplying all their wants with his accustomed generosity. This drew upon him the odium and hostility of his fellow-caciques, who inflicted on him various injuries and indignities. Behechio killed one of his wives, and Caonabo carried another away captive. Nothing, however, could shake the devotion of Guacanagari to the Spaniards; and as his dominions lay immediately adjacent to the settlement, his refusal to join in the conspiracy prevented it from being immediately carried into effect.

Such was the critical state to which the affairs of the island

had been reduced, and such the bitter hostility engendered among its kind and gentle inhabitants, during the absence of Columbus. Immediately on his return, and while he was yet confined to his bed, Guacanagari visited him, and revealed to him all the designs of the confederate caciques, offering to lead his subjects to the field, and to fight by the side of the Spaniards. Columbus had always retained a deep sense of the ancient kindness of Guacanagari, and was rejoiced to have all suspicion of his good faith thus effectually dispelled. Their former amicable intercourse was renewed, and the chieftain ever continued to evince an affectionate reverence for the admiral.

Columbus considered the confederacy of the caciques as but imperfectly formed, and trusted that, from their want of skill and experience in warfare, their plans might easily be disconcerted. He was too ill to take the field in person, his brother Diego was not of a military character, and Bartholomew was yet a stranger among the Spaniards, and regarded with jealousy. He determined, therefore, to proceed against the Indians in detail, attacking some, conciliating others, and securing certain of the most formidable by stratagem.

A small force was accordingly sent to relieve Fort Magdalena, which was beleaguered by Guatiguana, the cacique of the Grand River, who had massacred the Spaniards quartered in his town. He was driven from before the fortress, his country laid waste, and many of his warriors slain, but the chieftain made his escape. As he was tributary to Guarionex, the sovereign of the royal vega, care was taken to explain to that powerful cacique that this was an act of mere individual punishment, not of general hostility. Guarionex was of a quiet and placable disposition; he was easily soothed and won to friendship; and, to link him in some degree to the Spanish interest, Columbus prevailed upon him to give his daughter in marriage to the converted Lucayan, who had been baptized in Spain by the name of Diego Colon, and who was devoted to the admiral. He gained permission from him also to erect a fortress in the midst of his territories, which he named Fort Conception.

The most formidable enemy remained to be disposed of, which was Caonabo; to make war upon this fierce and subtle chieftain in the depths of his wild woodland territory, and among the fastnesses

of his mountains, would have been a work of time, peril, and uncertain issue. In the mean while, the settlements would never be safe from his secret combinations and daring enterprises, nor could the mines be worked with security, as they lay in his neighborhood. While perplexed on this subject, Columbus was relieved by a proposition of Alonzo de Ojeda, who undertook to bring the Carib chieftain either a friend or captive to the settlement.

Choosing ten bold and hardy followers, well armed and well mounted, and invoking the protection of his patroness the Virgin, Ojeda plunged into the forest, and making his way above sixty leagues into the wild territories of Caonabo, appeared fearlessly before the cacique in one of his most populous towns, professing to come on an amicable embassy from the admiral. He was well received by Caonabo, who had tried him in battle, and had conceived a warrior's admiration of him. The free, dauntless deportment, great personal strength and agility, and surprising adroitness of Ojeda in all manly and warlike exercises, were calculated to charm a savage, and soon made him a favorite with Caonabo. He used all his influence to prevail upon the cacique to repair to Isabella, and enter into a treaty with Columbus, offering him, it is said, as an inducement, the bell of the chapel at the harbor. This bell was the wonder of the island. When its melody sounded through the forests, as it rung for mass, the Indians had noticed that the Spaniards hastened from all parts to the chapel. At other times, when it gave the vesper-peal, they beheld the Spaniards pause in the midst of their labors or amusements, and, taking off their hats, repeat a prayer with great devotion. They imagined, therefore, that this bell had some mysterious power; that it had come from the "Turey," or the skies, and was the zemi of the white men; that it talked to them, and they obeyed its orders. Caonabo had longed to see this bell, and when it was proffered to him as a present of peace, he found it impossible to resist the temptation.

He agreed to visit the admiral at the harbor; but when the time came to depart, Ojeda beheld with surprise a powerful army ready to march. He remonstrated on taking such a force on a mere friendly visit, to which the cacique proudly replied, "that it was not befitting a great prince like him to go forth scantily guarded." Ojeda feared some sinister design, and, to outwit the cacique, had resort to a stratagem which has the air of a romantic

fable, but is recorded by all the contemporary historians, and accords with the adventurous and extravagant character of the man, and the wild stratagems incident to Indian warfare.

As the army had halted one day near the river Yegua, Ojeda produced a set of manacles of polished steel, so highly burnished that they looked like silver. These he assured Caonabo were ornaments worn by the Castilian monarchs on high festivities, and were sent as a present to him. He proposed that Caonabo should bathe in the river, after which he should be decorated with these ornaments, mounted on the horse of Ojeda, and conducted back in the state of a Spanish monarch to astonish his subjects. The cacique was dazzled with the splendor of the shackles, and pleased with the idea of bestriding one of those tremendous animals so dreaded by his countrymen. He bathed in the river, mounted behind Ojeda, and the shackles were adjusted. The Spaniards then pranced among the astonished savages, and made a wide sweep into the forest, until the trees concealed them from sight. They then drew their swords, closed round Caonabo, and threatened him with instant death, if he made the least noise or resistance. They bound him with cords to Ojeda, to prevent his falling or effecting an escape; then putting spurs to their horses, they dashed across the Yegua, made off through the woods with their prize, and after a long, rugged, and perilous journey, entered Isabella in triumph; Ojeda bringing the wild Indian chieftain bound behind him a captive.

Columbus could not refrain from expressing his great satisfaction when this dangerous foe was delivered into his hands. The haughty Carib met him with a lofty and unsubdued air, disdaining to conciliate him by submission, or to deprecate his vengeance for his massacre of the garrison of La Navidad. He even boasted that he had secretly reconnoitered Isabella, with the design of wreaking on it the same destruction. He never evinced the least animosity against Ojeda for the artifice by which he had been captured. He looked upon it as the exploit of a master spirit, to pounce upon him, and bear him off in this hawk-like manner, from the very midst of his fighting men, for there is nothing that an Indian more admires in warfare than a deep-laid and well-executed stratagem. Whenever Columbus entered the prison of Caonabo, all present rose, according to custom, and paid him reverence. The cacique alone remained sitting. On the contrary, when Ojeda



ALONZO DE OJEDA BRINGS THE WILD INDIAN CHIEF CAONABO
BOUND BEHIND HIM, A CAPTIVE TO ISABELLA.
DRAWING BY F. H. LUNGREN.

entered, though small in person, and without external state, Caonabo immediately rose and saluted him with profound respect. On being asked the reason of this, the proud Carib replied that the admiral had never dared to come personally to his dominions and capture him; it was only through the valor of Ojeda he was his prisoner; to the latter alone, therefore, he should pay reverence.

Columbus, though struck with the natural heroism of this savage, considered him too dangerous an enemy to be left at large. He maintained him, therefore, a close prisoner in a part of his own dwelling, until he could be shipped to Spain, but treated him with great kindness and respect. One of the brothers of the cacique assembled an army in hopes of surprising the fortress of St. Thomas, and capturing a number of Spaniards, for whom he might obtain Caonabo in exchange; but Ojeda received intelligence of his design, and coming upon him suddenly, attacked him with his little troop of horse, routed his army, killed many of his warriors, and took him prisoner.



◎ THE COPPIE OF THE BULL OR DONATION, BY TH[E]AUTORITIE WHEROF, POPE

Alexander the fyxte of that name, gaue and graunted to the kynges of Caſtyle and theyr ſucceſſours the Regions and Ilandes founde in the Weſte Ocean ſea by the nauigations of the Spanyardes.

ALexander byſhoppe, the ſeruaunte of the ſeruantes of God: To owre moſte deare beloued ſonne in Chriſt Kynge Ferdinande, And to owre deare beloued doughter in Chryſte Elyzabeth Queene of Caſtyle, Legion, Aragon, Sicilie, and Granata, moſt noble Princes, Gretynge and Apoſtolical benediction.

Amonge other woorkes acceptable to the diuine maieſtie, etc., ...

Wee greatly commendynge this yowre godly and laudable purpoſe in owr lorde, and deſirous to haue the fame brought to a dewe ende, and the name of owre fauioure to be knowen in thoſe partes, doo exhorte yowe in owre Lorde and by the receauynge of yowre holy baptiſme wherby yowe are bounde to Apoſtolicall obedience, and erneſtely require yowe by the bowels of mercy of owre Lorde Ieſu Chriſt, that when yowe intende for the zeale of the Catholyke fayth to proſecute the fayde expedition to reduce the people of the foreſayde landes and Ilandes to the Chriſtian religion, yowe ſhall ſpare no labours at any tyme, or bee deterred with any perels, conceauynge firme hope and confidence that the omnipotent godde wyll gyue good ſucceſſe to yowre godly attemptes

And that beinge autoryſed by the priui lege of the Apoſtolycall grace, yowe may the more freely and bouldly take vpon yowe th[e]enterpryſe of ſo greate a matter, we of owre owne motion, and not eyther at yowre requeſt or at the inſtant peticion of any other perſon, but of owre owne mere liberalitie and certeyne ſcience, and by the fulneſſe of Apoſtolycall power, doo gyue, graunt, and aſſigne to yowe, yowre heyres and ſucceſſours, al the firme landes and Ilandes found or to be found, diſcouered or to be diſcouered toward the Weſt and South, drawyng a line from the pole Artike to the pole Antartike (that is) from the north to the Southe: Conteynynge in this donation, what ſo euer firme landes or Ilandes are founde or to bee founde towarde *India*, or towarde any other parte what ſo euer it bee, being diſtant from, or without the foreſayd lyne drawen a hundreth leaques towarde the Weſte and South from any of the Ilandes which are commonly cauled *De los Azores* and *Cabo Verde*, etc., etc.

It ſhall therefore bee lawefull for no man to infringe or raſhely to contrarie this letter of owre commendation, exhortacion, requeſte, donation, graunt, aſſignation, conſtitution, deputation, decree, commaundement, inhibition, and determination. And yf any ſhall preſume to attempte the fame, he owght to knowe that he ſhall thereby incurre the indignation of almyghtie God and his holye Apoſtles Peter and Paule. (.·.) (:) (.·.)

▸▸ Gyuen at Rome at ſaynt Peters: In the yeare of th[e]incarnation of owre Lord M. CCCC. LXXXXIII. The fourth day of the nones of Maye, the fyrſte yeare of owre feate. ( ) ( ) ( )

(258)

PARTS OF ALEXANDER VI.s BULL "INTER CETERA," WHEREIN THE FAMOUS LINE OF DEMARKATION IS ESTABLISHED. EDEN'S TRANSLATION.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BATTLE OF THE VEGA. IMPOSITION OF TRIBUTE. (1494.)

THE arrival of four ships about this time, commanded by Antonio Torres, bringing out a physician and apothecary, various mechanics, millers, and husbandmen, and an ample supply of provisions, diffused universal joy among the suffering Spaniards. Columbus received a highly flattering letter from the sovereigns, approving of all that he had done, informing him that all differences with Portugal had been amicably adjusted, and inviting him to return to Spain, or to send some able person in his place, furnished with maps and charts, to be present at a convention for adjusting the dividing line of discovery between the two powers. Columbus hastened the return of the ships, sending his brother Diego to attend the convention, and to counteract the misrepresentations which he was aware had been sent home of his conduct, and which would be enforced by Margarite and Friar Boyle. He remitted, by the ships, all the gold he could collect, with specimens of fruits and valuable plants, and five hundred Indian captives, to be sold as slaves in Seville. It is painful to find the glory of Columbus sullied by such violations of the laws of humanity, but the customs of the times must plead his apology. In the recent discoveries along the coast of Africa, the traffic in

slaves had formed one of the greatest sources of profit; and in the wars with the enlightened and highly civilized Moors of Granada, the Spaniards were accustomed to make slaves of their prisoners. Columbus was goaded on, likewise, by the misrepresentations of his enemies, to try every means of indemnifying the sovereigns for the expenses of his enterprises, and to produce them a revenue from the countries he had discovered.



CAT (NATURAL SIZE) TIME FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

The admiral had now recovered his health, and the colonists were in some degree, refreshed and invigorated by the supplies brought by the ships, when Guacanagari brought intelligence that the allied caciques, headed by Manicaotex, brother and successor to Caonabo, had assembled all their forces in the vega, within two days' march of Isabella, with an intention of making a grand assault upon the settlement. Columbus immediately determined to carry the war into the territories of the enemy, rather than wait for it to be brought to his door.

The whole sound and effective force he could muster, in the present sickly state of the colony, did not exceed two hundred infantry, and twenty horse. There were twenty blood-hounds also, animals scarcely less terrible to the Indians than the horses, and infinitely more destructive. Guacanagari, also, brought his people into the field, but both he and his subjects were of an unwarlike character; the chief advantage of his co-operation was, that it completely severed him from his fellow caciques, and secured him as an ally.

It was on the 27th of March, 1495, that Columbus issued forth from Isabella with his little army, accompanied by his brother, the adelantado, and advancing by rapid marches, arrived in the neighborhood of the enemy, who were assembled in the vega, near to where the town of Santiago has since been built. The Indians were confident in their number, which is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand; this is evidently an exaggeration, but the number was undoubtedly very great. The adelantado arranged the mode of attack. The infantry, divided into small detachments, advanced suddenly from various quarters, with great din of drums and trumpets, and a destructive discharge of firearms. The Indians were struck with panic. An army seemed pressing upon them from every quarter. Many were slain by the balls of the arquebuses, which seemed to burst with thunder and lightning from the forests.

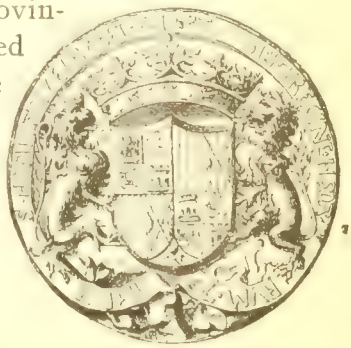
In the height of their confusion, Alonzo de Ojeda charged impetuously on their main body with his cavalry, bearing down and trampling them under foot, and dealing deadly blows with lance and sword. The bloodhounds were, at the same time, let loose, and rushed upon the naked savages, seizing them by the throat, dragging them to the earth, and tearing out their bowels. The battle, if such it might be called, was of short duration. The Indians, overwhelmed, fled in every direction, with yells and howlings. Some clambered to the tops of rocks and precipices, from whence they made piteous supplications and promises of submission. Many were slain, many made prisoners, and the confederacy was, for the time, completely broken up.



BATTLE OF THE VEGA.

Guacanagari had accompanied the Spaniards into the field, but he was little more than a spectator of the battle. His participation in the hostilities of the white men, however, was never forgiven by the other caciques; and he returned to his dominions followed by the hatred and execrations of his countrymen.

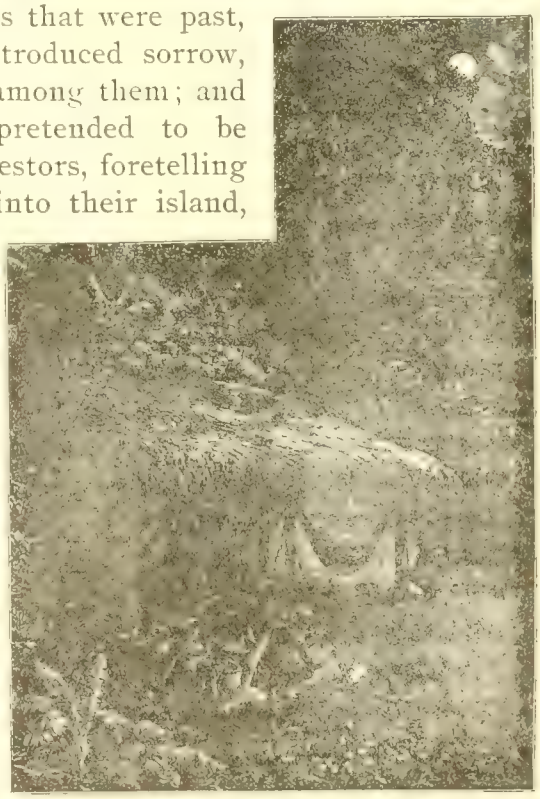
Columbus followed up his victory by making a military tour through various parts of the island, which were soon reduced to subjection. He then exercised what he considered the right of a conqueror, and imposed tributes on the vanquished provinces. In those which possessed mines, each individual, above the age of fourteen years, was obliged to render, every three months, the measure of a Flemish hawk's bell of gold dust.* The caciques had to pay a much larger amount for their personal tribute. Manicaotex, the brother of Caonabo, rendered in, every three months, half a calabash of gold. In those provinces which produced no gold, each individual was obliged to furnish twenty-five pounds of cotton every three months. A copper medal, suspended about the neck, was a proof that an Indian had paid his tribute; any one found without such a certificate was liable to arrest



* Equal in value to fifteen dollars at the present time.

and punishment. Various fortresses were erected in the most important places, so as to keep the Indians in complete subjection.

In this way the yoke of servitude was fixed upon the island, and its thraldom completely insured. Deep despair now fell upon the natives, for they found a perpetual task inflicted upon them, enforced at stated and frequently recurring periods. Weak and indolent by nature, and brought up in the untasked idleness of their soft climate, and their fruitful groves, death itself seemed preferable to a life of toil and anxiety. They saw no end to this harassing evil, which had so suddenly fallen upon them; no prospect of return to that roving independence and ample leisure, so dear to the wild inhabitant of the forest. The pleasant life of the island was at an end;—the dream in the shade by day; the slumber, during the sultry noontide heat, by the fountain or the stream, or under the spreading palm tree; and the song, the dance, and the game in the mellow evening, when summoned to their simple amusements by the rude Indian drum. Or, if they occasionally indulged in a national dance, after a day of painful toil, the ballads to which they kept time were of a melancholy and plaintive character. They spoke of the times that were past, before the white men had introduced sorrow, and slavery, and weary labor among them; and they rehearsed prophecies pretended to be handed down from their ancestors, foretelling that strangers should come into their island, clothed in apparel, with swords capable of cleaving a man asunder at a blow, under whose yoke their race should be subdued and pass away. These ballads, or areytos, they sang with mournful tunes and doleful voices, bewailing the loss of their liberty and their painful servitude.



IDYLLIC LIFE OF THE NATIVES OF HAYTI

They had flattered themselves, for a time, that the visit of the strangers would

be but temporary, and that, spreading their ample sails, their ships would soon waft them back to their home in the sky. In their simplicity they had repeatedly inquired of the Spaniards when they intended to return to Turey, or the heavens. All such hope was now at an end; and, finding how vain was every attempt to deliver themselves from their invaders by warlike means, they now resorted to a forlorn and desperate alternative. Knowing that the Spaniards depended, in a great measure, for subsistence on the supplies which they furnished them, they endeavored to produce a famine. For this purpose, they destroyed their fields of maize, stripped the trees of their fruit, pulled up the yuca and other roots, and then fled to the mountains.



THE UNEQUAL AND RELENTLESS WARFARE OF THE FAMISHED NATIVES WITH FIRE AND SMOKE THEY ARE PURSUED TO THEIR MOUNTAIN FASTNESS.

The Spaniards were indeed reduced to much distress, but were partially relieved by supplies from Spain. They pursued the natives to their mountain retreats, hunting them from one dreary fastness to another, until thousands perished in dens and caverns of famine and sickness, and the survivors, yielding themselves up to despair, submitted humbly to the yoke. So deep an awe did they conceive of their conquerors, that it is said that a Spaniard might go singly and securely all over the island, and the natives would even transport him from place to place on their shoulders.

Before passing on to other events, it may be proper here to notice the fate of Guacanagari, as he makes no further appearance in the course of this history. His friendship for the Spaniards severed him from his countrymen, but it did not exonerate him from the general woes of the island. At a time when Columbus was absent, the Spaniards exacted a tribute from him, which his people, with the common repugnance to labor, found it difficult and distressing to pay. Unable to bear the murmurs of his subjects, the hostilities of his fellow caciques, the extortions of his ungrateful allies, and the sight of the various miseries which he felt as if

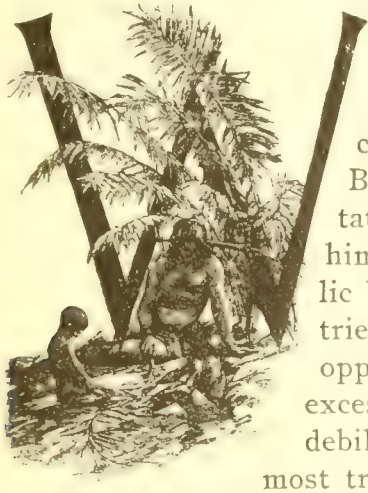
he had invoked upon his race, he retired to the mountains, where it is said he died obscurely and in misery.

An attempt has been made by a Spanish historian to defame the character of this Indian prince; but it is not for Spaniards to excuse their own ingratitude by casting a stigma upon his name. He appears to have always manifested towards them that true friendship which shines brightest in the dark days of adversity. He might have played a nobler part, in making a stand, with his brother caciques, to drive those intruders from his native soil; but he appears to have been blinded by his admiration of them, and his personal attachment to Columbus. He was bountiful, hospitable, affectionate, and kind-hearted; competent to rule a gentle and unwarlike people in the happier days of the island, but unfitted, through the mildness of his nature, for the stern turmoil which followed the arrival of the white men.



CHAPTER XXVII.

ARRIVAL OF THE COMMISSIONER AGUADO. DISCOVERY OF THE GOLD MINES OF HAYNA. (1495.)



WHILE Columbus was endeavoring to remedy the evils produced by the misconduct of Margarite and his followers, that recreant commander, and his politic coadjutor Friar Boyle, were busily undermining his reputation in the court of Spain. They accused him of deceiving the sovereigns and the public by extravagant descriptions of the countries he had discovered; and of tyranny and oppression towards the colonists, compelling excessive labor during a time of sickness and debility; inflicting severe punishments for the most trifling offense, and heaping indignities on Spanish gentlemen of rank. They said nothing, however, of the exigencies which had called for unusual labor; nor of the idleness and profligacy of the commonalty, which called for coercion and chastisement; nor of the contumacy and cabals of the cavaliers, who had been treated with indulgence rather than severity. These representations, being supported by many factious and discontented idlers who had returned from the colony, and enforced by people of rank connected with the cavaliers, had a baneful effect upon the popularity of Columbus, and his favor with the sovereigns.

About this time a measure was adopted, which shows the declining influence of the admiral. A proclamation was made on the 10th of April, giving general permission to native-born subjects to settle in the island of Hispaniola, and to go on private voyages of discovery and traffic to the new world. They were to pay certain

proportions of their profits to the crown, and to be subject to certain regulations. The privilege of an eighth part of the tonnage was likewise secured to Columbus, as admiral; but he felt himself exceedingly aggrieved at this permission being granted without his knowledge or consent, considering it an infringement of his rights, and a measure likely to disturb the course of regular discovery by the licentious and predatory enterprises of reckless adventurers.

The arrival of the ships commanded by Torres, bringing accounts of the voyage along the southern coasts of Cuba, supposed to be the continent of Asia, and specimens of the gold, and the vegetable and animal productions of the country, counterbalanced in some degree these unfavorable representations of Margarite and Boyle. Still it was determined to send out a commissioner to inquire into the alleged distress of the colony, and the conduct of Columbus, and one Juan Aguado was appointed for the purpose. He had already been to Hispaniola, and on returning had been strongly recommended to royal favor by Columbus. In appointing a person, therefore, for whom the admiral appeared to have a regard, and who was under obligations to him, the sovereigns thought, perhaps, to soften the harshness of the measure.

As to the five hundred slaves sent home in the ships of Torres, Isabella ordered a consultation of pious theologians to determine whether, having been taken in warfare, their sale as slaves would be justifiable in the sight of God. Much difference of opinion arose among the divines on this important question; whereupon the Queen decided it according to the dictates of her conscience and her heart, and ordered that the Indians should be taken back to their native country.



THE JUNTA OF PIOUS THEOLOGIANS DISCUSSING THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN SLAVERY.

Juan de Aguado set sail from Spain towards the end of August with four caravels freighted with supplies, and Don Diego Columbus returned in this squadron to Hispaniola. Aguado was one of those weak men whose heads are turned by the least elevation. Though under obligations to Columbus, he forgot them all, and forgot even the nature and extent of his own commission. Finding

Columbus absent in the interior of the island, on his arrival, he acted as if the reins of government had been transferred into his hands. He paid no respect to Don Bartholomew, who had been placed in command by his brother during his absence, but proclaiming his letter of credence by sound of trumpet, he proceeded to arrest various public officers, to call others to rigorous account, and to invite every one, who had wrongs or grievances to complain of, to come forward boldly and make them known. He already regarded Columbus as a criminal, and intimated, and perhaps thought, that he was keeping at a distance through fear of his investigations. He even talked of setting off at the head of a body of horse to arrest him. The whole community was in confusion; the downfall of the family of Columbus was considered as arrived, and some thought the admiral would lose his head.

The news of the arrival and of the insolent conduct of Aguado reached Columbus in the interior of the island, and he immediately hastened to Isabella to give him a meeting. As every one knew the lofty spirit of Columbus, his high sense of his services, and his jealous maintenance of his official dignity, a violent explosion was anticipated at the impending interview. The natural heat and impetuosity of Columbus, however, had been subdued by a life of trials, and he had learnt to bring his passions into subjection to his judgment; he had too true an estimate of his own dignity to enter into a contest with a shallow boaster like Aguado: above all, he had a profound reverence for the authority of his sovereigns; for, in his enthusiastic spirit, prone to deep feelings of reverence, loyalty was inferior only to religion. He received Aguado, therefore, with the most grave and punctilious courtesy, ordered his letter of credence to be again proclaimed by sound of trumpet, and assured him of his readiness to acquiesce in whatever might be the pleasure of his sovereigns.

The moderation of Columbus was regarded by many, and by Aguado himself, as a proof of his loss of moral courage. Every dastard spirit who had any lurking ill will, any real or imaginary cause of complaint, now hastened to give it utterance. It was a time of jubilee for offenders: every culprit started up into an accuser; every one who by negligence or crime had incurred the wholesome penalties of the laws was loud in his clamors of oppression; and all the ills of the colony, however produced, were ascribed to the mal-administration of the admiral.

Aguado listened to every accusation with ready credulity, and having collected information sufficient, as he thought, to insure the ruin of the admiral and his brothers, prepared to return to Spain. Columbus resolved to do the same; for he felt that it was about time to appear at court, to vindicate his conduct from the misrepresentations of his enemies, and to explain the causes of the distresses of the colony, and of the disappointments with respect to revenue, which he feared might discourage the prosecution of his discoveries.

When the ships were ready to depart, a terrible storm swept the island; it was one of those awful whirlwinds which occasionally rage within the tropics, and which were called 'Uricans'* by the Indians, a name which they still retain. Three of the ships at anchor in the harbor were sunk by it, with all who were on board; others were dashed against each other, and driven mere wrecks upon the shore. The Indians were overwhelmed with astonishment and dismay, for never in their memory, or in the traditions of their ancestors, had they known so tremendous a storm. They believed that the Deity had sent it in punishment of the cruelties and crimes of the white men, and declared that this people moved the very air, the water, and the earth to disturb their tranquil life, and to desolate their island.

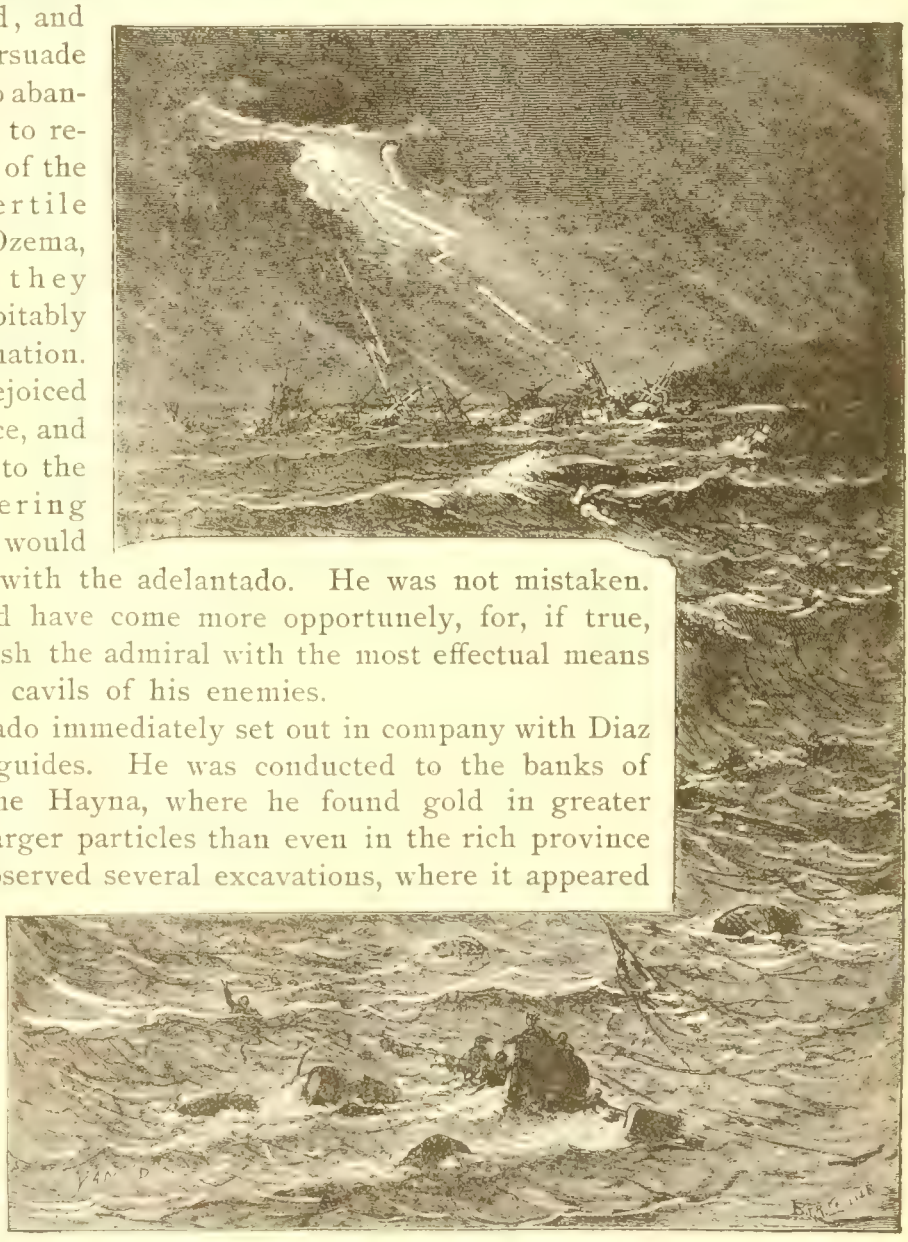
The departure of Columbus, and of Aguado, was delayed until one of the shattered vessels, the Niña, could be repaired, and another constructed out of the fragments of the wrecks. In the mean time, information was received of rich mines in the interior of the island. A young Arragonian, named Miguel Diaz, in the service of the adelantado, having wounded a companion in a quarrel, fled from the settlement, accompanied by five or six comrades, who had either been engaged in the affray, or were personally attached to him. Wandering about the island, they at length came to an Indian village, on the banks of the Ozema, where the city of San Domingo is at present situated; they were received with kindness by the natives, and resided for some time among them. The village was governed by a female cacique, who soon conceived a strong affection for the young Arragonian. A connection was formed between them, and they lived for some time very happily

*Orkan, German; ouragan, French; hurricane, English.

together. At length the remembrance of his country and his friends began to haunt the mind of the Spaniard; he longed to return to the settlement, but dreaded the austere justice of the adelantado. His Indian bride observing him frequently lost in gloomy thought, drew from him the cause of his melancholy. Fearful that he would abandon her, and knowing the influence of gold over the white men, she informed him of certain rich mines in the neighborhood, and urged him to persuade his countrymen to abandon Isabella, and to remove to that part of the island, to the fertile banks of the Ozema, promising that they should be hospitably received by her nation.

Diaz was rejoiced at this intelligence, and hastened with it to the settlement, flattering himself that it would make his peace with the adelantado. He was not mistaken. No tidings could have come more opportunely, for, if true, they would furnish the admiral with the most effectual means of silencing the cavils of his enemies.

The adelantado immediately set out in company with Diaz and his Indian guides. He was conducted to the banks of a river called the Hayna, where he found gold in greater quantities and larger particles than even in the rich province of Cibao, and observed several excavations, where it appeared as if mines had been worked in ancient times. Columbus was overjoyed at the sight of these specimens, bro't back by the ade-



COLUMBUS ON THE EVE OF DEPARTURE OVERTAKEN BY A HURRICANE. (SEE PAGE 288.)

lantado, and was surprised to hear of the excavations, as the Indians possessed no knowledge of mining, and merely picked up the gold from the surface of the soil, or the beds of the rivers. The circumstance gave rise to one of his usual veins of visionary speculation. He had already surmised that Hispaniola might be the ancient Ophir; he now fancied he had discovered the identical mines from whence King Solomon had procured his great supplies of gold for the building of the temple of Jerusalem. He gave orders that a fortress should be immediately erected in the vicinity of the mines, and that they should be diligently worked; and he now looked forward with confidence to his return to Spain, the bearer of such golden tidings.

It may not be uninteresting to mention that Miguel Diaz remained faithful to his Indian bride, who was baptized by the name of Catalina. They were regularly married and had two children.



VIEW OF THE CITY OF SAN DOMINGO. THE FORT ERECTED BY COLUMBUS ON THE BANKS OF THE OZEMA IN THE FOREGROUND.

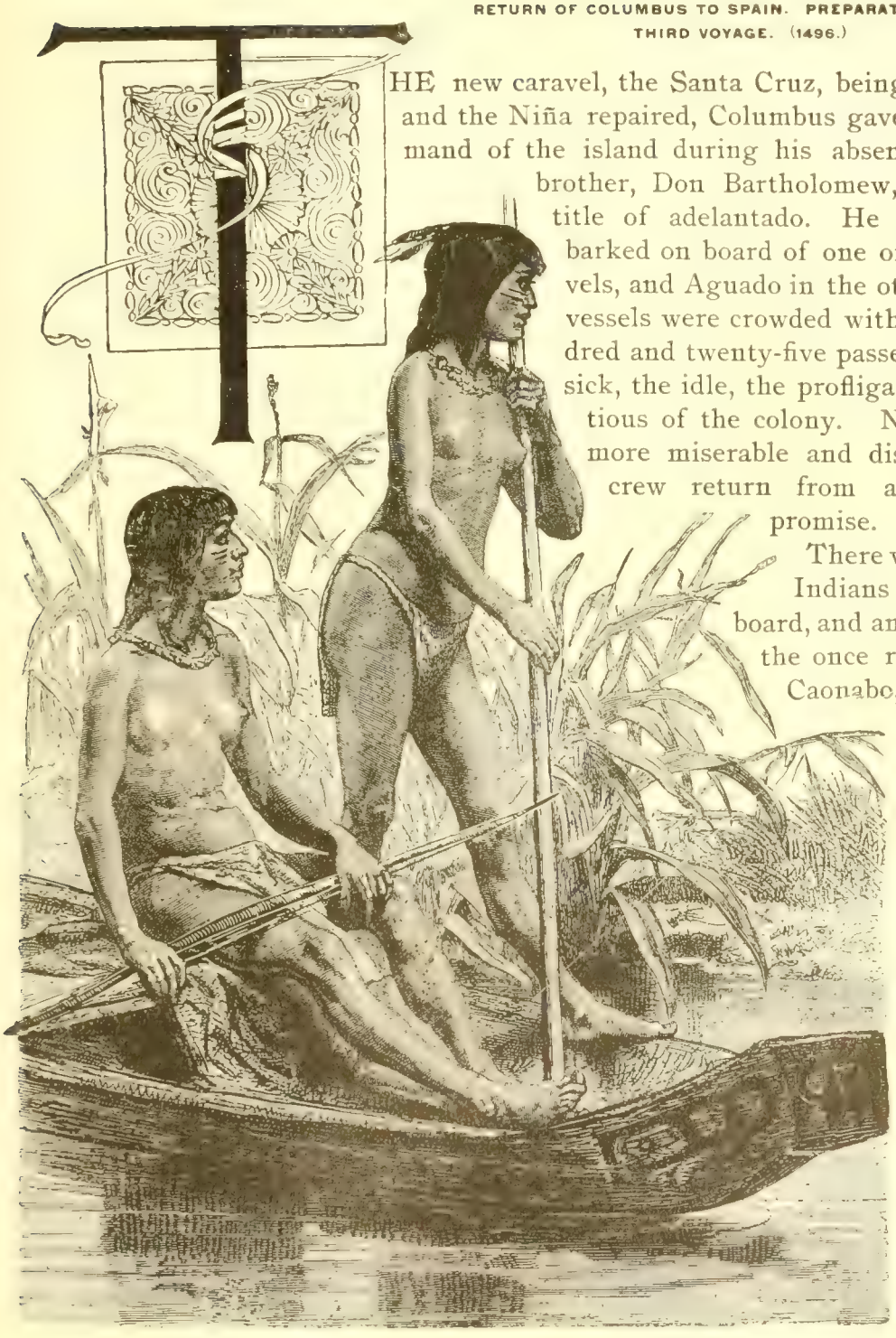
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CHAPTER XXVIII.

RETURN OF COLUMBUS TO SPAIN. PREPARATIONS FOR A THIRD VOYAGE. (1496.)

THE new caravel, the Santa Cruz, being finished, and the Niña repaired, Columbus gave the command of the island during his absence to his brother, Don Bartholomew, with the title of adelantado. He then embarked on board of one of the caravels, and Aguado in the other. The vessels were crowded with two hundred and twenty-five passengers, the sick, the idle, the profligate and factious of the colony. Never did a more miserable and disappointed crew return from a land of promise.

There were thirty Indians also on board, and among them the once redoubtable Caonabo, together with one of his brothers, and a nephew. The admiral had promised to restore them to their country and their power, after having presented



NATIVES OF THE ISLAND OF GUADALOUPE.

them to the sovereigns; trusting by kind treatment, and a display of the wonders of Spain, to conquer their hostility, and convert them into important instruments for the quiet subjugation of the island.

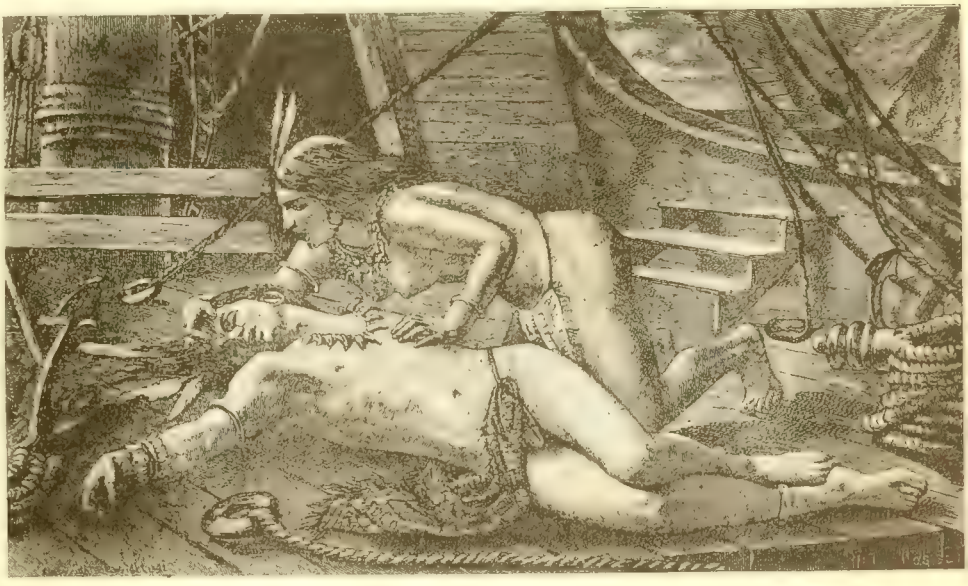
Being as yet but little experienced in the navigation of these seas, Columbus, instead of working up to the northward, so as to fall in with the track of westerly winds, took an easterly course on leaving the island. His voyage, in consequence, became a toilsome and tedious struggle against the trade winds* and calms which prevail between the tropics. Though he sailed on the 10th of March, yet on the 6th of April he was still in the vicinity of the Caribbee Islands, and had to touch at Guadaloupe to procure provisions. Here skirmishes occurred with the fierce natives, both male and female; for the women were perfect Amazons, of large and powerful frame and great agility. Several of the latter were taken prisoners; they were naked, and wore their hair loose and flowing upon their shoulders, though some decorated their heads with tufts of feathers. Their weapons were bows and arrows. Among them was the wife of a cacique, a woman of a proud and resolute spirit. On the approach of the Spaniards she had fled with an agility that soon distanced all pursuers, excepting a native of the Canary Islands, noted for swiftness of foot. She would have escaped even from him, but perceiving that he was alone, and far from his companions, she suddenly turned upon him, seized him by the throat, and would have strangled him, had not the Spaniards arrived and taken her, entangled like a hawk with her prey.

When Columbus departed from the island, he dismissed all the prisoners with presents. The female cacique alone refused to go on shore. She had conceived a passion for Caonabo, having found out that he was a Carib, and she had been won by the story, gathered from the other Indians, of his great valor and his misfortunes. In the course of the voyage, however, the unfortunate Caonabo expired. He maintained his haughty nature to the last, for his death is principally ascribed to the morbid melancholy of a proud but broken spirit. His fate furnishes on a narrow scale a picture of the fallacy of human greatness. When the Spaniards first arrived on the coast of Hayti, their imaginations were inflamed with

*Trade winds are the steadily blowing east winds between the tropics.

rumors of a magnificent prince among the mountains, the lord of the golden house, the sovereign of the mines of Cibao; but a short time had elapsed, and he was a naked and moody prisoner on the deck of one of their caravels, with none but one of his own wild native heroines to sympathize in his misfortunes. All his importance vanished with his freedom; scarce any mention is made of him during his captivity; and with innate qualities of a high and heroic nature, he perished with the obscurity of one of the vulgar.

Columbus left Guadaloupe on the 20th of April, still working his way against the whole current of the trade winds. By the 20th of May but a portion of the voyage was performed, yet the provisions were so much exhausted that every one was put on an allowance of six ounces of bread and a pint and a half of water. By the beginning of June there was an absolute famine on board of the ships, and some proposed that they should kill and eat their Indian prisoners, or throw them into the sea as so many useless mouths. Nothing but the absolute authority of Columbus prevented this last counsel from being adopted. He represented that the Indians were their fellow-beings, some of them Christians like themselves, and all entitled to similar treatment. He exhorted them to a little patience, assuring them they would soon make land, as, according to his reckoning, they could not be far from Cape St. Vincent. They scoffed at his words, for they believed themselves as yet far from their desired haven. The next morning, however, proved the



DEATH OF THE CACIQUE CAONABO ON BOARD OF THE CARAVEL SANTA CRUZ, BEWAILED ONLY BY ONE OF HIS OWN WILD NATIVE HEROINES.

correctness of his calculations, for they made the very land he had predicted.

On the 11th of June the vessels anchored in the bay of Cadiz. The populace crowded to witness the landing of the gay and bold adventurers, who had sailed from this very port animated by the most sanguine expectations. Instead, however, of a joyous crew, bounding on shore, flushed with success, and rich with the spoils of the golden Indies, a feeble train of wretched men crawled forth, emaciated by the diseases of the colony and the hardships of the voyage; who carried in their yellow countenances, says an old writer, a mockery of that gold which had been the object of their search; and who had nothing to relate of the new world but tales of sickness, poverty, and disappointment.



COLUMBUS, CLAD IN THE HABIT OF A FRANCISCAN MONK, MAKES HIS ENTRY INTO BURGOS ON HIS RETURN FROM HIS SECOND VOYAGE.

The appearance of Columbus himself was a kind of comment on his fortunes. Either considering himself in disgrace with the sovereigns, or having made some penitential vow, he was clad in the habit of a Franciscan monk, girded with a cord, and he had suffered his beard to grow like the friars of that order. But however humble he might be in his own personal appearance, he endeavored to keep alive the public interest in his discoveries. On his way to Burgos to meet the sovereigns, he made a studious display of the coronets, collars, bracelets and other ornaments of gold, which he

had brought from the new world. He carried with him, also, several Indians, decorated with glittering ornaments, and among them the brother of Caonabo, on whom he put a massive collar and chain of gold, weighing six hundred castillanos,* as being cacique of the golden country of Cibao.

The reception of Columbus by the sovereigns was different from what he had anticipated, for he was treated with distinguished favor; nor was any mention made either of the complaints of Margarite and Boyle, or the judicial inquiries conducted by Aguado. However these may have had a transient effect upon the minds of the sovereigns, they were too conscious of his great deserts, and of the extraordinary difficulties of his situation, not to tolerate what they may have considered errors on his part.

Encouraged by the interest with which the sovereigns listened to his account of his recent voyage along the coast of Cuba, bordering, as he supposed, on the rich territories of the Grand Khan, and of his discovery of the mines of Hayna, which he failed not to represent as the Ophir of the ancients, Columbus now proposed a further enterprise, by which he promised to make yet more extensive discoveries, and to annex a vast and unappropriated portion of the continent of Asia to their dominions. All he asked was eight ships, two to be despatched to Hispaniola with supplies, the remaining six to be put under his command for the voyage.

The sovereigns readily promised to comply with his request, and were probably sincere in their intentions to do so; but in the performance of their promise Columbus was doomed to meet with intolerable delay. The resources of Spain at this moment were tasked to the utmost by the ambition of Ferdinand, who lavished all his revenues in warlike enterprises. While maintaining a contest of deep and artful policy with France, with the ultimate aim of grasping the sceptre of Naples, he was laying the foundation of a wide and powerful connection, by the marriages of the royal children, who were now maturing in years. At this time rose that family alliance which afterwards consolidated such an immense empire under his grandson and successor, Charles the Fifth.

These widely extended operations both of war and amity put all the land and naval forces into requisition, drained the royal treasury, and engrossed the time and thoughts of the sovereigns.

* Equivalent to 3195 dollars of the present time.

It was not until the spring of 1497, that Isabella could find leisure to enter fully into the concerns of the new world. She then took them up with a spirit that showed she was determined to place them upon a substantial foundation, as well as clearly to define the powers and reward the services of Columbus. To her protecting zeal all the provisions in favor of the latter must be attributed, for the king began to look coldly on him, and Fonseca, who had most influence in the affairs of the Indies, was his implacable enemy. As the expenses of the expeditions had hitherto exceeded the returns, Columbus was relieved of his eighth part of the cost of the past enterprises and allowed an eighth of the gross proceeds for the next three years, and a tenth of the net profits. He was allowed also to establish a mayorazgo, or entailed estate,* in his family, of which he immediately availed himself, devising his estates to his male descendants, with the express charge that his successor should never use any other title in signature than simply "The Admiral." As he had felt aggrieved by the royal licence for general discovery, granted in 1495, it was annulled as far as it might be prejudicial to his interests, or to the previous grants made him by the crown. The titles and prerogatives of adelantado were likewise conferred upon Don Bartholomew, though the king had at first been displeased with Columbus for investing his brother with dignities which were only in the gift of the sovereign.

While all these measures were taken for the immediate gratification of Columbus, others were adopted for the good of the colony. The precise number of persons was fixed who were to be sent to Hispaniola, among whom were several females; and regulations were made for their payment and support, and for the distribution of lands among them to be diligently cultivated. The greatest care was enjoined likewise by Isabella in the religious instruction of the natives, and the utmost lenity in collecting the tributes imposed upon them. With respect to the government of the colony, also, it was generally recommended that, whenever the public safety did not require stern measures, there should be manifested a disposition to indulgent and easy rule.

When every intention was thus shown on the part of the crown to despatch the expedition, unexpected difficulties arose on the part of the public. The charm was dispelled which, in the preceding

* Entailed estate, descending to a single heir, free from government tax.

voyage, had made every adventurer crowd into the service of Columbus; the new-found world, instead of a region of wealth and enjoyment, was now considered a land of poverty and disaster. To supply the want of voluntary recruits, therefore, Columbus proposed to transport to Hispaniola, for a limited term of years, all criminals condemned to banishment or the galleys, excepting such as had committed crimes of an atrocious nature. This pernicious measure shows the desperate alternative to which he was reduced by the reaction of public sentiment. It proved a fruitful source of misery and disaster to the colony; and having frequently been adopted by various nations, whose superior experience should have taught them better, has proved the bane of many a rising settlement.

Notwithstanding all these expedients, and the urgent representations of Columbus, of the sufferings to which the colony must be reduced for want of supplies, it was not until the beginning of 1498, that the two ships were despatched to Hispaniola, under the command of Pedro Fernandez Coronal. A still further delay occurred in fitting out the six ships that were to bear Columbus on his voyage of discovery. His cold-blooded enemy Fonseca, who was now bishop of Badajoz, having the superintendence of Indian affairs, was enabled to impede and retard all his plans. The various officers and agents employed in the concerns of the armament were most of them dependents and minions of the bishop, and sought to gratify him, by throwing all kinds of difficulties in the way of Columbus, treating him with that arrogance which petty and ignoble men in place are prone to exercise, when they think they can do so with impunity. So wearied and disheartened did he become by these delays, and by the prejudices of the fickle public, that he at one time thought of abandoning his discoveries altogether.



The insolence of these worthless men harassed him to the last moment of his sojourn in Spain, and followed him to the water's edge. One of the most noisy and presuming was one Ximeno de Breviesca, treasurer of Fonseca, a converted Jew or Moor, and a man of impudent front and unbridled tongue, who, echoing the sentiment of his patron the bishop, had been loud in his abuse of the admiral and his enterprises.

At the very time that Columbus was on the point of embarking, he was assailed by the insolence of this Ximeno. Forgetting, in the hurry and indignation of the moment, his usual self-command, he struck the despicable minion to the earth, and spurned him with his foot, venting in this unguarded paroxysm the accumulated griefs and vexations which had long rankled in his heart. This transport of passion, so unusual in his well-governed temper, was artfully made use of by Fonseca, and others of his enemies, to injure him in the royal favor. The personal castigation of a public officer was represented as a flagrant instance of his vindictive temper, and a corroboration of the charges of cruelty and oppression sent home from the colony; and we are assured that certain humiliating measures, shortly afterwards adopted towards him, were in consequence of the effect produced upon the sovereigns by these misrepresentations. Columbus himself deeply regretted his indiscretion, and foresaw the invidious use that would be made of it. It would be difficult to make, with equal brevity, a more direct and affecting appeal than that contained in one of his letters, wherein he alludes to this affair. He entreats the sovereigns not to let it be wrested to his injury in their opinion; but to remember, when any thing should be said to his disparagement, that he was "absent, envied, and a stranger."



COLUMBUS PERSONALLY CASTIGATES A MINION OF BISHOP FONSECA, BY STRIKING THE DESPICABLE DEPENDENT TO THE GROUND.



CHAPTER XXIX.

THE DISCOVERY OF TRINIDAD AND THE COAST OF PARIA. ARRIVIL AT SAN DOMINGO.
(1498.



IN the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus set sail from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda*, with a squadron of six vessels, on his third voyage of discovery. From various considerations, he was induced to take a different route from that pursued in his former expeditions. He had been assured by persons who had traded to the East, that the rarest objects of commerce, such as gold, precious stones, drugs, and spices, were chiefly to be found in the regions about the equator, where the inhabitants were black or darkly colored; and that, until he arrived among people of such complexions, it was not probable he would find those articles in great abundance.

Columbus expected to find such people more to the south and southeast. He recollected that the natives of Hispaniola had spoken of black men who had once come to their island from the south, the heads of whose javelins were of guanin, or adulterated gold. The natives of the Caribbee Islands, also, had informed him that a great tract of the main land lay to the south; and in his preceding voyage he had remarked that Cuba, which he sup-

* On the Guadalquivir.

posed to be the continent of Asia, swept off in that direction. He proposed, therefore, to take his departure from the Cape de Verde Islands, sailing to the southwest until he should come under the equinoctial line, then to steer directly westward, with the favor of the trade winds.

Having touched at the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira, to take in wood and water, he continued his course to the Canary Islands, from whence he despatched three of his ships direct for Hispaniola, with supplies for the colony. With the remaining three he prosecuted his voyage towards the Cape de Verde Islands. The ship in which he sailed was decked, the other two were merchant caravels. As he advanced within the tropics, the change of climate, and the close and sultry weather, brought on a severe attack of the gout, accompanied by a violent fever; but he still enjoyed the full possession of his faculties, and continued to keep his reckoning and make his observations with his usual vigilance and minuteness.

On the 5th of July, he took his departure from the Cape de Verde Islands, and steered to the southwest until he arrived, according to his observations, in the fifth degree of north latitude. Here the wind suddenly fell, and a dead sultry calm succeeded. The air was like a furnace, the tar melted from the sides of the ships, the seams yawned, the salt meat became putrid, the wheat was parched as if with fire, some of the wine and water casks burst, and the heat in the holds of the vessels was so suffocating that no one could remain below to prevent the damage that was taking place among the sea stores. The mariners lost all strength and spirits. It seemed as if the old fable of the torrid zone was about to be realized, and that they were approaching a fiery region, where it would be impossible to exist. It is true, the heavens became overcast, and there were drizzling showers, but the atmosphere was close and stifling, and there was that combination of heat and moisture which relaxes all the energies of the human frame.

A continuation of this weather, together with the remonstrances of his crew, and his extreme suffering from the gout, ultimately induced him to alter his route, and stand to the northwest, in hopes of falling in with the Caribbee Islands, where he might repair his ships, and obtain water and provisions. After sailing some distance in this direction, through an ordeal of heats and calms, and murky,

stifling atmosphere, the ships all at once emerged into a genial region; a pleasant, cooling breeze played over the sea, and gently filled their sails; the sky became serene and clear, and the sun shone forth with all its splendor, but no longer with a burning heat.

On the 31st of July, when there was not above a cask of water remaining in each ship, a mariner, named Alonzo Perez, descried, from the mast-head, three mountains rising above the horizon. As the ships drew nearer, these mountains proved to be united at the base. Columbus, therefore, from a religious association of ideas, gave this island the name of La Trinidad (or the Trinity), which it continues to bear at the present day.



Shaping his course for this island, he approached its eastern extremity, to which he gave the name of Punta de Galera, from a rock in the sea which resembled a galley under sail. He then coasted along the southern shore, between Trinidad and the main land, which he beheld on the south, stretching to the distance of more than twenty leagues. It was that low tract of coast intersected by the numerous branches of the Orinoco, but the admiral, supposing it to be an island, gave it the name of La Isla Santa; little imagining that he now, for the first time, beheld that continent, that Terra Firma, which had been the object of his earnest search.

He was for several days coasting the island of Trini-

dad, and exploring the great gulf of Paria, which lies behind it, fancying himself among islands, and that he must find a passage to the open ocean by keeping to the bottom of the gulf. During this time, he was nearly swept from his anchors and thrown on shore by a sudden rush and swell of the sea, near Point Arenal, between Trinidad and the main land, caused, as is supposed, by the swelling of one of the rivers which flow into the gulf. He landed on the inside of the long promontory of Paria, which he mistook for an island, and had various interviews with the natives, from whom he procured great quantities of pearls, many of a fine size and quality.

There were several phenomena that surprised and perplexed Columbus in the course of his voyage along this coast, and which gave rise to speculations, some ingenious and others fanciful. He was astonished at the vast body of fresh water continually flowing into the gulf of Paria, so as apparently to sweeten the whole surrounding sea, and at the constant current which set through it, which he supposed to be produced by some great river. He remarked, with wondering, also the difference between the climate, vegetation, and people of these coasts, and those of the same parallel in Africa. There the heat was insupportable, and the land parched and sterile; the inhabitants were black, with crisped wool, ill shapen, and of dull and brutal natures. Here, on the contrary, although the sun was in Leo, he found the noontide heat moderate, the mornings and evenings fresh and cool, the country green and fruitful, covered with beautiful forests, and watered by innumerable streams and fountains; the people fairer than even those in the lands he had discovered further north, with long hair, well-proportioned and graceful forms, lively minds, and courageous spirits. In respect to the vast body of fresh water, he made one of his simple and great conclusions. Such a mighty stream could not be produced by an island; it must be the outpouring of a continent. He now supposed that the various tracts of land which he had beheld about the gulf were connected together, and continued to an immense distance to the south, far beyond the equator, into that hemisphere hitherto unknown to civilized man. As to the mild temperature of the climate, the fresh verdure of the country, and the comparative fairness of the inhabitants, in a parallel so near to the equator, he attributed it to the superior elevation of this part of the globe; for, from a variety of circumstances, inge-

niously but erroneously reasoned upon, he inferred that philosophers had been mistaken in the form of the earth, which, instead of being a perfect sphere, he now concluded to be shaped like a pear, one part more elevated than the rest, rising into the purer regions of the air, above the heats, and frosts, and storms of the lower parts of the earth. He imagined this apex to be situated about the equinoctial line, in the interior of this vast continent, which he considered the extremity of the East; that on this summit, as it were, of the earth, was situated the terrestrial paradise; and that the vast stream of fresh water, which poured into the gulf of Paria, issued from the fountain of the tree of life, in the midst of the garden of Eden. Extravagant as this speculation may seem at the present day, it was grounded on the writings of the most sage and learned men of those times, among whom the situation of the terrestrial paradise had long been a subject of discussion and controversy, and by several of whom it was supposed to be on a vast mountain, in the remote parts of the East.

The mind of Columbus was so possessed by these theories, and he was so encouraged by the quantities of pearls which he had met with, for the first time in the new world, that he would gladly have followed up his discovery, not doubting that the country would increase in the value of its productions as he approached the equator. The sea stores of his ships, however, were almost exhausted, and the various supplies with which they were freighted for the colony were in danger of spoiling. He was suffering, also, extremely in his health. Besides the gout, which had rendered him a cripple for the greater part of the voyage, he was afflicted by a complaint in his eyes, caused by fatigue and overwatching, which almost deprived him of sight. He determined, therefore, to hasten to Hispaniola, intending to repose there from his fatigues, and recruit his health, while he should send his brother, the adelantado, to complete this important discovery.

On the 14th of August, therefore, he left the gulf, by a narrow strait between the promontory of Paria and the island of Trinidad. This strait is beset with small islands, and the current which sets through the gulf is so compressed between them as to cause a turbulent sea, with great foaming and roaring, as if rushing over rocks and shoals. The admiral conceived himself in imminent danger of shipwreck when passing through this strait, and gave it

the name of La Boca del Drago, or the Mouth of the Dragon. After reconnoitering the coast to the westward, as far as the islands of Cubaga and Margarita, and convincing himself of its being a continent, he bore away for Hispaniola, for the river Ozema, where he expected to find a new settlement, which he had instructed his brother to form in the neighborhood of the mines. He was borne far to the westward by the currents, but at length reached his desired haven, where he arrived, haggard, emaciated, and almost blind, and was received with open arms by the adelantado. The brothers were strongly attached to each other; Don Bartholomew had a great deference for the brilliant genius, the enlarged mind, and the commanding reputation of his brother; while the latter placed great reliance, in times of difficulty, on the worldly knowledge, the indefatigable activity, and the lion-hearted courage of the adelantado. They had both, during their long separation, experienced the need of each other's sympathy and support.



CHAPTER XXX.

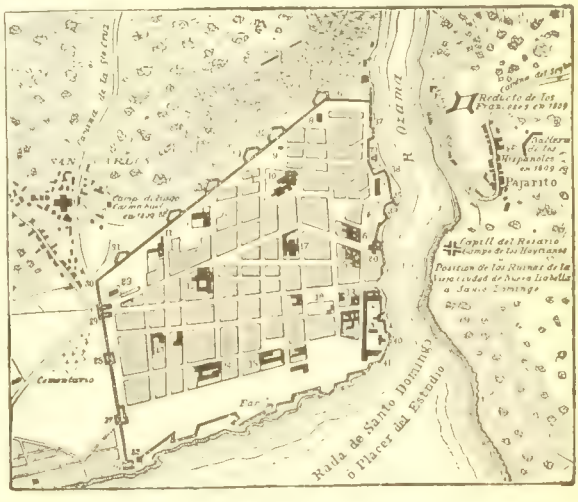
ADMINISTRATION OF THE ADELANTADO



A TAMEMES, OR INDIAN PORTER

COLUMBUS had anticipated a temporary repose from his toils on arriving at Hispaniola; but a new scene of trouble and anxiety opened upon him, which was destined to affect all his future fortunes. To explain this, it is necessary to state the occurrences of the island during his long detention in Spain.

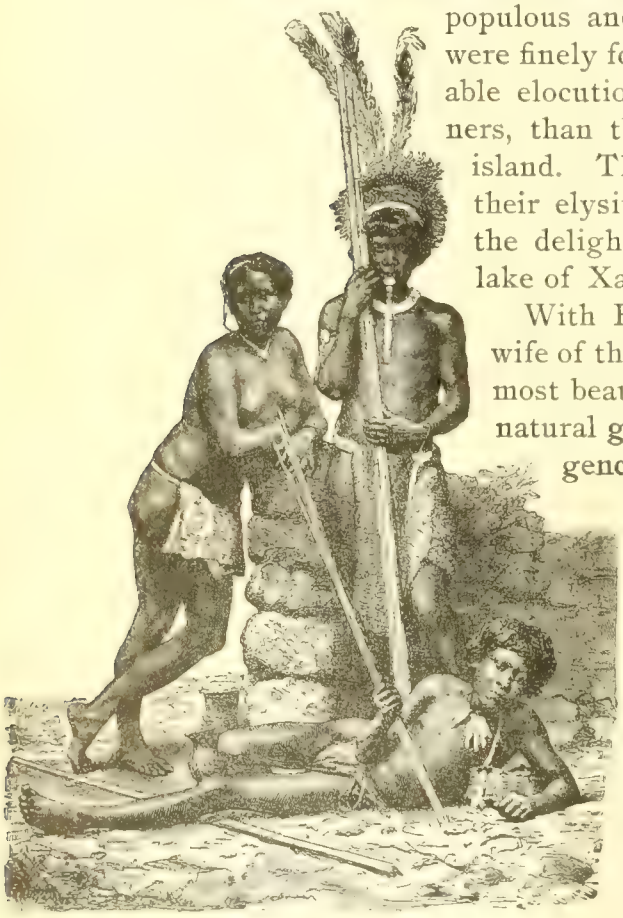
When he sailed for Europe in March, 1496, his brother, Don Bartholomew, immediately proceeded to execute his instructions with respect to the gold mines of Hayna. He built a fortress in the neighborhood, which he named St. Christoval, and another fortress not far off, on the eastern bank of the Ozema, in the vicinity of the village inhabited by the female cacique who had first given intelligence of the mines to Miguel Diaz. This fortress was called San Domingo, and was the origin of the city which still bears that name.



MODERN PLAN OF THE CITY OF S. DOMINGO

(2*)

Having garrisoned these fortresses, and made arrangements for working the mines, the indefatigable adelantado set out to visit the dominions of Behechio, which had not as yet been reduced to obedience. This cacique, as has been mentioned, reigned over Xaragua, a province comprising almost the whole of the west end of the island, including Cape Tiburon. It was one of the most populous and fertile districts. The inhabitants were finely formed, had a noble air, a more agreeable elocution, and more soft and graceful manners, than the natives of the other part of the island. The Indians of Hayti generally placed their elysium, or paradise of happy spirits, in the delightful valleys that bordered the great lake of Xaragua.



INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF XARAGUA

REDRAWN FROM PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CARIBS ON EXHIBITION IN 1931 IN THE JARDIN D'ACCLIMATION, PARIS, AND DATA OBTAINED FROM PETER MARTYR.

With Behechio resided his sister Anacaona, wife of the late formidable Caonabo, one of the most beautiful females in the island, of great natural grace and dignity, and superior intelligence; her name in the Indian language signified Golden Flower. She had taken refuge with her brother, after the capture and ruin of her husband, but appears never to have entertained any vindictive feelings against the Spaniards, whom she regarded with great admiration as almost superhuman beings. On the contrary, she counseled her brother, over whom she had great influence, to take warning by the fate of her husband, and to conciliate their friendship.

Don Bartholomew entered the province of Xaragua at the head of an armed band, putting his cavalry in the advance, and marching with banners displayed, and the sound of drum and trumpet. Behechio met him with a numerous force, but being assured that he came merely on a friendly visit, he dismissed his army, and conducted the adelantado to his residence in a large town, near a deep bay called at present the bight of Leagon.



DON BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS RECEIVED BY THE GOLDEN FLOWER OF XARAGUA.

AS THEY APPROACHED, 30 YOUNG FEMALES, OF THE CACIQUE'S HOUSEHOLD, BEAUTIFULLY FORMED, CAME FORTH TO MEET THEM.

DRAWING BY F. H. LUNGREN

As they approached, thirty young females, of the cacique's household, beautifully formed, came forth to meet them, waving palm branches, and dancing and singing their areytos, or traditionary ballads. When they came before Don Bartholomew, they knelt and laid their palm branches at his feet. After these came the beautiful Anacaona, reclining on a litter, borne by six Indians. She was lightly clad in a robe of various colored cotton, with a fragrant garland of red and white flowers round her head, and wreaths of the same round her neck and arms. She received the adelantado with that natural grace and courtesy for which she was celebrated.

For several days Don Bartholomew remained in Xaragua, entertained by the cacique and his sister with banquets, national games, and dances, and other festivities; then having arranged for a periodical tribute to be paid in cotton, hemp, and cassava bread, the productions of the surrounding country, he took a friendly leave of his hospitable entertainers, and set out with his little army for Isabella.

He found the settlement in a sickly state, and suffering from a scarcity of provisions; he distributed, therefore, all that were too feeble to labor or bear arms into the interior, where they might have better air and more abundant food; and at the same time he established a chain of fortresses between Isabella and San Domingo. Insurrections broke out among the natives of the vega, caused by their impatience of tribute, by the outrages of some of the Spaniards, and by a severe punishment inflicted on certain Indians for the alleged violation of a chapel. Guarionex, a man naturally moderate and pacific, was persuaded by his brother caciques to take up arms, and a combination was formed among them to rise suddenly upon the Spaniards, massacre them, and destroy Fort Conception, which was situated in the vega. By some means the garrison received intimation of the conspiracy. They immediately wrote a letter to the adelantado, imploring prompt assistance. How to convey the letter in safety was an anxious question, for the natives had discovered that these letters had a wonderful power of communicating intelligence, and fancied that they could talk. An Indian undertook to be the bearer of it. He inclosed it in a staff, and set out on his journey. Being intercepted, he pretended to be dumb and lame, leaning upon his staff for support. He was suf-

fered to depart, and limped forward until out of sight, when he resumed his speed, and bore the letter safely and expeditiously to San Domingo.

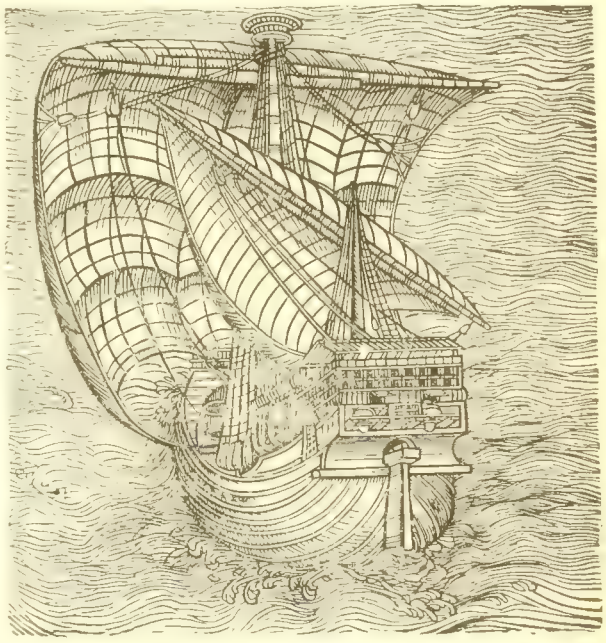
The adelantado, with his accustomed promptness, set out with a body of troops for the fortress. By a rapid and well-concerted stratagem he surprised the leaders in the night, in a village in which they were sleeping, and carried them all off captive, seizing upon Guarionex with his own hand. He completed his enterprise with spirit, sagacity, and moderation. Informing himself of the particulars of the conspiracy, he punished two caciques, the principal movers of it, with death, and pardoned all the rest. Finding, moreover, that Guarionex had been chiefly incited to hostility by an outrage committed by a Spaniard on his favorite wife, he inflicted punishment on the offender. The heart of Guarionex was subdued by the unexpected clemency of the adelantado, and he made a speech to his subjects in praise of the Spaniards. They listened to him with attention, and when he had concluded bore him off on their shoulders with songs and shouts of joy, and for some time the tranquillity of the vega was restored.



THE ADELANTADO SETS OUT WITH A BODY OF TROOPS FOR THE RELIEF OF FORT CONCEPTION.

About this time, receiving information from Behechio, cacique of Xaragua, that his tribute in cotton and provisions was ready for delivery, the adelantado marched there, at the head of his forces, to receive it. So large a quantity of cotton and cassava bread was collected together, that Don Bartholomew had to send to the settlement of Isabella for a caravel to be freighted with it. In the meantime, the utmost kindness was lavished upon their guests by these gentle and generous people. The troubles which distracted the other parts of devoted Hayti had not yet reached this pleasant region; and when the Spaniards regarded the fertility and sweetness of the country, bordering on a tranquil sea, the kindness of the inhabitants, and the beauty of the women, they pronounced it a perfect paradise.

When the caravel arrived on the coast, it was regarded by Anacaona and her brother with awe and wonder. Behechio visited it with his canoes; but his sister, with their female attendants, were conveyed on board in the boat of the adelantado. As they approached, the caravel fired a salute. At the sound of the cannon, and the sight of the volumes of smoke, bursting from the side of the ship and rolling along the sea, Anacaona, overcome with dismay, fell into the arms of the adelantado, and her attendants would have leaped overboard but were reassured by the cheerful words of Don Bartholomew. As they drew nearer the vessel, several instruments of martial music struck up, with which they were greatly delighted. Their admiration increased, on entering on board; but when the anchor was weighed, the sails filled by a gentle breeze, and they beheld this vast mass veering from side to side, apparently by its own will, and playing like a huge monster on the deep, the brother and sister remained gazing at each other in mute astonishment. Nothing seems ever to have filled the mind of the savage with more wonder than that beautiful triumph of human ingenuity—a ship under sail.

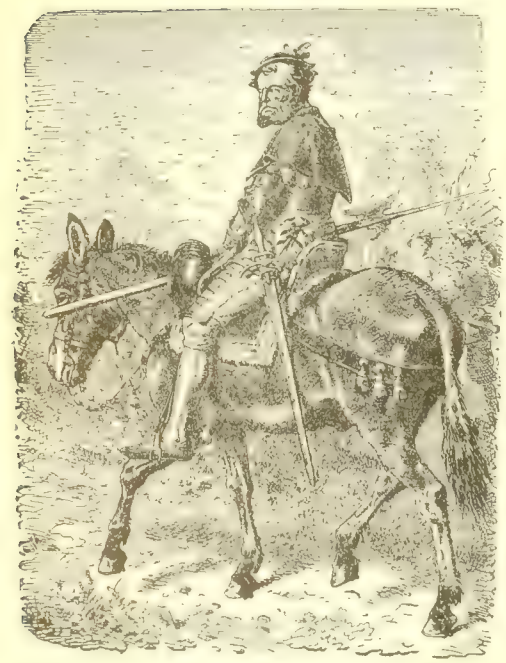


CLEAN BOAT, END OF THE 15TH CENTURY, TAKING BEFORE THE WIND.

While the adelantado was thus absent quelling insurrections, and making skillful arrangements for the prosperity of the colony, and the advantage of the crown, new mischiefs were fermenting in the factious settlement of Isabella. The prime mover was Francisco Roldan, a man who had been raised by Columbus from poverty and obscurity, and promoted from one office to another, until he had appointed him alcalde mayor, or chief judge of the island. He was an uneducated man, but of strong natural talents, great assiduity, and intrepid impudence. He had seen his benefactor return to Spain, apparently under a cloud of disgrace, and, considering him a fallen man, began to devise how he might profit by his downfall. He was intrusted with an office

inferior only to that of the adelantado; the brothers of Columbus were highly unpopular; he imagined it possible to ruin them, both with the colonists and with the government at home, and by dexterous management to work his way into a command of the colony. For this purpose he mingled among the common people, threw out suggestions that the admiral was in disgrace, and would never return; railed at the adelantado and Don Diego as foreigners, who took no interest in their welfare, but used them merely as slaves to build houses and fortresses for them, or to swell their state, and secure their power as they marched about the island, enriching themselves with the spoils of the caciques. By these seditious insinuations, he exasperated their feelings to such a degree, that they at one time formed a conspiracy to assassinate the adelantado, but it was happily disconcerted by accident.

When the caravel returned from Xaragua, laden with provisions, it was dismantled by order of Don Diego, and drawn upon the beach. Roldan immediately seized upon this circumstance to awaken new suspicions. He said the true reason for dismantling the caravel was to prevent any of the colonists returning in it to Spain, to represent the oppressions under which they suffered. He advised them to launch and take possession of the vessel, as the only means of regaining their independence. They might then throw off the tyranny of these upstart foreigners, and might lead a life of ease and quiet, employing the Indians as slaves, and enjoying unlimited indulgence with respect to the Indian women.



FRANCISCO ROLDAN

Don Diego was informed of these seditious movements, but he was of a mild, pacific nature, and deficient in energy. Fearing to come to an open rupture in the mutinous state of the colony, he thought to divert Roldan from his schemes by giving him distant and active employment. He detached him suddenly, therefore, with a small force, to overawe the Indians of the vega, who had shown a disposition to revolt. Roldan made use of this opportunity to organize an armed faction. He soon got seventy well-

armed and resolute men at his command, disposed to go all desperate lengths with him, and he made friends and partisans among the discontented caciques, promising to free them from tribute. He now threw off the mask, and openly set the adelantado and his brother at defiance, as men who had no authority from the crown, but were appointed by Columbus, who was himself in disgrace. He pretended always to act in his official capacity, and to do every thing from loyal motives, and every act of open rebellion was accompanied with shouts of "Long live the king!" Having endeavored repeatedly to launch the caravel, but in vain, he broke open the royal stores, and supplied his followers with arms, clothing, and provisions, and then marched off to the vega, and attempted to surprise and get possession of Fort Conception, but was happily foiled by its commander, Miguel Ballester, a stanch old soldier, both resolute and wary, who kept the enemy at bay until succor should arrive.

The conspiracy had attained a formidable head during the absence of the adelantado, several persons of consequence having joined it, among whom was Adrian de Moxica, and Diego de Escobar, the latter being alcayde of the fortress of La Madelena. Don Bartholomew was perplexed at first, and could not act with his usual vigor and decision, not knowing in whom he could confide, or how far the conspiracy had extended. On receiving tidings, however, from Miguel Ballester, of the danger of Fort Conception, he threw himself, with what forces he could collect, into that fortress, and held a parley with Roldan from one of the windows, ordering him to surrender his staff of office as alcalde mayor,* and submit peaceably to superior authority. All threats and remonstrances, however, were vain; Roldan persisted in his rebellion. He represented the adelantado as the tyrant of the Spaniards, the oppressor of the Indians; and himself as the redresser of wrongs and champion of the injured. He sought, by crafty emissaries, to corrupt the garrison of Fort Conception, and seduce them to desert, and laid plans to surprise and seize upon the adelantado, should he leave the fortress.

The affairs of the island were now in a lamentable situation. The Indians, perceiving the dissensions among the Spaniards, and

* Equivalent to our justice of the peace, but with greater powers. German, schulze, dorfrichter.

encouraged by the protection of Roldan, ceased to send in their tributes, and threw off allegiance to the government. Roldan's band daily gained strength, and ranged insolently and at large about the country; while the Spaniards, who remained loyal, fearing conspiracies among the natives, had to keep under shelter of the forts. Munitions of all kinds were rapidly wasting, and the spirits of the well-affected were sinking into despondency. The adelantado himself remained shut up in Fort Conception, doubtful of the fidelity of his own garrison, and secretly informed of the plots to capture or destroy him, should he venture abroad. Such was the desperate state to which the colony was reduced by the long detention of Columbus in Spain, and the impediments thrown in the way of all his endeavors to send out supplies and reinforcements. Fortunately, at this critical juncture, the arrival of two ships, under command of Pedro Hernandez Coronal, at the port of San Domingo, with troops and provisions, strengthened the hands of Don Bartholomew. The royal confirmation of his title and authority of adelantado at once put an end to all question of the legitimacy of his power, and secured the fidelity of his soldiers; and the tidings that the admiral was in high favor at court, and on the point of coming out with a powerful squadron, struck consternation into the rebels, who had presumed upon his having fallen into disgrace.

The adelantado immediately hastened to San Domingo, nor was there any attempt made to molest him on his march. When he found himself once more secure, his magnanimity prevailed over his indignation, and he sent Pedro Hernandez Coronal, to offer Roldan and his band amnesty for all offenses, on condition of instant obedience. Roldan feared to venture into his power, and determined to prevent the emissary from communicating with his followers, lest they should be induced to return to their allegiance. When Coronal approached the encampment of the rebels, therefore, he was opposed in a narrow pass by a body of archers with their cross-bows levelled. "Halt there, traitor!" cried Roldan: "had you arrived eight days later, we should all have been united."

It was in vain that Coronal endeavored to win this turbulent man from his career. He professed to oppose only the tyranny and misrule of the adelantado, but to be ready to submit to the admiral on his arrival, and he and his principal confederates wrote letters to that effect to their friends in San Domingo.

When Coronal returned with accounts of Roldan's contumacy, the adelantado proclaimed him and his followers traitors. That shrewd rebel, however, did not suffer his men to remain within the reach either of promise or menace. He proposed to them to march off, and establish themselves in the remote province of Xaragua. The Spaniards who had been there, had given the most alluring accounts of the country and its inhabitants, and above all of the beauty of the women, for they had been captivated by the naked charms of the dancing nymphs of Xaragua. In this delightful region, emancipated from the iron rule of the adelantado, and relieved from the necessity of irksome labor, they might lead a life of perfect freedom and indulgence, with a world of beauty at their command. In short, Roldan drew a picture of loose sensual enjoyment, such as he knew to be irresistible with men of idle and dissolute habits. His followers acceded with joy to his proposition; so, putting himself at their head, he marched away for Xaragua.

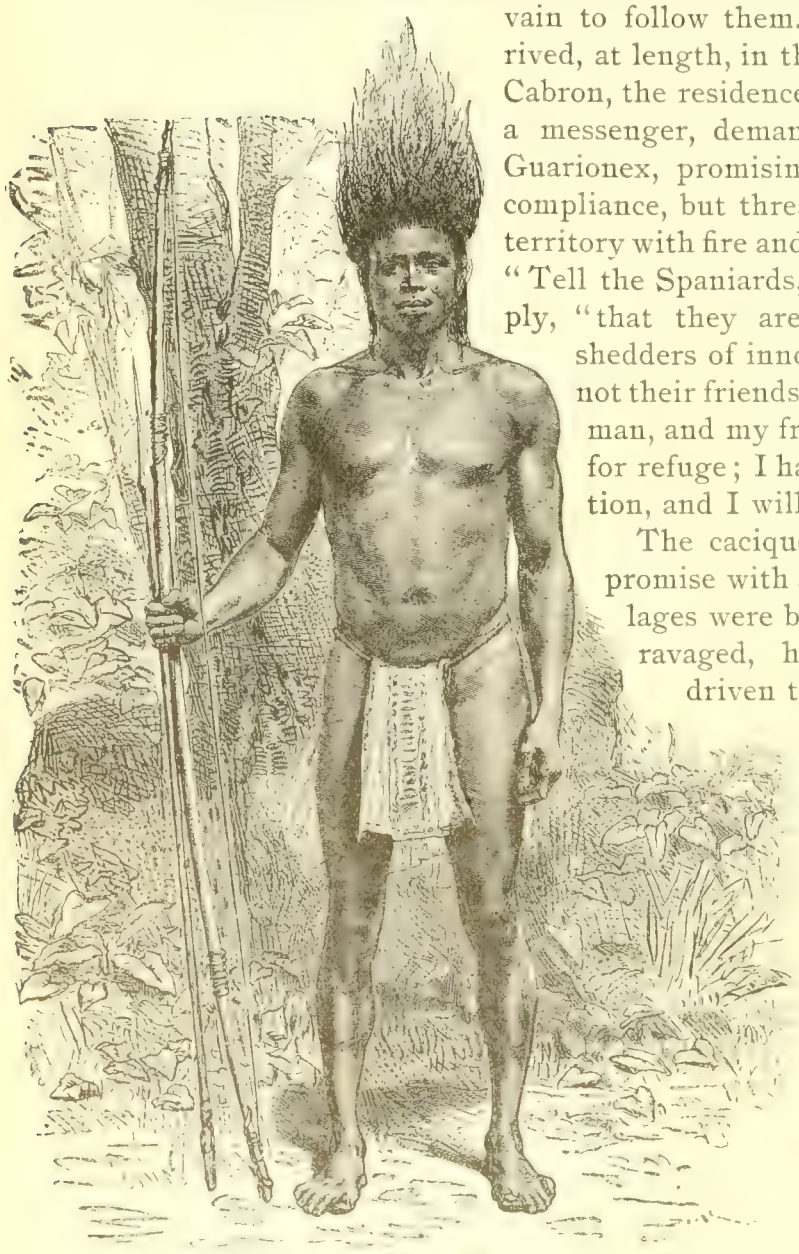
Scarcely had the rebels departed, when fresh insurrections broke out among the Indians of the vega. The cacique Guarionex, moved by the instigations of Roldan, and forgetful of his gratitude to Don Bartholomew, entered into a new league to destroy the Spaniards, and surprise Fort Conception. The plot exploded before its time, and was defeated; and Guarionex, hearing that the adelantado was on the march for the vega, fled to the mountains of Ciguay, with his family, and a small band of faithful followers. The inhabitants of these mountains were the most robust and hardy tribe of the island, and the same who had skirmished with the Spaniards in the Gulf of Samana, in the course of the first voyage of Columbus. The reader may remember the frank and confiding faith with which their cacique trusted himself on board of the caravel of the admiral, the day after the skirmish. It was to this same cacique, named Mayonabex, that the fugitive chieftain of the vega applied for refuge, and he received a promise of protection.

Indignant at finding his former clemency of no avail, the adelantado pursued Guarionex to the mountains, at the head of ninety men, a few cavalry, and a body of Indians. It was a



THE PURSUIT OF THE CACIQUE GUARIONEX

rugged and difficult enterprise; the troops had to climb rocks, wade rivers, and make their way through tangled forests, almost impervious to men in armor, encumbered with targets, crossbows, and lances. They were continually exposed, also, to the ambushes of the Indians, who would rush forth with furious yells, discharge their weapons, and then take refuge again among rocks and thickets, where it was in vain to follow them. Don Bartholomew arrived, at length, in the neighborhood of Cape Cabron, the residence of Mayonabex, and sent a messenger, demanding the surrender of Guarionex, promising friendship in case of compliance, but threatening to lay waste his territory with fire and sword, in case of refusal. "Tell the Spaniards," said the cacique, in reply, "that they are tyrants, usurpers, and shedders of innocent blood, and I desire not their friendship. Guarionex is a good man, and my friend. He has fled to me for refuge; I have promised him protection, and I will keep my word."



A MOUNTAINEER OF CIGUAY.

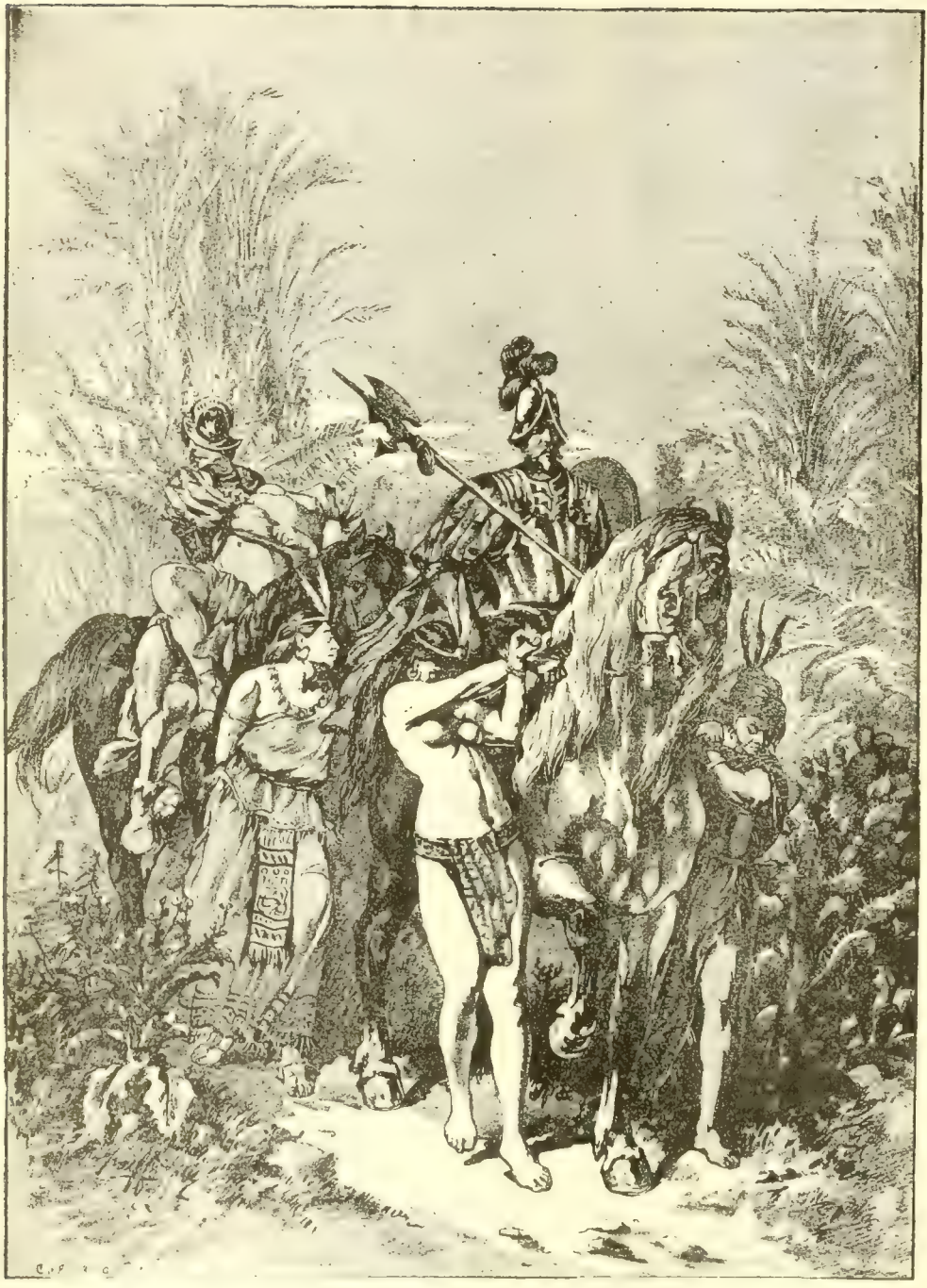
REDRAWN FROM PHOTOS OF THE CARVING IN EBONY IN THE MUSÉE D'ETHNOGRAPHIE, PARIS, 1892, AND DATA FURNISHED BY PETER MARTYR.

The cacique, in fact, adhered to his promise with admirable faith. His villages were burnt, his territories were ravaged, himself and his family driven to dens and caves of the mountains, and his subjects assailed him with clamors, urging him to give up the fugitive, who was bringing such ruin upon their tribe. It was all in vain. He was ready, he declared, to abide all evils, rather than it should ever be said Mayonabex betrayed his guest.

For three months the adelantado hunted these

caciques among the mountains, during which time he and his soldiers were almost worn out with toil and hunger, and exposures of all kind. The retreat of Mayonabex was at length discovered. Twelve Spaniards, disguising themselves as Indians, and wrapping their swords in palm leaves, came upon him secretly, and surprised and captured him, with his wife and children, and a few attendants. The adelantado returned, with his prisoners, to Fort Conception, where he afterwards released them all, excepting the cacique, whom he detained as a hostage for the submission of his tribe. The unfortunate Guarionex still lurked among the caverns of the mountains, but was driven, by hunger, to venture down occasionally into the plain, in quest of food. His haunts were discovered, he was waylaid and captured by a party of Spaniards, and brought in chains to Fort Conception. After his repeated insurrections, and the extraordinary zeal displayed in his pursuit, he anticipated death from the vengeance of the adelantado. Don Bartholomew, however, though stern in his policy, was neither vindictive nor cruel; he contented himself with detaining him a prisoner, to insure the tranquillity of the vega; and then returned to San Domingo, where, shortly afterwards, he had the happiness of welcoming the arrival of his brother, the admiral, after a separation of nearly two years and a half.





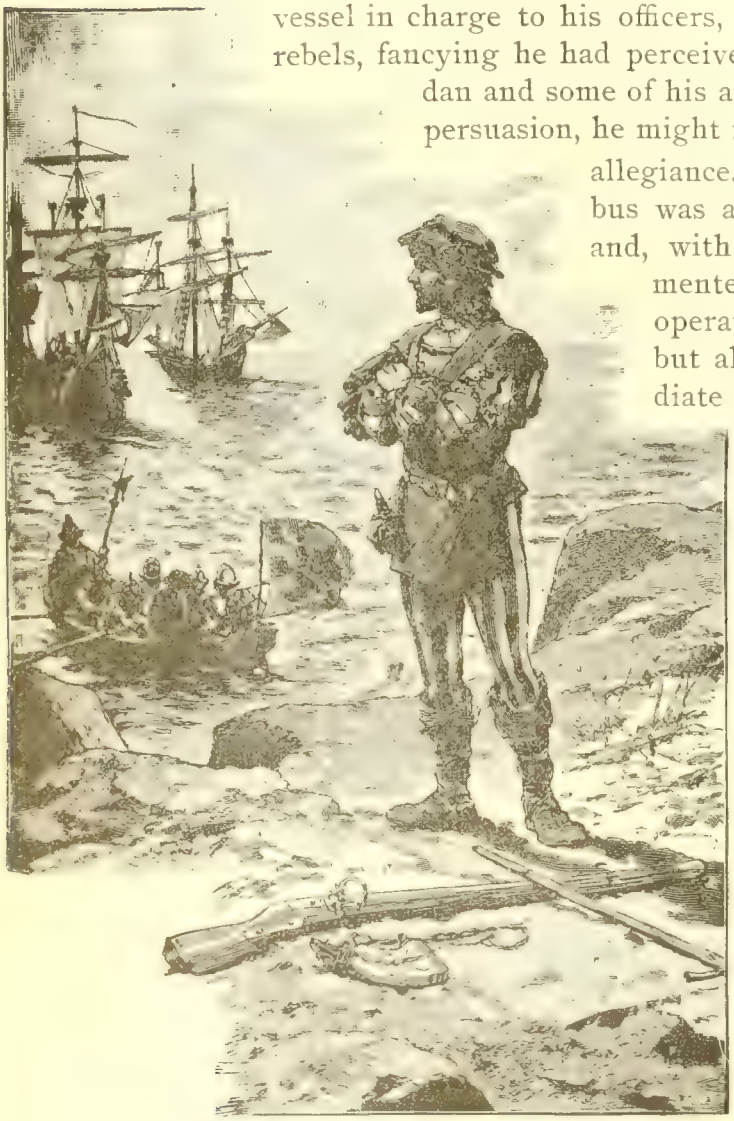
ROLDAN'S SHAMELESS RABBLE, WITH THE INDIAN SLAVES DISTRIBUTED AMONG THEM, MOVE INTO THEIR NEW HOMES IN BONAO AND THE VEGA ROYAL. (See Page 305.)

CHAPTER XXXI.

REBELLION OF ROLDAN. (1498.)

ONE of the first measures of Columbus on his arrival, was to issue a proclamation, approving of all that the adelantado had done, and denouncing Roldan and his associates. That turbulant man had proceeded to Xaragua, where he had been kindly received by the natives. A circumstance occurred to add to his party and his resources. The three caravels detached by Columbus from the Canary Islands, and freighted with supplies, having been carried far west of their reckoning by the currents, arrived on the coast of Xaragua. The rebels were at first alarmed lest there should be vessels despatched in pursuit of them. Roldan, who was as sagacious as he was bold, soon divined the truth. Enjoining the utmost secrecy on his men, he went on board, and pretending to be in command at that end of the island, succeeded in procuring a supply of arms and military stores, and in making partisans among the crews, many of whom were criminals and vagabonds from Spanish prisons, shipped in compliance with the admiral's ill-judged proposition. It was not until the third day that Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, the most intelligent of the three captains, discovered the real character of the guests he had entertained, but the mischief was then effected.

As the ships were detained by contrary winds, it was arranged among the captains that a large number of the people should be conducted by land to San Domingo, by Juan Antonio Colombo, captain of one of the caravels, and a relation of the admiral. He accordingly landed with forty men, well armed, but was astonished to find himself suddenly deserted by all his party excepting eight. The deserters joined the rebels, who received them with shouts of exultation. Juan Antonio, grieved and disconcerted, returned on board with the few who remained faithful. Fearing further desertions, the ships immediately put to sea; but Carvajal, giving his vessel in charge to his officers, landed and remained with the rebels, fancying he had perceived signs of wavering in Roldan and some of his associates, and that, by earnest persuasion, he might induce them to return to their allegiance. The certainty that Columbus was actually on the way to the island, with additional forces, and augmented authority, had, in fact, operated strongly on their minds; but all attempts to produce immediate submission were in vain. Roldan promised that the moment he heard of the arrival of Columbus, he would repair to the neighborhood of San Domingo, to be at hand to state his grievances, and to enter into a negotiation for the adjustment of all differences. He wrote a letter to the same purport to be delivered to the admiral. With this Carvajal departed, and was escorted to within six leagues of San Domingo, by six of the rebels. On reaching that place he found Columbus already arrived, and delivered to



THE TRUSTY ALONZO SANCHEZ DE CARVAJAL LANDS AMONG THE REBELS IN ORDER TO RECONCILE THEM TO THE ADMIRAL.

him the letter of Roldan, expressing at the same time an opinion, that the insurgents might easily be brought to their allegiance by an assurance of amnesty. In fact, the rebels soon began to assemble at the village of Bonao, in a fine valley of the same name, about twenty leagues from San Domingo, and ten from Fort Conception. Here they made their headquarters at the house of Pedro Reguelme, one of the ringleaders.

Columbus immediately wrote to Miguel Ballester, the commander of Fort Conception, advising him to be on his guard. He empowered him to have an interview with Roldan, to offer him full pardon on condition of his immediate return to duty, and to invite him to repair to San Domingo to treat with the admiral, under a solemn, and, if required, a written assurance of personal safety. At the same time he issued a proclamation, offering free passage to all who wished to return to Spain, in five vessels about to be put to sea, hoping, by this means, to relieve the colony from all the idle and disaffected.



MEETING OF COLUMBUS BALLESTER WITH THE OUTPOSTS OF THE REBELS

Ballester was an old and venerable man, grayheaded, and of a soldier-like demeanor; he was loyal, frank, and virtuous, of a serious disposition, and great simplicity of heart. His appearance and character commanded the respect of the rebels; but they treated the proffered pardon with contempt, made many demands of an arrogant nature, and declared that in all further negotiations, they would treat with no mediator but Carvajal, having had proofs of his fairness and impartiality in the course of their late communications with him at Xaragua.

This insolent reply was totally different from what the admiral had been taught to expect. He now ordered the men of San Domingo to appear under arms, that he might ascertain the force with which he could take the field in case of necessity. A report was immediately circulated that they were to be led to Bonao, against the rebels; some of the inhabitants had relations, others friends, among the followers of Roldan; almost all were disaffected to the service; not above seventy men appeared under arms; one affected to be ill, another lame; there were not forty to be relied upon.

Columbus saw that a resort to arms would only serve to betray his own weakness, and the power of the rebels; it was necessary to temporize, therefore, however humiliating such conduct might be deemed. His first care was to despatch the five ships which he had detained in port, until he should receive the reply of Roldan. He was anxious that as many as possible of the discontented colonists should sail for Spain, before any commotion should take place. He wrote to the sovereigns an account of his late voyage, giving an enthusiastic description of the newly-discovered continent, accompanied by a chart of the coast, and specimens of the pearls which he had procured from the natives.

He informed the sovereigns, also, of the rebellion of Roldan; and as the latter pretended it was only a quarrel between him and the adelantado, he begged the matter might be investigated by their majesties, or by persons friendly to both parties. Among other judicious requests, he entreated that a man learned and experienced in the law, might be sent out to officiate as judge over the island.

By this opportunity Roldan and his friends likewise sent letters to Spain, endeavoring to justify their rebellion, by charging Columbus and his brothers with oppression and injustice, and painting their whole conduct in the blackest colors. It would naturally be supposed, that the representations of such men would have little weight in the balance against the tried merits and exalted services of Columbus; but they had numerous friends and relations in Spain to back them; Columbus was a foreigner, without influence in the court, and with active enemies near the sovereigns, ever ready to place his conduct in an unfavorable light.

The ships being despatched, the admiral resumed his negotiation with the rebels. As the burden of their complaint was the strict rule of his brother, who was accused of dealing out justice with a rigorous hand, he resolved to try the alternative of extreme lenity, and wrote a letter to Roldan, calling to mind past kindnesses, and entreating him, for the sake of his own reputation, which stood well with the sovereigns, not to persist in his present insubordination. He again repeated his assurance, that he and his companions might come to treat with him at San Domingo, under the faith of his word, for the inviolability of their persons.

There was a difficulty as to who should be the bearer of this letter. The rebels had declared that they would receive no media-

tor but Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal. Strong suspicions existed in the minds of many as to the integrity of that officer, from his transactions with the rebels at Xaragua, and his standing so high in their favor. Columbus, however, discarded all those suspicions, and confided implicitly in Carvajal, nor had he ever any cause to repent of his confidence.

A painful and humiliating negotiation was now carried on for several days, in the course of which Roldan had an interview with Columbus at San Domingo, and several letters passed between them. The rebels felt their power, and presumed, in consequence, to demand the most extravagant concessions. Miguel Ballester wrote at the same time to the admiral, advising him to agree to whatever they might demand. He represented their forces as continually augmenting, and that the soldiers of his garrison were daily deserting to them, and gave it as his opinion, that unless some compromise was speedily effected, and the rebels shipped off for Spain, not merely the authority, but even the person of the admiral would be in danger; for though the hidalgos and the immediate officers and servants about him, would doubtless die in his service, yet he feared that the common people were but little to be depended upon.



CARVAJAL DELIVERS THE LETTER OF THE ADMIRAL TO THE REBELS, WHO DEMAND THE MOST EXTRAVAGANT CONCESSIONS.

Thus urged by veteran counsel, and compelled by circumstances, Columbus at length made an arrangement with the rebels, by which it was agreed, that Roldan and his followers should embark for Spain, from the port of Xaragua, in two ships which should be fitted out and victualled within fifty days. That they should each receive from the admiral a certificate of good conduct, and an order for the amount of their pay up to the actual date; that slaves should be given them, as had been given to colonists, in consideration of services performed; and that such as had wives, natives of the island, might take them with them in place of slaves; that satisfaction should be made for property of some of the company, which had been sequestered, and for live stock which had belonged to Francis Roldan.

It was a grievous circumstance to Columbus, that the vessels which should have borne his brother to explore the newly-discov-

ered continent, had to be devoted to the transportation of this turbulent and worthless rabble; but he consoled himself with the idea that, the faction being once shipped off, the island would again be restored to tranquillity. The articles of arrangement being signed, Roldan and his followers departed for Xaragua, to await the arrival of the ships; and Columbus, putting his brother Don Diego in temporary command, set off with the adelantado on a tour to visit the various fortresses, and restore every thing to order.

In the meanwhile unavoidable delays took place in fitting out the ships, and they encountered violent storms in their voyage from San Domingo to Xaragua, so as to arrive there long after the stipulated time, and that in a damaged condition. The followers of Roldan seized upon this as a pretext to refuse to embark, affirming that the ships had been purposely delayed, and eventually sent in a state not seaworthy, and short of provisions. New negotiations were therefore set on foot, and new terms demanded. It is probable that Roldan feared to return to Spain, and his followers were loth to give up their riotous and licentious life. In the midst of his perplexities, Columbus received a letter from Spain, in reply to the earnest representations which he had made of the distracted state of the colony, and of the outrages of these licentious men. It was written by his invidious enemy, the Bishop Fonseca, superintendent of Indian affairs. It informed him that his representations of the alleged rebellion had been received, but that the matter must be suffered to remain in suspense, as the sovereigns would investigate and remedy it presently.



THE RIOTOUS AND LICENTIOUS LIFE OF THE FOLLOWERS OF ROLDAN.

This cold reply had the most disheartening effect upon Columbus, while it increased the insolence of the rebels, who saw that his complaints had little weight with the government. Full of zeal, however, for the prosecution of his discoveries, and of fidelity to the interests of the crown, he resolved, at any sacrifice of pride or comfort, to put an end to the troubles of the island. He departed, therefore, in the latter part of August, with two caravels, to the

port of Azna, accompanied by several of the most important personages of the colony, to give Roldan a meeting. The latter, in this interview, conducted himself more like a conqueror exacting terms, than a delinquent seeking pardon. Among other things, he demanded that such of his followers as chose to remain in the island, should have lands assigned them, and that he should be reinstated in his office of alcalde mayor, or chief judge. The mind grows wearied and impatient with recording, and the heart of the generous reader must burn with indignation at perusing, this protracted and ineffectual struggle, of a man of the exalted merits and matchless services of Columbus, in the toils of such contemptible miscreants. Surrounded by doubt and danger, a foreigner among a jealous people, an unpopular commander in a mutinous island, distrusted and slighted by the government he was seeking to serve, and creating suspicions by his very services, he knew not where to look for faithful advice, efficient aid, or candid judgment. He was alarmed, too, by symptoms of seditions among his own people, who talked of following the examples of the rebels, and seizing upon the province of Higuey. Thus critically situated, he signed a humiliating capitulation with the rebels, trusting he should afterwards be able to convince the sovereigns it had been compulsory, and forced from him by the perils that threatened himself and the colony.

When Roldan resumed his office of alcalde mayor, he displayed all the arrogance to be expected from one who had intruded himself into power by profligate means. Columbus had a difficult and painful task in bearing with the insolence of this man, and of the shameless rabble that returned, under his auspices, to San Domingo. In compliance with the terms of agreement, he assigned them liberal portions of land, and numerous Indian slaves, taken in the wars, and contrived to distribute them in various places, some in Bonao, others in different parts of the vega. He made an arrangement, also, by which the caciques in their vicinity, instead of paying tribute, should furnish parties of their subjects, at stated times, to assist in the cultivation of their lands; a kind of feudal service, which was the origin of the repartimientos, or distributions of free Indians among the colonists, afterwards generally adopted and shamefully abused throughout the Spanish colonies, and which greatly contributed to exterminate the natives from the island of Hispaniola.

Having obtained such ample provisions for his followers, Roldan was not more modest in making demands for himself. Besides certain lands in the vicinity of Isabella, which he claimed, as having belonged to him before his rebellion, he received a royal farm, called La Esperanza, in the vega, and extensive tracts in Xaragua, with live stock and repartimientos of Indians.

One of the first measures of Roldan as alcalde mayor was to appoint Pedro Reguelme, one of his most active confederates, alcalde of Bonao, an appointment which gave great displeasure to Columbus, being an assumption of power not vested in the office of Roldan. The admiral received private information, also, that Reguelme, under pretext of erecting a farm-house, was building a strong edifice on a hill, capable of being converted into a fortress; this, it was whispered, was done in concert with Roldan, by way of securing a stronghold in case of need. The admiral immediately sent peremptory orders for Reguelme to desist from proceeding with the construction of the edifice.

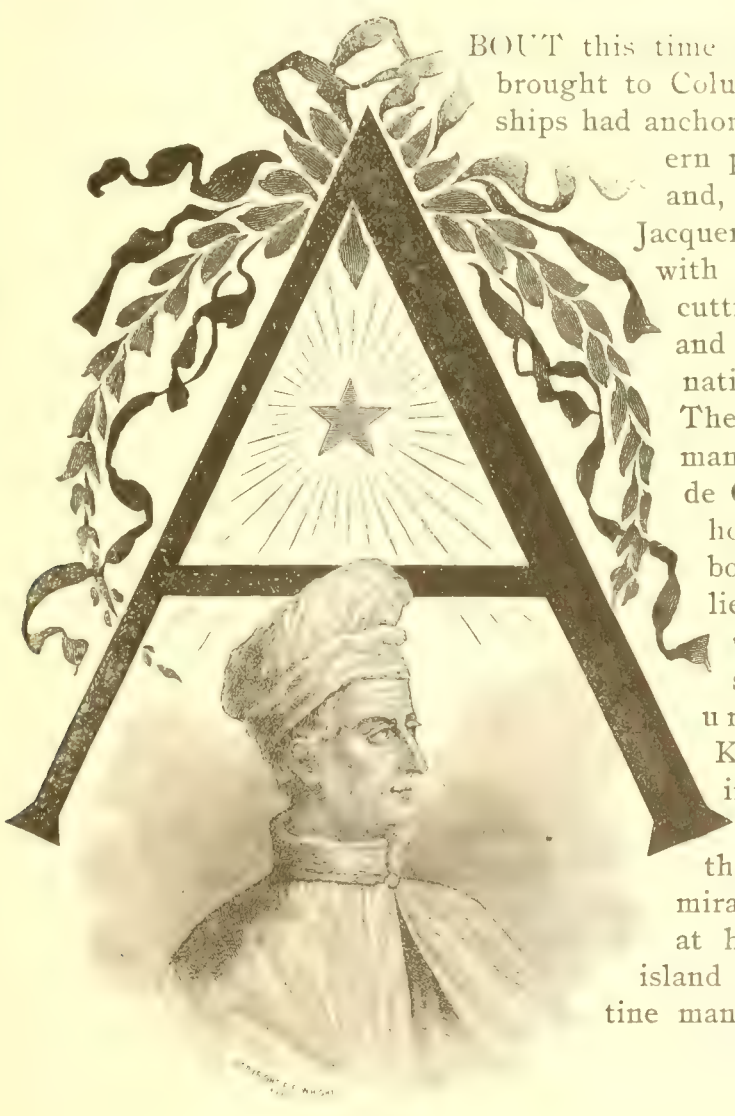
Columbus had proposed to return to Spain, having experienced the inefficiency of letters in explaining the affairs of the island; but the feverish state of the colony obliged him to give up the intention. The two caravels were despatched in October, taking such of the colonists as chose to return, and among them several of the partisans of Roldan, some of whom took Indian slaves with them, and others carried away the daughters of caciques, whom they had beguiled from their homes and families.

Columbus wrote by this opportunity to the sovereigns, giving it as his opinion that the agreement he had made with the rebels was by no means obligatory on the crown, having been, in a manner, extorted by violence. He repeated his request that a learned man might be sent out as judge, and desired, moreover, that discreet persons might be appointed to form a council, and others for certain fiscal employments; entreating, however, that their powers might be so limited and defined as not to interfere with his dignities and privileges. Finding age and infirmity creeping upon him, he began to think of his son Diego as an active coadjutor, being destined to succeed to his offices. He was still a page at court, but grown to man's estate, and capable of entering into the important concerns of life; he begged, therefore, that he might be sent out to assist him.

CHAPTER XXXII.

VISIT OF OJEDA TO THE WEST END OF THE ISLAND. CONSPIRACY OF MOXICA. (1499.)

ABOUT this time reports were brought to Columbus that four ships had anchored at the western part of the island, a little below Jacquemel, apparently with the design of cutting dye woods and carrying off the natives for slaves. They were commanded by Alonzo de Ojeda, the same hot-headed and bold-hearted cavalier who had distinguished himself by the capture of Caonabo. Knowing the daring and adventurous spirit of this man, the admiral was disturbed at his visiting the island in this clandestine manner. To call



AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

him to account, however, required a man of spirit and address. No one seemed fitter for the purpose than Roldan. He was as daring as Ojeda, and of a more crafty character. An expedition of this kind would occupy the attention of himself and his partisans, and divert them from any schemes of mischief.

Roldan gladly undertook the enterprise. He had nothing further to gain by sedition, and was anxious to secure his ill-gotten possessions by public services, which should atone for past offenses. Departing from San Domingo, with two caravels, he arrived, on the 26th of September, within two leagues of the harbor where the vessels of Ojeda were anchored. Here, landing with five-and-twenty resolute men, he intercepted Ojeda, who was on an excursion several leagues from his ships, and demanded his motives for landing on that remote and lonely part of the island, without first reporting his arrival to the admiral. Ojeda replied, that he had been on a voyage of discovery, and had put in there in distress, to repair his ships and obtain provisions. On further inquiry, it appeared that Ojeda had happened to be in Spain at the time that the letters arrived from Columbus, giving an account of his discovery of the coast of Paria, accompanied by specimens of the pearls to be found there. Ojeda was a favorite with Bishop Fonseca, and obtained a sight of the letter, and the charts and maps of the route of Columbus. He immediately conceived the idea of an expedition to those parts, in which he was encouraged by Fonseca, who furnished him with copies of the papers and charts, and granted him a letter of license, signed by himself, but not by the sovereigns. Ojeda fitted out four ships at Seville, assisted by many eager and wealthy speculators; and in this squadron sailed Amerigo Vespucci,* a Florentine merchant, well acquainted with



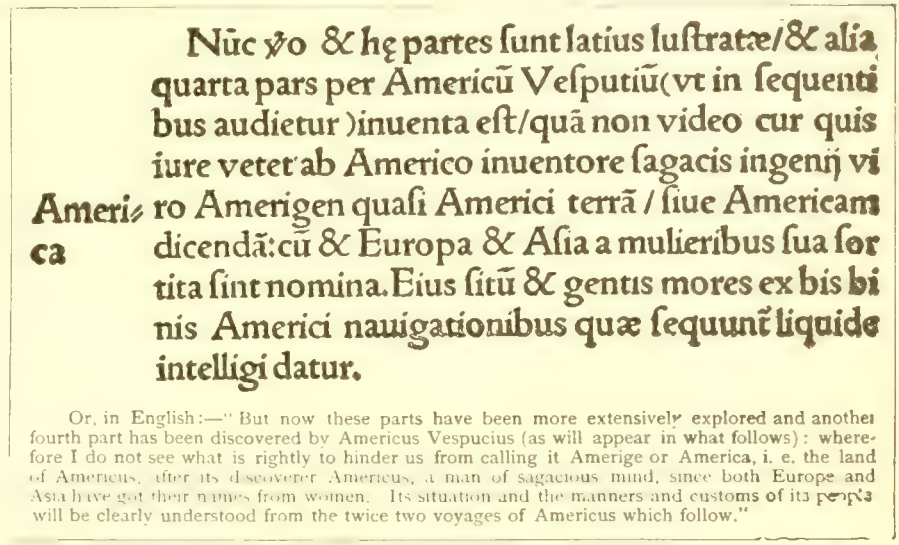
ROLDAN INTERCEPTS OJEDA.

* Amerigo Vespucci, born in Florence in 1451; undertook his first sea voyage in 1499, to the coast of Surinam. In 1501 he undertook his second voyage to the newly-discovered



DON ALONZO DE OJEDA PROPOSES TO THE OLD ADHERENTS OF ROLDAN TO MARCH AT THEIR HEAD TO SAN DOMINGO,
AND COMPEL COLUMBUS TO SATISFY THEIR DEMANDS.
DRAWING BY N. MAURIN.

geography and navigation, who eventually gave his name to the whole of the new world. The expedition sailed in May, 1499. The adventurers arrived on the southern continent, and ranged along it, from two hundred leagues east of the Orinoco to the Gulf of Paria. Guided by the charts of Columbus, they passed through this gulf, and through the Boca del Drago, and kept along westward to Cape de la Vela, visiting the island of Margarita, and the adjacent continent, and discovering the Gulf of Venezuela. They subsequently touched at the Caribbee Islands, where they fought with the fierce natives, and made many captives, with the design of selling them in the slave markets of Seville. From thence they sailed for Hispaniola, to procure supplies, having performed the most extensive voyage hitherto made along the shores of the new world.



Nūc ꝙ̄o & hę partes ſunt latius luſtratæ/& alia quarta pars per Americū Veſputiū(vt in ſequentibus audietur)inuenta eſt/quā non video cur quis iure vetet ab Americo inuentore ſagacis ingenij viro Amerigen quaſi Americi terrā / ſiue Americam dicendā:cū & Europa & Aſia a mulieribus ſua ſortita ſint nomina. Eius ſitū & gentis mores ex bis binis Americi nauigationibus quæ ſequunt liquide intelligi datur.

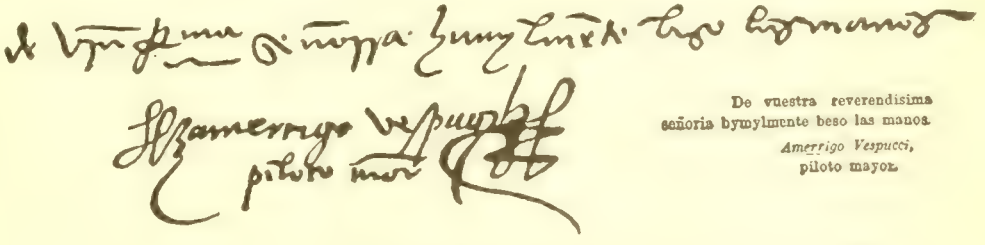
Ameri-
ca

Or, in English:—"But now these parts have been more extensively explored and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vespucius (as will appear in what follows): wherefore I do not see what is rightly to hinder us from calling it Amerige or America, i. e. the land of Americus, after its discoverer Americus, a man of sagacious mind, since both Europe and Asia have got their names from women. Its situation and the manners and customs of its people will be clearly understood from the twice two voyages of Americus which follow."

FAC-SIMILE OF PAGE OF COSMOGRAPHIÆ INTRODUCTIO BY MARTIN WALDSEEMULLER, WHO UNDER THE ASSUMED TITLE OF "HYLACOMYLAS" FIRST SUGGESTED AMERICA AS THE NAME OF THE NEW WORLD. PRINTED BY PETER DIRQ, UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF RENÉ, DUKE OF LORAINE, IN 1507. EARLIEST KNOWN EDITION OF THIS PUBLICATION IN LIBRARY OF VATICAN, No. 9888.

Ojeda assured Roldan that he intended, as soon as his ships were ready, to go to San Domingo and pay his homage to the admiral. Trusting to this assurance, and satisfied with the information he had obtained, Roldan sailed for San Domingo to make his report.

world, and in 1503 his third. On this last voyage he explored a considerable part of the coast of Brazil.



De vuestra reverendisima señoria bymylmente beso las manos.
Amerrigo Vespucci,
piloto mayor.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE LAST LINES OF A LETTER ADDRESSED BY AMERIGO VESPUCCI TO THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO, DATED SEVILLE, DECEMBER [illegible], 1500.

Nothing, however, was farther from the intention of Ojeda than to keep his promise. As soon as his ships were ready for sea, he sailed round to the coast of Xaragua. Here he was well received by the Spaniards, resident in that province, among whom were many of the late comrades of Roldan. Knowing the rash and fearless character of Ojeda, and finding that there were jealousies between him and the admiral, they made clamorous complaints of the injustice of the latter, whom they accused of withholding from them the arrears of their pay. Ojeda, who knew the tottering state of the admiral's favor at court, and felt secure in the powerful protection of Fonseca, immediately proposed to put himself at their head, march at once to San Domingo, and oblige the admiral to satisfy their just demands. The proposition was received with transport by some of the rebels; but others demurred, and a furious brawl ensued, in which several were killed and wounded on both sides: the party for the expedition to San Domingo remained triumphant.

Fortunately for the peace and safety of the admiral, Roldan, who had received news of the movements of Ojeda, arrived in the neighborhood at this critical juncture, with a band of resolute followers, and was reinforced on the following day by his old confederate, Diego de Escobar, with additional forces. Ojeda retired to his ships; a long course of manœuvring took place between these well-matched adversaries, each striving to gain an advantage of the other. Ojeda at length was obliged to abandon the coast, and made sail for some other island, to make up his cargo of Indian slaves.



The followers of Roldan took great merit to themselves for their unwonted loyalty in driving Ojeda from the island; and, like all reformed knaves, expected that their good conduct would be amply rewarded. Looking upon their leader as having every thing in his gift, they requested him to share among them the fine province of Cahay, adjoining to Xaragua. Roldan, who was now anxious to establish a character of adherence to the law, declined acceding to their wishes, until sanctioned by the admiral; but, to soothe



ANACAONA, PLEASED WITH THE GALLANT APPEARANCE AND INGRATIATING MANNERS OF HERNANDO DE GUEVARA,
FAVORS HIS ATTACHMENT FOR HER DAUGHTER HIGUENAMOTA.
DRAWING BY A. DEVERIA

their impatient rapacity, he shared among them the lands which had been granted to him in Xaragua. While he was remaining in this neighborhood, other troubles broke out, and from somewhat of a romantic cause. A young cavalier of noble family, named Hernando de Guevara, cousin to Adrian de Moxica, one of the ring-leaders of the late rebellion, was banished from San Domingo for licentious conduct, and sent to Xaragua, to embark in the ships of Ojeda, but arrived after their departure. He was treated with indulgence by Roldan, on account of his old comrade, Adrian de Moxica, and was favorably received at the house of the female cacique, Anacaona. That remarkable woman still retained her partiality to the Spaniards, notwithstanding the disgraceful scenes that had passed before her eyes. By her late husband, Caonabo, she had a daughter, named Higuenamota, just grown up, and greatly admired for her beauty. Guevara became enamored of her. He possessed an agreeable person, and winning manners, though he was headstrong in his passions, and destitute of principle. His endearments soon won the heart of the simple Indian girl. Anacaona, the mother, pleased with the gallant appearance and ingratiating manners of the youthful cavalier, favored his attachment; especially as he sought her daughter in marriage. Roldan was himself attached to the young Indian beauty, and jealous of her preference of his rival. He exerted his authority to separate the lovers, and banished Guevara to the province of Cahay. The latter soon returned, and concealed himself in the dwelling of Anacaona. Being discovered, and finding Roldan implacable in his opposition to his passion, he now meditated revenge. He soon made a party among the old comrades of Roldan, who detested as a magistrate the man they had idolized as a leader. It was concerted to rise suddenly upon him, and either to kill him or put out his eyes. The plot was discovered; Guevara was seized in the dwelling of Anacaona, in the presence of his intended bride; seven of his accomplices were likewise arrested, and the prisoners were sent to the fortress of San Domingo.

When Adrian de Moxica heard that his cousin Guevara was arrested, and that too by his former confederate Roldan, he was highly exasperated. He hastened to the old haunt of rebellion at Bonao, and claimed the co-operation of Pedro Reguelme, the newly-appointed alcalde. It was readily yielded. They went round

among their late fellow-rebels, who were settled in the vega, and soon mustered a daring body of reckless men, ready with horse and weapon for any desperate enterprise. Moxica, in his fury, meditated not merely the rescue of his cousin, but the death of Roldan and the admiral.

Columbus was at Fort Conception, with an inconsiderable force, when he heard of this dangerous plot, concerted in his very neighborhood. He saw that his safety depended upon prompt and vigorous measures. Taking with him but six or seven trusty servants, and three esquires, all well armed, he came suddenly upon the conspirators in the night, seized Moxica and several of his principal confederates, and bore them off to Fort Conception. Resolving to set an example that should strike terror into the factious, he ordered that Moxica should be hanged on the top of the fortress. The latter entreated to be allowed a confessor. A priest was sent for. The miserable culprit, who had been so daring in rebellion, lost all courage at the near approach of death. He delayed, and hesitated in his confession, as if hoping, by whiling away time to give a chance for rescue. Instead of confessing his own sins, he began to accuse others, until Columbus, losing all patience, in his mingled indignation and scorn, ordered the dastard wretch to be flung from the battlements.



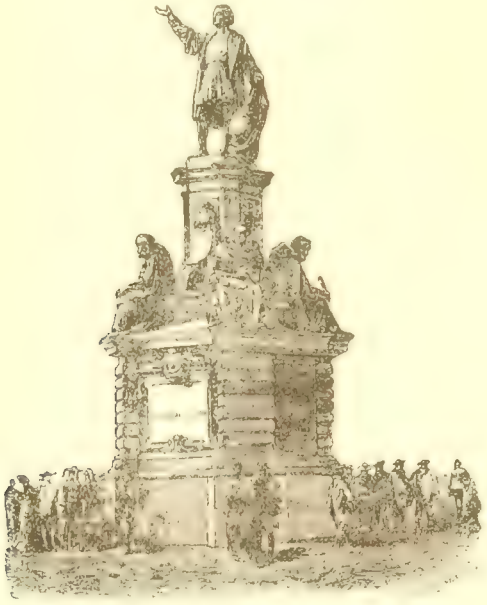
THE CONSPIRITOR ADRIAN DE MOXICA SUDDENLY SURPRISED AND ARRESTED.

This sudden act of severity was promptly followed up. Pedro Reguelme was taken with several of his compeers, in his ruffian-den at Bonao, and conveyed to the fortress of San Domingo. The conspirators fled for the most part to Xaragua, where they were pursued by the adelantado, seconded by Roldan, and hunted out of all their old retreats. Thus in a little while the power of faction was completely subdued.

Columbus considered this happy event as brought about by the especial intervention of Heaven, and gives in proof of it an instance of one of those visionary fancies by which he seems to

have been visited at times, when his mind was distempered by illness or anxiety. In the preceding winter, during the height of his cares and troubles, he had sunk into a state of despondency. In one of his gloomy moods he heard, he says, a voice which thus addressed him: "O man of little faith! fear nothing; be not cast down. I will provide for thee. The seven years of the term of gold are not expired.* In that and in all other things, I will take care of thee." On that very day, he adds, he received intelligence of the discovery of a number of gold mines. The imaginary promise of Divine aid appeared to him still to be performing. The troubles and dangers which had surrounded him were breaking away, and order was coming out of confusion. He now looked forward to the prosecution of his grand enterprises, the exploring the coast of Paria, and the establishment of a pearl fishery in its waters. How illusive were his hopes! at this very moment those events were maturing, that were to overwhelm him with distress, strip him of his honors, and render him comparatively a wreck for the remainder of his days!

* Alluding to his vow, that within seven years he would furnish an army for a crusade, from his share of the gold to be found in the new world.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

INTRIGUES AGAINST COLUMBUS IN THE SPANISH COURT. APPOINTMENT OF BOBADILLA AS COMMISSIONER. HIS ARRIVAL AT SAN DOMINGO. (1500.)

WHILE Columbus had been involved in a series of difficulties in the factious island of Hispaniola, his enemies had been but too successful in undermining his reputation in the court of Spain. Every vessel that returned from the new world came freighted with complaints, representing the character and conduct of Columbus and his brothers in the most odious point of view, and reiterating the illiberal, but mischievous, insinuation that they were foreigners, who had nothing but their own interest and gratification in view. It was even alleged that Columbus intended to cast off all allegiance to Spain, and either to make himself sovereign of the countries he had discovered, or to yield them into the hands of some other power; a slander which, however extravagant, was calculated to startle the jealous mind of Ferdinand. The bishop Fonseca, and other enemies of Columbus who were about the court, having continual access to the sovereigns, were enabled to place every thing urged against him in the strongest point of view, while they destroyed the force of his vindications. They had a plausible logic by which to convict him



of either bad management or bad faith. There was an incessant drain upon the mother-country for the support of the colony. Was this compatible, they asked, with the extravagant pictures he had drawn of the wealth of the island, and its golden mountains, in which he had pretended to find the Ophir* of ancient days, the source of the riches of King Solomon? They inferred that he had either deceived the sovereigns by exaggerations, or grossly wronged them by malpractices, or that he was totally incapable of the duties of government.

For the purpose of irritating the pride of the king, every repining man who returned from the colony, was encouraged to put in claims for arrears of pay withheld by Columbus, or losses sustained in his service. A gang of the disorderly ruffians, who had been shipped off to free the island from their seditions, found their way to the court at Granada. They followed the king when he rode out, filling the air with complaints, and clamoring for their pay. About fifty of them assembled one day, in the main court of the Alhambra, under the royal apartments, holding up bunches of grapes, as the meager diet to which they were reduced by their poverty, and by the cruel deceits of Columbus. Seeing the two sons of the admiral pass by, who were pages to the queen, they followed them with imprecations. "There go," cried they, "the whelps of him who discovered the land of vanity and delusion, the grave of Spanish hidalgos!"

The incessant repetition of falsehood will gradually wear its way into the most candid mind. Isabella herself began to entertain doubts respecting the conduct of Columbus. If he and his brothers were upright, they might be injudicious, and mischief is oftener produced in government through error of judgment than iniquity of design. Isabella doubted, but the jealous Ferdinand felt convinced. He had never regarded Columbus with real cordiality; and ever since he had ascertained the importance of his discoveries, had regretted the extensive powers he had vested in his hands. He now resolved to send out some person to investigate the affairs of the colony, and, if necessary for its safety, to assume the command. This measure had actually been decided upon, and the papers drawn out, early in 1499; but, from various reasons, had been postponed. It is probable Isabella opposed so harsh a

* Ophir. The country is to be searched for (if at all) in Arabia or India.

step against a man for whom she entertained an ardent gratitude and high admiration. The arrival of the ships with the late followers of Roldan, brought matters to a crisis. The king listened entirely to the representations of the rebels, and a circumstance took place, which, for a time, suspended the friendship of Isabella, the great safeguard of Columbus.

The followers of Roldan brought with them a number of slaves, some of which Columbus had been compelled to grant them by the articles of capitulation, others had been conveyed away clandestinely. Among them were several daughters of caciques, who had been seduced from their homes by these profligates. Some were in a state of pregnancy, others had new-born infants. The gifts and transfers of these unhappy beings were all represented as voluntary acts of Columbus. The sensibility of Isabella as a woman, and her dignity as a queen, were instantly in arms. "What right," exclaimed she, indignantly, "has the admiral to give away my vassals?" She immediately ordered all the Indians to be restored to their homes; nay, more, she commanded that those which had formerly been sent to Spain by the admiral should be sought out and reshipped to Hispaniola. Unfortunately for Columbus, at this very juncture, in one of his letters, he advised the continuance of Indian slavery for some time longer, as a measure important to the welfare of the colony. This contributed to heighten the indignation of Isabella, and induced her no longer to oppose the sending out a commissioner to investigate his conduct, and, if necessary, to supersede him in command.



"WHAT RIGHT HAS THE ADMIRAL TO GIVE AWAY MY VASSALS?"

The person chosen for this most momentous office was Don Francisco de Bobadilla, an officer of the royal household, and a commander of the military and religious order of Calatrava.* He is represented by some as a very honest and religious man; by others,

* A Spanish order founded in the 9th century.

and with apparent justice, as needy, passionate, and ambitious, three powerful objections to his acting as judge in a case where the utmost caution and candor were required, and where he was to derive wealth and power from the conviction of one of the parties.

Bobadilla arrived at San Domingo on the 23d of August, 1500. Before entering the harbor, he learnt from a canoe which came off from the shore, that the admiral and the adelantado were absent in the interior of the island, and Don Diego in command. He was told of the recent insurrection of Moxica, and the punishments which had followed. Seven of the rebels had been hanged that week, and five more were in the fortress of San Domingo, condemned to suffer the same fate. Among these were Pedro Reguelme, the factious alcalde of Bonao, and Fernando de Guevara, the young cavalier whose passion for the daughter of Anacaona, had been the original cause of the rebellion. As the vessels entered the river, Bobadilla beheld on either bank a gibbet, with the body of a Spaniard hanging on it. He considered all these circumstances as conclusive proofs of the alleged cruelty of Columbus.



FRANCISCO DE BOBADILLA CAUSES HIS LETTERS PATENT TO BE PROCLAIMED IN FRONT OF THE CHURCH

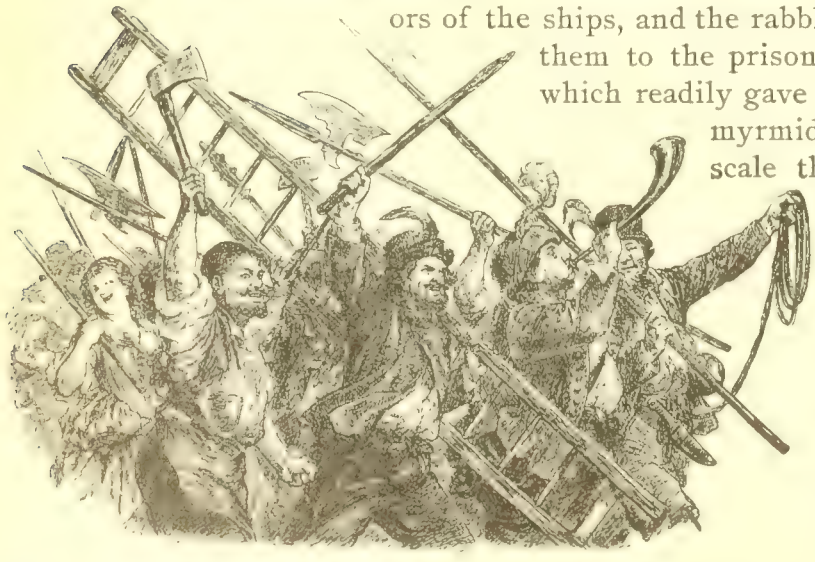
The report had already circulated in the city, that a commissioner had arrived to make inquisition into the late troubles. Many hastened on board the ship to pay early court to this public censor; and as those who sought to secure his favor, were those who had most to fear from his scrutiny, it is evident that the nature of their communications was generally unfavorable to the admiral. In fact, before Bobadilla landed, if not before he arrived, the culpability of the admiral was decided in his mind. He acted accordingly. He made proclamation at the church door, in presence of Don Diego and the other persons in authority, of his letters patent, authorizing him to investigate the rebellion, and proceed against delinquents; and in virtue of these, he demanded that Guevara, Reguelme, and the other prisoners, should be delivered up to him, with the depositions taken in their cases.

Don Diego declared he could do nothing of the kind without

the authority of the admiral, and requested a copy of the letters patent, that he might send it to his brother. This Bobadilla refused, and added, that since the office he proclaimed appeared to have no weight, he would try what efficacy there was in the name of governor. On the following day, therefore, he had another royal patent read, investing him with the government of the islands, and of Terra Firma; an authority which he was only to have assumed on absolute proof of the delinquency of Columbus. This letter being read, he again demanded the prisoners, and was again refused; Don Diego observing, that they were held in obedience to the admiral, to whom the sovereigns had granted letters of a higher nature.

Bobadilla now produced a mandate from the crown, ordering Columbus and his brothers to deliver up all fortresses, ships, and other royal property; and another, ordering that the arrears of wages due to all persons in the royal service should be immediately paid, and the admiral compelled to pay the arrears of those to whom he was individually accountable.

This last document was received with shouts by the multitude, to many of whom long arrears were due, in consequence of the poverty of the treasury. Flushed with his growing importance and popularity, Bobadilla again demanded the prisoners, and receiving the same reply, he proceeded to the fortress, and made a formal demand of them of the alcayde Miguel Diaz. The latter refused to surrender them to any one but the admiral. Upon this, the whole spirit of Bobadilla was aroused. He assembled the sailors of the ships, and the rabble of the place, marched them to the prison, broke open the door, which readily gave way, while some of his myrmidons* put up ladders to scale the walls. The alcayde Miguel Diaz, and Don Diego de Alvarado, appeared on the battlements with drawn

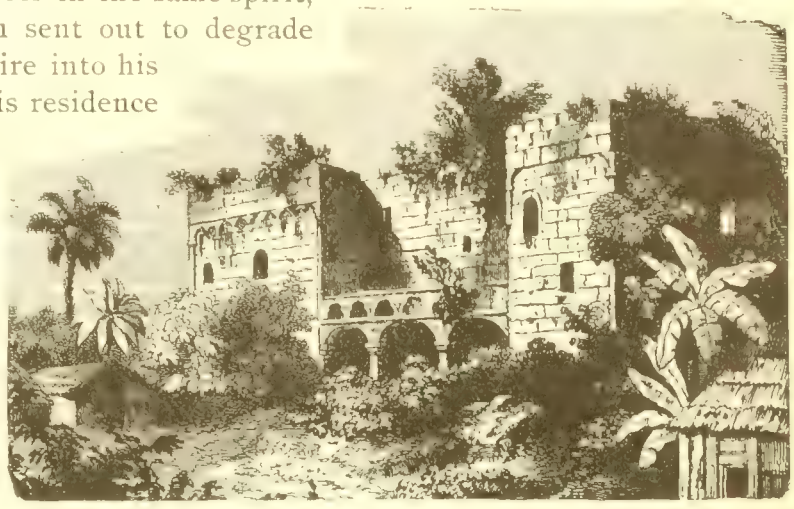


THE RABBLE OF SAN DOMINGO IN THE ROAD TO THE PRISON.

* Myrmidons (rough soldiers, so called after a son of Jupiter, Myrmidon) were a people of Thessaly, under the government of Achilles.

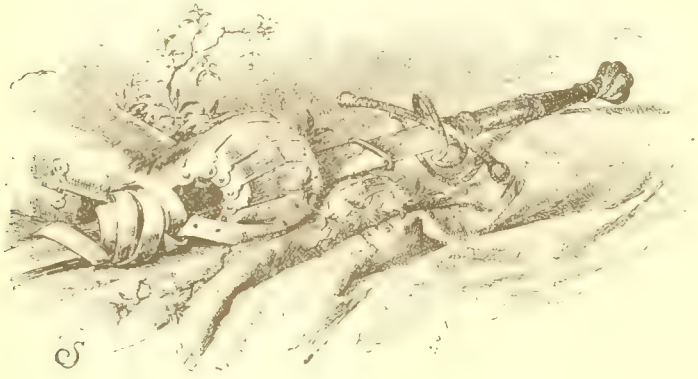
swords, but offered no resistance. The fortress, having no garrison, was easily carried, and the prisoners were borne off in triumph, and given in custody to an alguazil.*

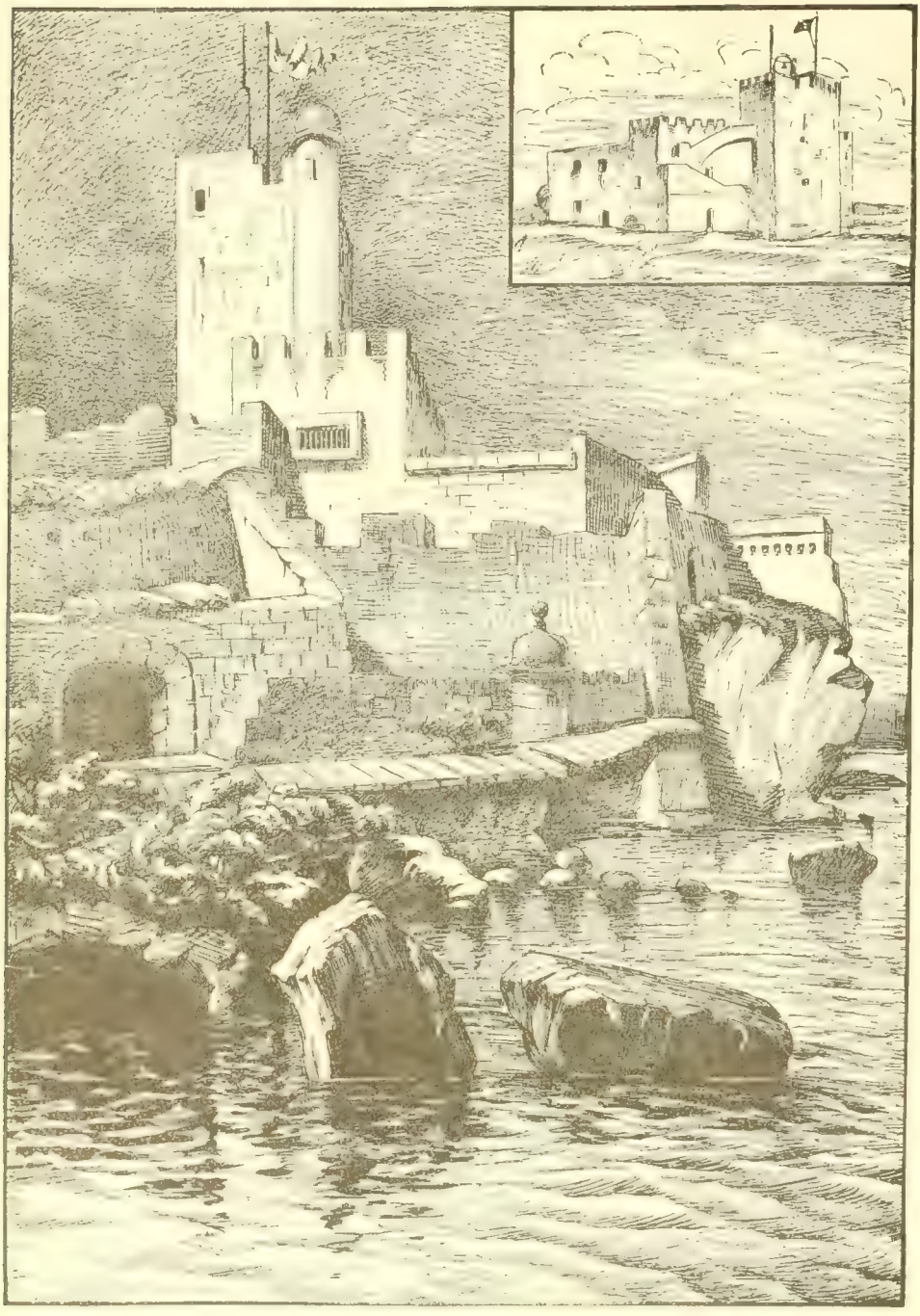
Such was the entrance into office of Francisco de Bobadilla, and he continued his career in the same spirit, acting as if he had been sent out to degrade the admiral, not to inquire into his conduct. He took up his residence in the house of Columbus, seized upon his arms, gold, plate, jewels, horses, books, letters, and most secret manuscripts, giving no account of the property thus seized, paying out of it the wages of those to whom the admiral was in arrears, and disposing of the rest as if already confiscated to the crown. To increase his favor with the people, he proclaimed a general license for twenty years, to seek for gold, exacting merely one-eleventh for government, instead of a third, as heretofore. At the same time, he used the most unqualified language in speaking of Columbus, hinted that he was empowered to send him home in chains, and declared, that neither he, nor any of his lineage, would ever again be permitted to govern the island.



RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF COLUMBUS IN HISPANIOLA.

*Alguazil, a Spanish constable.

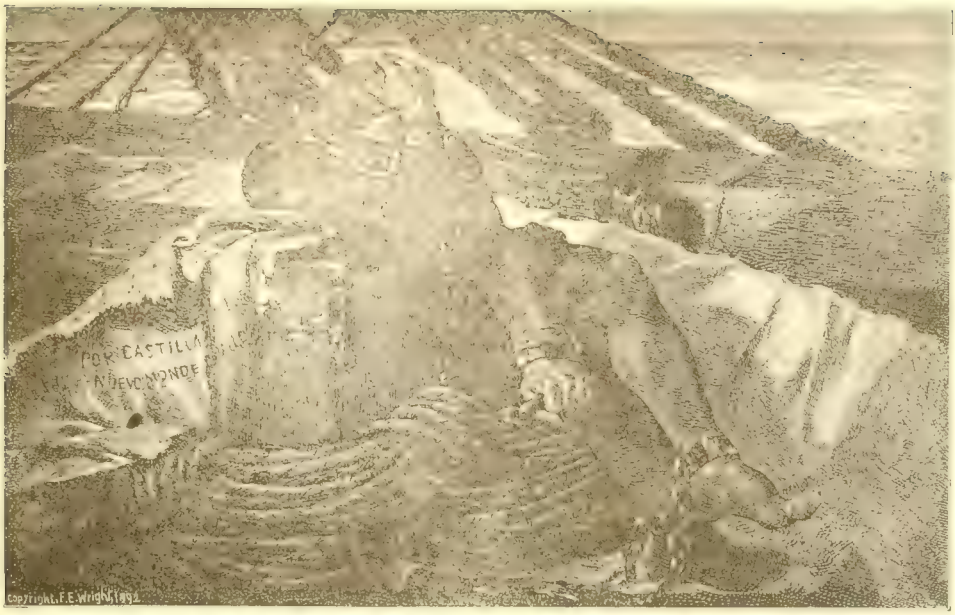




THE HOMENAJE OR CASTLE OF SAN DOMINGO, AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER OZAMA

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

IN THE SMALLER PICTURE THE ARCH SHOWS THE CASTLE FROM THE LAND SIDE. THE GREEN WINDOW IN THE TOWER IS THE ONE SHOWN TO-DAY AS THE PRISON OF COLUMBUS



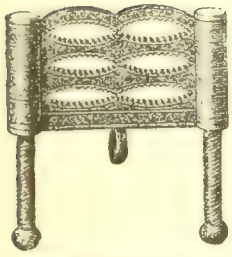
COLUMBUS IN CHAINS AFTER THE FOURTH VOYAGE TO AMERICA, 1500.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

COLUMBUS ARRESTED AND SENT TO SPAIN 1500.

WHEN Columbus received tidings at Fort Conception of the high-handed proceedings of Bobadilla, he considered them the unauthorized act of some rash adventurer; but the proclamation of his letters patent, which immediately took place throughout the Island, soon convinced him he was acting under authority. He endeavored then to persuade himself that Bobadilla was sent out to exercise the functions of chief judge, in compliance with the request contained in one of his own letters to the sovereigns, and that he was perhaps intrusted with provisional powers to inquire into the late troubles of the island. All beyond these powers, he tried to believe were mere assumptions, and exaggerations of authority, as in the case of Aguado. His consciousness of his own services and integrity, and his faith in the justice of

the sovereigns, forbade him to think otherwise. He proceeded to act on this idea; writing temperate and conciliatory letters to Bobadilla, cautioning him against his precipitate measures, while he endeavored by counter proclamations to prevent the mischief he was producing. Messengers soon arrived, however, who delivered to him a royal letter of credence, commanding him to give implicit faith and obedience to Bobadilla, and they gave him, at the same time, a summons from the latter to appear before him immediately at San Domingo. This laconic letter from the sovereigns struck at once at the root of his dignity and power; he made no longer any hesitation or demur, but departed alone and almost unattended, to obey the peremptory summons of Bobadilla. The latter, in the mean time, had made a bustle of preparation, and mustered the troops, affecting to believe a vulgar rumor, that Columbus had called on the caciques of the vega, to aid him in resisting the commands of the government. He moreover arrested Don Diego, threw him in irons, and confined him on board of a caravel, without assigning any cause for his imprisonment.



MANACLES IN USE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.
MUSEUM CLUNY, PARIS

No sooner did he hear of the arrival of Columbus, than he gave orders to put him also in irons, and to confine him in the fortress.

This outrage to a person of such dignified and venerable appearance, and such eminent merit, seemed for a time to shock even his enemies. When the irons were brought, every one present shrunk from the task of putting them on him, either out of a sentiment of compassion at so great a reverse of fortune, or out of habitual reverence for his person. To fill the measure of ingratitude meted out to him, it was one of his own servants that volunteered to rivet his fetters.

Columbus conducted himself with characteristic magnanimity under the injuries heaped upon him. There is a noble scorn which swells and supports the heart, and silences the tongue of the truly great, when enduring the insults of the unworthy. Columbus could not stoop to deprecate the arrogance of a weak and violent man like Bobadilla. He looked beyond this shallow agent, and all his petty tyranny, to the sovereigns who had employed him. It was their injustice and ingratitude alone that could wound his spirit; and he felt assured that when the truth came to be known, they would blush to find how greatly they had wronged him. With

this proud assurance, he bore all present indignities in silence. He even wrote, at the demand of Bobadilla, a letter to the adelantado, who was still in Xaragua, at the head of an armed force, exhorting him to submit quietly to the will of the sovereigns. Don Bartholomew immediately complied. Relinquishing his command, he hastened peacefully to San Domingo, and on arriving, experienced the same treatment with his brothers, being put in irons, and confined on board of a caravel. They were kept separate from each other, and no communication permitted between them. Bobadilla did not see them himself, nor did he allow others to visit them; and they were kept in total ignorance of the crimes with which they were charged, and the proceedings that were instituted against them.

The old scenes of the time of Aguado were now renewed, with tenfold virulence. All the old charges were revived, and others added, still more extravagant in their nature. Columbus was accused of having prevented the conversion of the Indians, that they might be sold as slaves. With having secreted pearls collected on the coast of Paria, and kept the sovereigns in ignorance of the nature of his discoveries there, in order to exact new privileges from them. Even the late tumults were turned into matters of accusation, and the rebels admitted as evidence. The well-merited punishments inflicted upon certain of the ringleaders were cited as proofs of a cruel and revengeful disposition, and a secret hatred of Spaniards. Guevara, Reguelme, and their fellow-convicts, were discharged almost without the form of a trial. Roldan, from the very first, had been treated with confidence by Bobadilla; all the others, whose conduct had rendered them liable to justice, received either a special acquital or a general pardon.

Bobadilla had now collected testimony sufficient, as he thought, to insure the condemnation of the prisoners, and his own continuance in command. He determined, therefore, to send home the admiral and his brothers in chains, in the vessels which were ready for sea, with the inquest taken in their case, and private letters enforcing the charges made against them.

San Domingo now swarmed with miscreants, just delivered from the dungeon and the gibbet. Every base spirit which had been overawed by Columbus and his brothers, when in power, now hastened to revenge itself upon them when in chains. The most

injurious slanders were loudly proclaimed in the streets, pasquinades,* and libels were posted up at the corners, and horns blown in the neighborhood of their prisons, to taunt them with the exultings of the rabble.



COLUMBUS REFUSES TO PERMIT THE FETTERS WITH WHICH HE IS LOADED TO BE REMOVED. "ALL SPAIN SHALL WITNESS THE INDIGNITIES HEAPED UPON ME." SEE PAGE 411.

The charge of conducting the prisoners to Spain, was given to Alonzo de Villejo, an officer who was in the employ of Bishop Fonseca. He was instructed, on arriving at Cadiz, to deliver his prisoners into the hands of the bishop, which circumstance has caused a belief that Fonseca was the secret instigator of all these violent proceedings. Villejo, however, was a man of honorable character, and generous feelings, and showed himself superior to the low malignity of his patrons. When he arrived with a guard to conduct the admiral from the prison to the ship, he found him in chains in a state of deep despondency. So violently had he been treated, and so savage were the passions let loose against him, he had begun to fear he should be sacrificed without an opportunity of being heard, and that his name would go down to posterity sullied with imputed crimes.

When the officer entered with the guard, he thought it was to conduct him to the scaffold. "Villejo," said he, mournfully,

*Pasquinades, more witty than malicious jokes; libel.



VILLEJO INFORMS THE FETTERED COLUMBUS THAT HE HAS PEREMPTORY ORDERS TO TAKE HIM A PRISONER TO SPAIN

From the fresco of Luigi Gregori in the University of South Bend, Ind

"whither are you taking me?" "To the ship, your Excellency, to embark," replied the other. "To embark!" repeated the admiral, earnestly. "Villejo, do you speak the truth?" "By the life of your Excellency," replied the honest officer, "it is true!" With these words the admiral was comforted, and felt as one restored from death to life.

The caravels set sail early in October, bearing off Columbus, shackled like the vilest of culprits, amidst the scoffs and shouts of a miscreant rabble, who took a brutal joy in heaping insults on his venerable head, and sent curses after him from the island he had so recently added to the civilized world. Fortunately the voyage was favorable and of moderate duration, and was rendered less irksome to Columbus, by the conduct of those to whom he was given in custody. The worthy Villejo, as well as Andreas Martin, the master of the caravel, felt deeply grieved at his situation, and always treated him with profound respect and assiduous attention. They would have taken off his irons, but to this he would not consent. "No," said he, proudly, "their majesties commanded me by letter to submit to whatever Bobadilla should order in their name; by their authority he has put upon me these chains; I will wear them until they shall order them to be taken off, and I will afterwards preserve them as relics and memorials of the reward of my services."

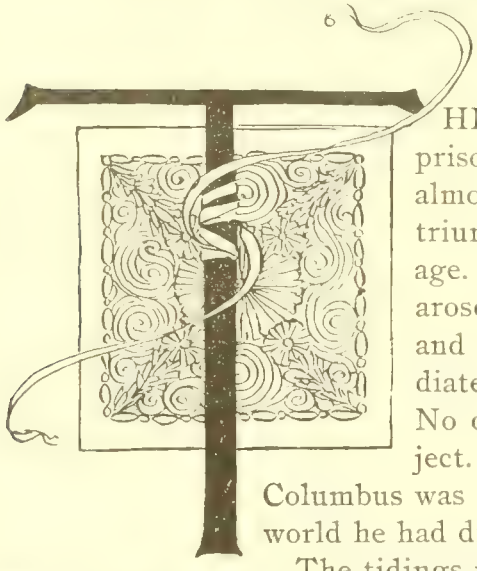
"He did so," adds his son Fernando, in his history; "I saw them always hanging in his cabinet, and he requested that when he died they might be buried with him!"



FROM THE STATUE IN GENOA.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ARRIVAL OF COLUMBUS IN SPAIN. HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE SOVEREIGNS. APPOINTMENT OF OVANDO TO THE GOVERNMENT OF HISPANIOLA. 1500.



THE arrival of Columbus at Cadiz, a prisoner, and in chains, produced almost as great a sensation as his triumphant return from his first voyage. A general burst of indignation arose in Cadiz, and in the powerful and opulent Seville, which was immediately echoed throughout all Spain. No one stopped to reason on the subject. It was sufficient to be told that Columbus was brought home in chains from the world he had discovered.

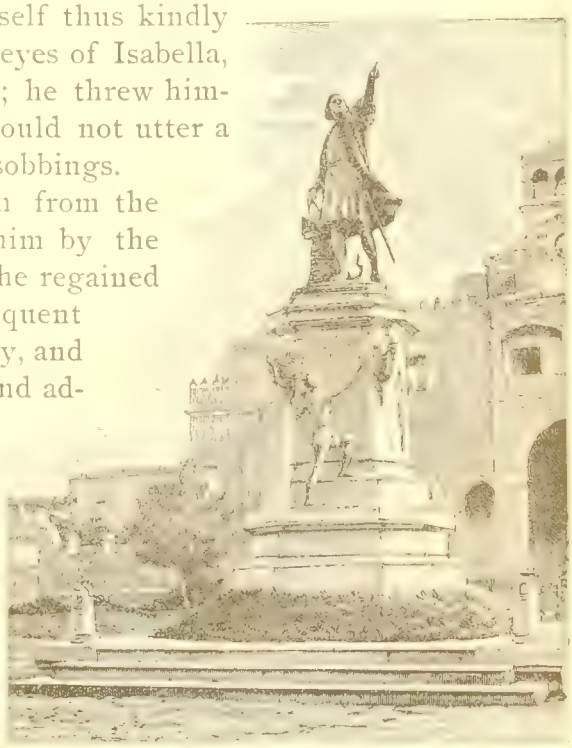
The tidings reached the court of Granada, and filled the halls of the Alhambra with murmurs of astonishment. On the arrival of the ships at Cadiz, Andreas Martin, the captain, had permitted Columbus to send off letters privately by express. The admiral, full of his wrongs, but ignorant how far they had been authorized by the sovereigns, forbore to write to them. He sent a long letter, however, to a lady of the court, high in favor with the queen, and who had been nurse to Prince Juan. It contained an ample vindication of his conduct, couched in eloquent and dignified and touching language. When it was read to the noble-minded Isabella, and she found how grossly Columbus had been wronged, and the royal authority abused, her heart was filled with mingled sympathy and indignation.

However Ferdinand might have secretly felt disposed against Columbus, the momentary tide of public sentiment was not to be resisted. He joined with his generous queen, in her reprobation of the treatment of the admiral. Without waiting to receive any documents that might arrive from Bobadilla, they sent orders to Cadiz that the prisoners should be instantly set at liberty, and treated with all distinction, and that two thousand ducats should be advanced to Columbus to defray the expenses of his journey to court. They wrote him a letter at the same time, expressing their grief at all that he had suffered, and inviting him to Granada.

The loyal heart of Columbus was cheered by this letter from his sovereigns. He appeared at court, not as a man ruined and disgraced, but richly dressed, and with an honorable retinue. He was received by their majesties with unqualified favor and distinction. When the queen beheld this venerable man approach, and thought on all he had deserved, and all that he had suffered, she was moved to tears. Columbus had borne up firmly against the stern conflicts of the world; he had endured with lofty scorn the injuries and insults of ignoble men, but he possessed strong and quick sensibility. When he found himself thus kindly received, and beheld tears in the benign eyes of Isabella, his long suppressed feelings burst forth; he threw himself upon his knees, and for some time could not utter a word for the violence of his tears and sobbings.

Ferdinand and Isabella raised him from the ground, and endeavored to encourage him by the most gracious expressions. As soon as he regained his self-possession, he entered into an eloquent and high-minded vindication of his loyalty, and the zeal he had ever felt for the glory and advantage of the Spanish crown; if, at any time, he had erred, it had been, he said, through inexperience in the art of governing, and through the extraordinary difficulties by which he had been surrounded.

There was no need of vindication on his part. He stood in the presence of his sovereigns a deeply-injured man, and it



MONUMENT [illegible] IN FRONT OF THE CATHEDRAL AT SAN DOMINGO.

THE INDIAN FEMALE FIGURE IS TO REPRESENT THE [illegible] ANACAONA, THE GOLDEN FLOWER OF XARAYA. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

remained for them to vindicate themselves to the world, from the charge of ingratitude towards their most deserving subject. They expressed their indignation at the proceedings of Bobadilla, which they disavowed, as contrary to his instructions; they promised that he should be immediately dismissed from his command, and Columbus reinstated in all his privileges and dignities, and indemnified for the losses he had sustained. The latter expected, of course, to be immediately sent back in triumph to San Domingo, as viceroy and admiral of the Indies; but in this he was doomed to experience a disappointment, which threw a gloom over the remainder of his days. The fact was, that Ferdinand, however he might have disapproved of the violence of Bobadilla, was secretly well pleased with its effects. It had produced a temporary exclusion of Columbus from his high offices, and the politic monarch determined, in his heart, that he should never be restored to them. He had long repented having vested such great powers and prerogatives in any subject, particularly in a foreigner; but at the time of granting them he had no idea of the extent of the countries over which they would be exercised. Recent discoveries, made by various individuals, showed them to be almost boundless. Vincente Yañez Pinzon, one of the brave and intelligent family of navigators that had sailed with Columbus in his first voyage, had lately crossed the line, and explored the shores of the southern continent, as far as Cape St. Augustine. Diego Lepe, another bold navigator of Palos, had doubled that cape, and beheld the continent stretching away out of sight, to the southwest. The report of every discoverer put it beyond a doubt, that these countries must be inexhaustible in wealth, as they appeared to be boundless in extent. Yet over all these Columbus was to be viceroy, with a share in their productions, and the profits of their trade, that must yield him an incalculable revenue. The selfish monarch appeared almost to consider himself outwitted in the arrangement he had made; and every new discovery, instead of increasing his feeling of gratitude to Columbus, seemed only to make him repine at the growing magnitude of his reward.

Another grand consideration with the monarch was, that Columbus was no longer indispensable to him. He had made his great discovery; he had struck out the route to the new world, and now any one could follow it. A number of able navigators had sprung up under his auspices, who were daily besieging the throne

with offers to fit out expeditions at their own cost, and to yield a share of the profits to the crown. Why should he, therefore, confer princely dignities and prerogatives for that which men were daily offering to perform gratuitously?

Such, from his after conduct, appears to have been the jealous and selfish policy which actuated Ferdinand in forbearing to reinstate Columbus in those dignities and privileges which had been solemnly granted to him by treaty, and which it was acknowledged he had never forfeited by misconduct. Plausible reasons, however, were given for delaying his reappointment. It was observed, that the elements of those factions, which had recently been in arms, yet existed in the island, and might produce fresh troubles should Columbus return immediately. It was represented as advisable, therefore, to send some officer of talent and discretion to supersede Bobadilla, and to hold the government for two years, by which time all angry passions would be allayed, and turbulent individuals removed. Columbus might then resume the command, with comfort to himself, and advantage to the crown. With this arrangement the admiral was obliged to content himself.

The person chosen to supersede Bobadilla was Don Nicholas de Ovando, commander of Lares, of the order of Alcantara. He is described as being of the middle size, with a fair complexion, a red beard, a modest look, yet a tone of authority; fluent in speech, courteous in manners, prudent, just, temperate, and of great humility. Such is the picture drawn of him by some of his contemporaries; yet he appears, from his actions, to have been plausible and subtle, as well as fluent and courteous; his humility concealed a great love of command; he was a merciless scourge to the Indians, and in his dealings with Columbus he was both ungenerous and unjust.

While the departure of Ovando was delayed by various circumstances, every arrival brought intelligence of the disastrous state of the Island, under the administration of Bobadilla. The latter was not so much a bad, as an imprudent and a weak man. Imagining rigorous rule to be the rock on which his predecessor had split, he had, at the very outset, relaxed the reigns of justice and morality, and, of course, had lost all command over the community. In a little while such disorder and licentiousness ensued, that many, even of the opponents of Columbus, looked back with

regret to the strict but wholesome rule of himself and the adelantado.

One dangerous indulgence granted to the colonists called for another, and each was ceded, in its turn, by Bobadilla. He sold the farms and estates of the crown at low prices, and granted universal permission to work the mines, on paying only an eleventh of the produce to government. To prevent any diminution in the revenues, it became necessary to increase the quantity of gold collected. He enforced, therefore, the repartimientos, by which the caciques were obliged to furnish parties of their subjects to work for the Spaniards in the field and in the mine. To carry these into more complete effect, he made an enumeration of the natives of the Island, reduced them into classes, and distributed them, according to his favor or caprice, among the colonists. His constant exhortation to the Spaniards was, to produce large quantities of gold. "Make the most of your time," he would say, "there is no knowing how long it will last;" alluding to the possibility of his being speedily recalled. The colonists acted up to his advice, and so hard did they drive the poor natives, that the eleventh yielded more revenue than had ever been produced by the third, under the government of Columbus. In the mean time, the unhappy Indians sunk under the toils imposed upon them, and the severities by which they were enforced. A capricious tyranny was exercised over them by worthless men, numbers of whom had been transported convicts from the dungeons of Castile. These wretches assumed the tone of grand cavaliers, and insisted upon being attended by trains of servants; they took the daughters and female relatives of caciques for their servants or their concubines. In traveling, they obliged the natives to transport them on their shoulders in litters or hammocks, while others held umbrellas of palm leaves over their heads, and cooled them with fans of feathers. Sometimes the backs and shoulders of the unfortunate Indians who bore the litters were raw and bleeding from the task. When these arrogant upstarts arrived at an Indian village, they capriciously seized upon and lavished the provisions of the inhabitants, and obliged



the cacique and his subjects to dance for their amusement. They never addressed the natives but in the most degrading terms; and for the least offense, or in a mere freak of ill humor, they would inflict blows and lashes, and even death itself.

The tidings of these abuses, and of the wrongs of the natives, grieved the spirit of Isabella, and induced her to urge the departure of Ovando. He was empowered to assume the command immediately on his arrival, and to send home Bobadilla by the return of the fleet. Hispaniola was to be the metropolis of the colonial government, which was to extend over the islands and Terra Firma. Ovando was to correct the late abuses, to revoke the improper licenses granted by Bobadilla, to lighten the burdens imposed upon the Indians, and to promote their religious instruction. He was, at the same time, to ascertain the injury sustained by Columbus in his late arrest and imprisonment, and the arrears of revenue that were due to him, that he might receive ample redress and compensation. The admiral was to be allowed a resident agent in the island, to attend to his affairs and guard his interests, to which office Columbus immediately appointed Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal.



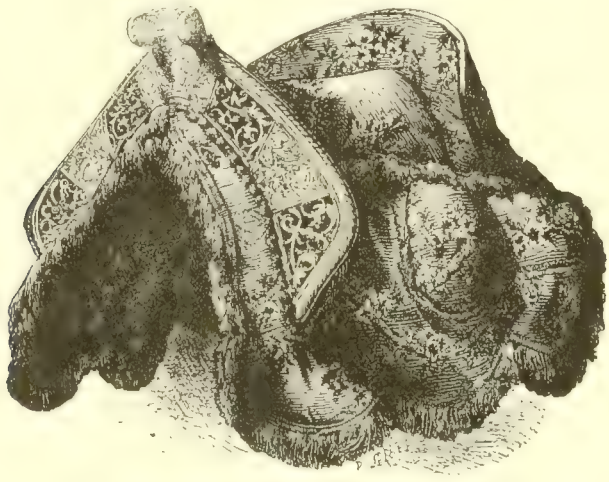
A SPANISH CAVALIER OF THE TIME TRAVELING THROUGH THE COUNTRY.

"WHEN ONE OF THE WRETCHED, OVERLADEN INDIANS FELL DOWN UNDER THE INTOLERABLE BURDEN HEAPED UPON HIM, FROM SHEER EXHAUSTION, HIS HEAD WAS IMMEDIATELY CHOPPED OFF, AND THE BURDEN HEAPED UPON ANOTHER." — LAS CASAS

Among various decrees on this occasion, we find the first trace of negro slavery in the new world. It was permitted to transport to the colony negro slaves born in Spain, the children and descendants of natives brought from Guinea, where the slave trade had for some time been carried on by the Spaniards and Portuguese. There are signal events in the course of history, which sometimes bear the appearance of temporal judgments. It is a fact worthy of observation, that Hispaniola, the place where this flagrant sin against nature and humanity was first introduced into the new world, has been the first to exhibit an instance of awful retribution.*

* The insurrection of the negroes under Toussaint L'Ouverture, 1791.

The fleet appointed to convey Ovando to his government put to sea on the 13th of February, 1502. It was the largest armament that had yet sailed to the new world, consisting of thirty sail, of various sizes, provided with all kinds of supplies for the colony. Twenty-five hundred souls embarked in this fleet, many of them persons of rank, with their families. Ovando was allowed a brilliant retinue, a body guard of horsemen, and the use of silks, brocades, and precious stones, at that time forbidden by the sumptuary laws of Spain. Such was the style in which a favorite of Ferdinand, a native subject of rank, was fitted out to enter upon the government withheld from Columbus.

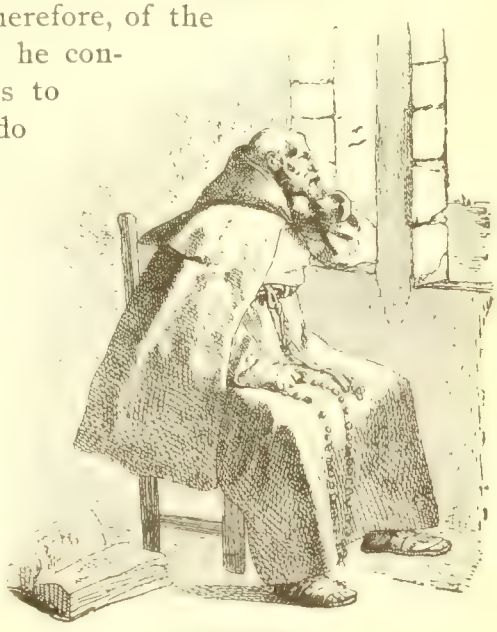


SADDLE FROM THE EARLY PART OF THE XVII. CENTURY.
ARMORY, MADRID.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PROPOSITION OF COLUMBUS FOR A CRUSADE. HIS PREPARATIONS FOR A FOURTH VOYAGE. (1500-1501.)

COLUMBUS remained in the city of Granada upwards of nine months, awaiting employment, and endeavoring to retrieve his affairs from the confusion into which they had been thrown. During this gloomy period, he called to mind his vow to furnish, within seven years from the time of his discovery of the new world, an army of fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse, for the recovery of the holy sepulchre. The time had elapsed, the vow remained unfulfilled, and the expected treasures that were to pay the army had never been realized. Destitute, therefore, of the means of accomplishing his pious purpose, he considered it his duty to incite the sovereigns to the enterprise; and he felt emboldened to do so, from having originally proposed it as the great object to which the profits of his discoveries should be directed. He set to work, therefore, with his accustomed zeal, to prepare arguments for the purpose. Aided by a Carthusian friar,* he collected into a manuscript volume all the passages in the



CARTHUSIAN FRIAR.

* Carthusian. The name of an order (who obligated themselves to eternal silence) given to it from the name of the cloister situated near Grenoble, France, (La Grande Chartreuse) which was founded by Bruno A. D. 1086.

Sacred Scriptures and in the writings of the Fathers, which he conceived to contain mystic portents and prophecies of the discovery of the new world, the conversion of the Gentiles, and the recovery of the holy sepulchre; three great events which he considered as destined to succeed each other, and to be accomplished through his agency. He prepared, at the same time, a long letter to the sovereigns, written with his usual fervor of spirit and simplicity of heart, urging them to set on foot a crusade for the conquest of Jerusalem. It is a singular composition, which lays open the visionary part of his character, and shows the mystic and speculative reading with which he was accustomed to nurture his solemn and soaring imagination.*

It must be recollected that this was a scheme meditated in melancholy and enthusiastic moods, in the courts of the Alhambra, among the splendid remains of Moorish grandeur, where, but a few years before, he had beheld the standard of the faith elevated in triumph above the symbols of infidelity. It was in unison with the temper of the times, when the cross and sword frequently went together, and religion was made the pretext for the most desolating wars. Whether Columbus ever presented this book to the sovereigns is uncertain; it is probable that he did not, as his thoughts suddenly returned, with renewed ardor, to their wonted channels, and he conceived a leading object for another enterprise of discovery.



VASCO DE GAMA.

FROM THE MSS. OF PEDRO BARETTO DE RESENDA, IN THE SLOANE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. THE COMMENTARIES OF ALFONSO DALBOQUERQUE.

W. DE G. BIRCH HACKLUYT SOC.

Vasco de Gama had recently accomplished the long attempted navigation to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and Pedro Alvarez Cabral, following in his track, had returned with his vessels laden with the pre-

*The manuscript volume, including the letter, still exists in the Columbian library of the Cathedral of Seville, and has been inspected with great interest by the writer of this history.

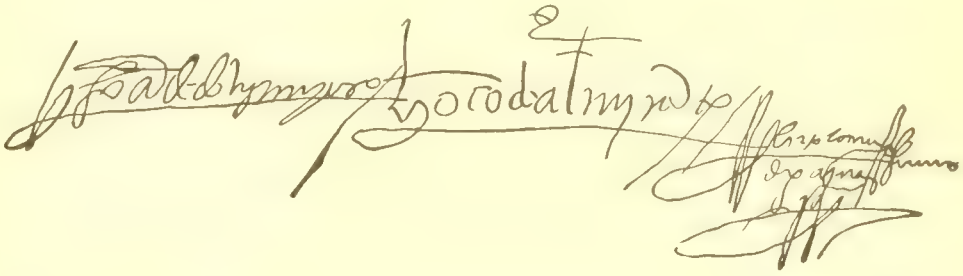
cious merchandise of the East. The riches of Calicut were now the theme of every tongue. The discoveries of the savage regions of the new world had as yet brought but little revenue to Spain, but this route to the East Indies was pouring in immediate wealth upon Portugal.



COAT OF ARMS OF VASCO DE GAMA.

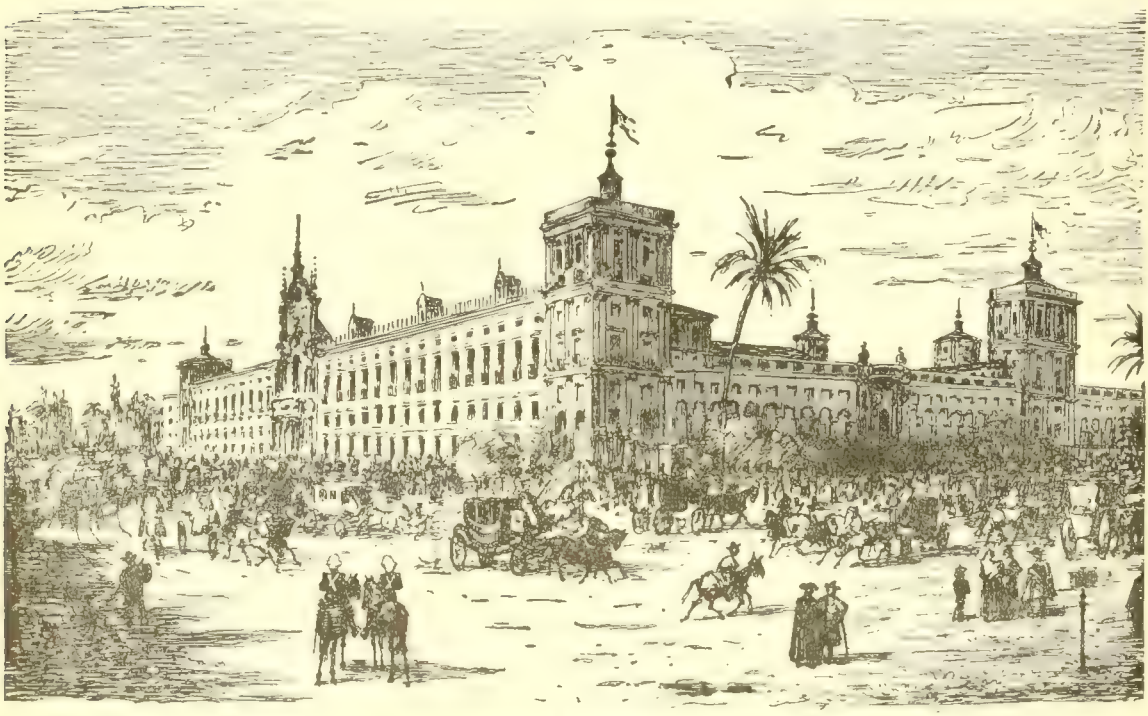
Columbus was roused to emulation, and trusted he could discover a route to those oriental regions more easy and direct than that of Vasco de Gama. According to his own observations, and the reports of other navigators, the coast of Terra Firma stretched far to the westward. The southern coast of Cuba, which he considered a part of the Asiatic continent, stretched onward towards the same point. The currents of the Caribbean Sea must pass between these lands. He was persuaded, therefore, that a strait must exist somewhere thereabout, opening into the Indian Sea. The situation in which he placed his conjectural strait was somewhere about what is at present called the Isthmus of Darien. Could he but discover such a passage, and thus link the new world he had discovered, with the opulent oriental countries of the old, he felt that he should make a magnificent close to his labors.

He unfolded his plan to the sovereigns, and, though it met with some narrow-minded opposition on the part of certain of the royal councillors, it was promptly adopted, and he was empowered to fit out an armament to carry it into effect. He accordingly departed for Seville in the autumn of 1501, to make the necessary preparations; but such were the delays caused by the artifices of Fonseca and his agents, that it was not until the following month of May that he was able to put to sea.



SIGNATURE OF VASCA DE GAMA (AND TWO WITNESSES) ON A DOCUMENT WHEREIN HE PAYS HOMAGE TO JOHN II. ARCHIVE LISSABON.

Before sailing, he took measures to provide against any misfortune that might happen to himself in so distant and perilous an expedition. He caused copies to be made and authenticated, of all the royal letters patent of his dignities and privileges; of his letter to the nurse of Prince Juan, containing a vindication of his conduct; and of two letters assigning to the Bank of St. George, at Genoa, a tenth of his revenues, to be employed in diminishing the duties on provisions in his native city. These two sets of docu-



CORSO DE LAS DELICIAS, SEVILLE.

ments he sent by different hands to his friend, Doctor Nicolo Odorigo, who had been Genoese ambassador to the court of Spain, requesting him to deposit them in some safe place at Genoa, and to apprize his son Diego of the same.

He wrote also to Pope Alexander the Seventh, mentioning his vow to furnish an army for a crusade, but informing him of his being prevented from fulfilling it by being divested of his government. He promised his Holiness, however, on his return from his present voyage, to repair immediately to Rome, and render him an account of all his expeditions.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

COLUMBUS SAILS ON HIS FOURTH VOYAGE. EVENTS AT THE ISLAND OF HISPANIOLA. HIS SEARCH AFTER AN IMAGINARY STRAIT. (1502.)

AGE was rapidly making its advances upon Columbus, when he undertook his fourth voyage of discovery. He was now about sixty-six years old. His constitution, originally vigorous in the extreme, had been impaired by hardships and exposures in every clime, and by the mental sufferings he had undergone. His intellectual powers alone retained their wonted energy, prompting him, at a period of life when most men seek repose, to sally forth, with youthful ardor, on the most toilsome and adventurous of enterprises. In this arduous voyage, he was accompanied by his brother Don Bartholomew, who commanded one of the vessels, and by his son Fernando, then in his fourteenth year.

Columbus sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May, 1502. His squadron consisted of four caravels, the largest of but seventy tons burden, the smallest of fifty; the crews amounted in all to one hundred and fifty men. With this little armament, and these slender barks, he undertook the search after a strait, which, if found, must conduct him into the most remote seas, and lead to a complete circumnavigation of the globe. After touching at the Canaries, he had a prosperous voyage to the Caribbee Islands, arriving on the 15th of June, at Mantinino, at present called Martinique. He had

originally intended to steer to Jamaica, and from thence for the continent, in search of the supposed strait; but one of his vessels proving a dull sailer, he bore away for Hispaniola, to exchange it for one of the fleet which had recently taken out Ovando. This was contrary to his orders, which had expressly forbidden him to touch at Hispaniola until his return homewards, lest his presence should cause some agitation in the island; he trusted, however, the circumstances of the case would plead his excuse.

Columbus arrived off the harbor of San Domingo at an unpropitious moment. The place was filled with the most virulent of his enemies, many of whom were in a high state of exasperation from recent proceedings which had taken place against them. The fleet which had brought out Ovando lay in the harbor ready to put to sea; and was to take out Roldan, and many of his late adherents, some of whom were under arrest, and to be tried in Spain. Bobadilla was to embark in the principal ship, on board of which he had put an immense amount of gold, the revenue collected for the government during his administration, and which he confidently expected would atone for all his faults. Among the presents he intended for the sovereigns was one mass of virgin gold, which is famous in the old Spanish chronicles. It was said to weigh three thousand six hundred castillanos. Large quantities of gold had also been shipped in the fleet by the followers of Roldan, and other adventurers; the wealth gained by the sufferings of the unhappy natives.

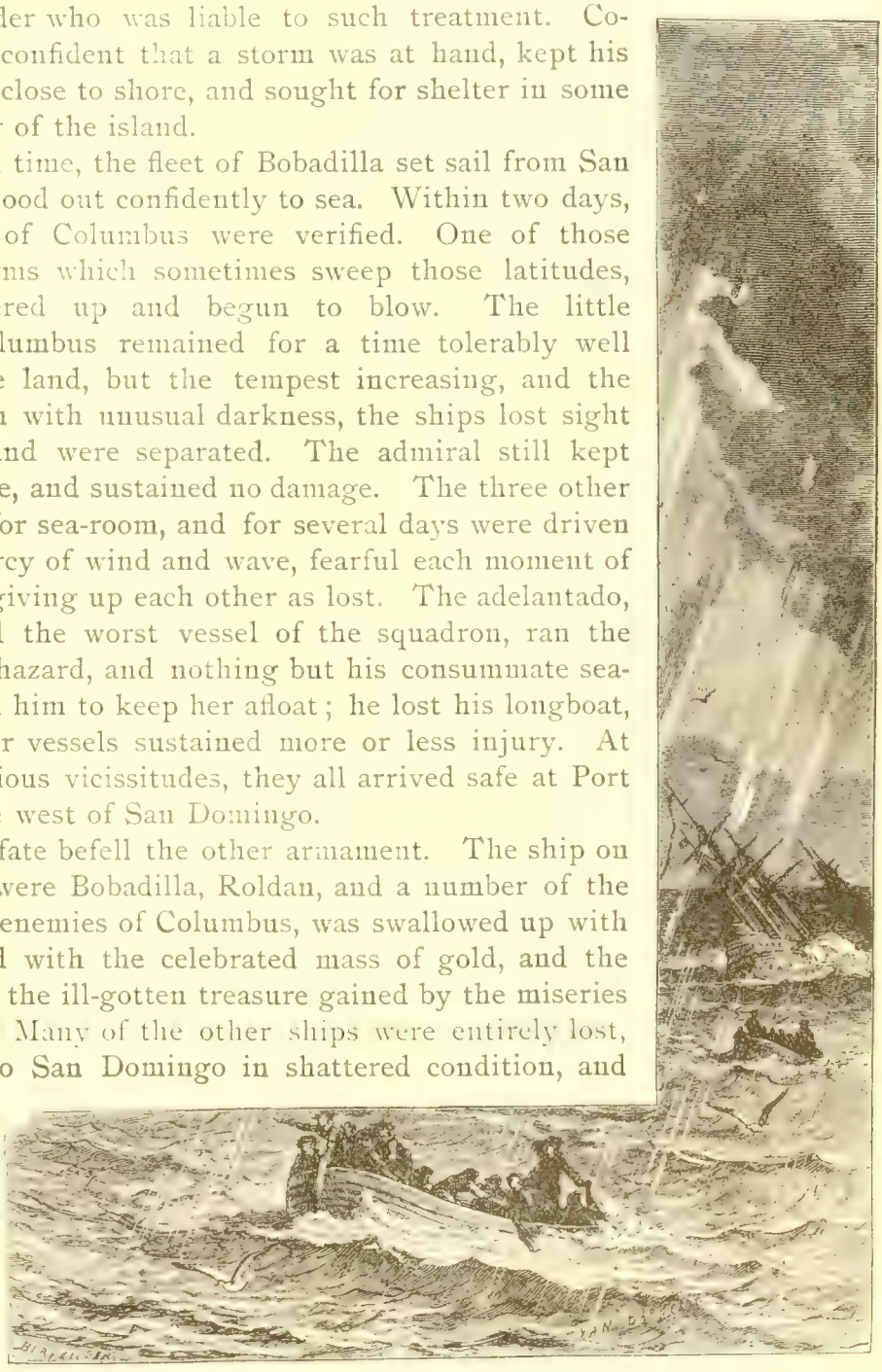
It was on the 29th of June, that Columbus arrived at the mouth of the river, and sent an officer on shore to explain to the governor the purpose of his visit; he requested permission, moreover, to shelter his squadron in the river, as he apprehended an approaching storm. His request was refused by Ovando, who probably had orders from the sovereigns to that effect, and perhaps was further swayed by prudent considerations. Columbus then sent a second message, entreating that the sailing of the fleet might be delayed, as there were indubitable signs of an approaching tempest. This request was as fruitless as the preceding; the weather, to an inexperienced eye, was fair and tranquil, and the warning of the admiral was treated with ridicule, as the prediction of a false prophet.

Columbus retired from the river, indignant at being denied relief, and refused shelter in the very island which he had discov-

ered. His crew murmured loudly at being excluded from a port of their own nation, where even strangers, under similar circumstances, would be admitted, and they repined at having embarked with a commander who was liable to such treatment. Columbus, feeling confident that a storm was at hand, kept his feeble squadron close to shore, and sought for shelter in some wild bay or river of the island.

In the mean time, the fleet of Bobadilla set sail from San Domingo, and stood out confidently to sea. Within two days, the predictions of Columbus were verified. One of those tremendous storms which sometimes sweep those latitudes, gradually gathered up and begun to blow. The little squadron of Columbus remained for a time tolerably well sheltered by the land, but the tempest increasing, and the night coming on with unusual darkness, the ships lost sight of each other, and were separated. The admiral still kept close to the shore, and sustained no damage. The three other vessels ran out for sea-room, and for several days were driven about at the mercy of wind and wave, fearful each moment of shipwreck, and giving up each other as lost. The adelantado, who commanded the worst vessel of the squadron, ran the most imminent hazard, and nothing but his consummate seamanship enabled him to keep her afloat; he lost his longboat, and all the other vessels sustained more or less injury. At length, after various vicissitudes, they all arrived safe at Port Hermoso, to the west of San Domingo.

A different fate befell the other armament. The ship on board of which were Bobadilla, Roldan, and a number of the most inveterate enemies of Columbus, was swallowed up with all its crew, and with the celebrated mass of gold, and the principal part of the ill-gotten treasure gained by the miseries of the Indians. Many of the other ships were entirely lost, some returned to San Domingo in shattered condition, and only one was enabled to continue her voyage to Spain. That one, it is said, was the



THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FLEET OF BOBADILLA.

weakest of the fleet, and had on board of it four thousand pieces of gold, the property of the admiral, remitted to Spain by his agent Carvajal. Both Fernando Columbus, and the venerable historian Las Casas, looked upon this event as one of those awful judgments which seem at times to deal forth temporal retribution. They notice the circumstance, that while the enemies of the admiral were thus, as it were, before his eyes, swallowed up in the raging sea, the only ship enabled to pursue her voyage was the frail bark freighted with his property. Many of the superstitious seamen, who, from the sagacity displayed by Columbus, in judging of the signs of the elements, and his variety of scientific knowledge, looked upon him as endowed with supernatural powers, fancied he had conjured up this storm by magic spells, for the destruction of his enemies. The evils in this, as in most of the cases called temporal judgments, overwhelmed the innocent with the guilty. In the same ship with Bobadilla and Roldan, perished the captive Guarionex, the unfortunate cacique of the Vega.

After repairing the damages sustained by his ships in the storm, Columbus steered for Terra Firma, but the weather falling perfectly calm he was swept away to the northwest by the currents, until he arrived on the southern coast of Cuba. The wind springing up fair, he resumed his course, and, standing to the southwest, was enabled, on the 30th of July, to make the island of Guanaga, a few leagues distant from the coast of Honduras. While the adelantado was on shore at this island, a canoe arrived of an immense size, on board of which sat a cacique with his wives and children, under an awning of palm leaves. The canoe was paddled by twenty-five Indians, and freighted with various merchandise, the rude manufactures and natural productions of the adjacent countries. There were hatchets and other utensils of copper, with a kind of crucible for the melting of that metal; various ves-



INDIAN PITCHER FROM THE COAST OF YUCATAN (MODERN)

sels neatly formed of clay, marble, and hard wood; mantles of cotton, worked and dyed with various colors; and many other articles which indicated a superior degree of art and civilization than had hitherto been discovered in the new world.

The Indians, as far as they could be understood, informed the admiral that they had come from a country rich, cultivated, and industrious, situated to the west, and urged him to steer in that direction. Well would it have been for Columbus had he followed their advice. Within a day or two he would have arrived at Yucatan; the discovery of Mexico, and the other opulent countries of New Spain, would have necessarily followed; the Southern Ocean would have been disclosed to him, and a succession of splendid discoveries would have shed fresh glory on his declining age, instead of its sinking amidst gloom, neglect, and disappointment.

The admiral's whole mind, however, was at present intent upon discovering the supposed strait that was to lead him to the Indian Ocean. He stood, therefore, southwardly for some mountains which he descried not many leagues distant, and made Cape Honduras, and from thence proceeded eastwardly, beating against contrary winds, and struggling with the currents which sweep that coast. There was an almost incessant tempest, with heavy rain and awful thunder and lightning. His vessels were strained so that their seams opened; the sails and rigging were rent, and the provisions damaged by the rain and the leakage. The sailors were exhausted with fatigue, and harassed with terror. Several times they confessed their sins to each other, and prepared for death. During a great part of this time, Columbus suffered extremely from the gout, and his complaint was aggravated by watchfulness and anxiety. His illness did not prevent his attending to his duties; he had a small cabin or round-house constructed on the stern, from whence, even when confined to his bed, he could keep a lookout, and regulate the sailing of the ships. Many times he was so ill that he thought his end approaching, and his anxious mind was distressed at the thoughts that his brother Don Bartholomew, and his son Fernando, were exposed to the same dangers and hardships. Often, too, his thoughts reverted to his son Diego, and the cares and misfortunes into which his death might plunge him. At length, after struggling for upwards of forty days to make a distance of about seventy leagues, he arrived, on the 14th of September, at a cape

where the coast made a sudden bend, and turned directly south. Doubling this cape, he had immediately an easy wind, and swept off with flowing sail, in consequence of which he gave it the name of *Gracias a Dios*, or Thanks to God.

For three weeks he continued coasting what is at present called the Mosquito shore, in the course of which a boat with its crew was swallowed up by the sudden swelling of a river. He had occasional interviews with the natives, but a mutual distrust prevailed between them and the Spaniards. The Indians were frightened at seeing a notary of the fleet take out pen, ink, and paper, and proceed to write down the information they were communicating; they supposed he was working some magic spell, and to counteract it, they scattered a fragrant powder in the air, and burnt it so that the smoke should be borne toward the Spaniards. The superstitious seamen looked upon these counter charms with equal distrust. They suspected the people of this coast to be great enchanters, and that all the delays and hardships they had experienced were in consequence of the ships being under some evil spell, wrought by their magic arts. Even Columbus, and his son and historian Fernando, appear to have been tinctured with this superstition, which indeed is characteristic of the age.



INDIAN WOMAN OF CLARE WESTERN MEXICO SPINNING.

On the 5th of October, Columbus arrived at what is at present called Costa Rica (or the Rich Coast), from the gold and silver mines found in after years among its mountains. Here he began to find ornaments of pure gold among the natives. These increased in quantity when he came to what has since been called the coast of Veragua, where he was assured that the richest mines were to be found. In sailing along these coasts he received repeated accounts of a great kingdom in the west, called Ciguare, at the distance of several days' journey, where, as far as he could understand the imperfect explanations of his interpreters, the inhabitants wore crowns and bracelets and anklets of gold, and employed it in embroider-

ing their garments, and ornamenting and embossing their furniture. They were armed, also, like the Spaniards, with swords, bucklers, and cuirasses, and were mounted on horses. The country was described also as being commercial, with seaports, in which ships arrived armed with cannon. Above all, Columbus understood that the sea continued round to this kingdom of Ciguare, and that ten days beyond it was the Ganges.

These were evidently rumors of the distant kingdom of Mexico, imperfectly interpreted to Columbus, and shaped and colored by his imagination. He concluded that this country must be some province belonging to the Grand Khan, and must lie on the opposite side of a peninsula, and that he would soon arrive at a strait leading into the Indian Sea, which washed its shores. The supposed vicinity of the Ganges caused no surprise, as he had adopted the opinion of certain ancient philosophers, who gave the world a smaller circumference than was generally imagined, and but fifty-six miles and two-thirds to a degree of the equinoctial line.

With these erroneous but ingenious ideas, Columbus continued to press forward in search of the imaginary strait, contending with adverse winds and currents, and meeting with great hostility from the natives; for the Indians of these coasts were fierce and warlike, and many of the tribes are supposed to have been of Carib origin. At sight of the ships, the forests would resound with yells and war-whoops, with wooden drums, and the blasts of conchs, and on landing the shores would be lined with savage warriors armed with clubs, and lances, and swords of palm wood.

At length, having discovered and named Puerto Bello, and continued beyond Cape Nombre de Dios, Columbus arrived at a small and narrow harbor, to which he gave the name of *El Retrete*, or The Cabinet. Here he had reached the point, to which Bastides, an enterprising voyager, coasting from the eastward, had recently explored. Whether Columbus knew or not of the voyage of this discoverer, does not clearly appear, but here he was induced to give up all further attempt to find the strait. The seamen were disheartened by the constant opposition of the winds and currents, and by the condition of the ships, which were pierced in all parts by the teredo or worm, so destructive in the tropical seas. They considered themselves still under an evil spell, worked by the In-

dian sorcerers, and the commanders remonstrated against forcing their way any farther in spite of the elements, with ships so crazed and leaky. Columbus yielded to their solicitations, and determined to return to the coast of Veragua, and search for the mines which were said to abound there.

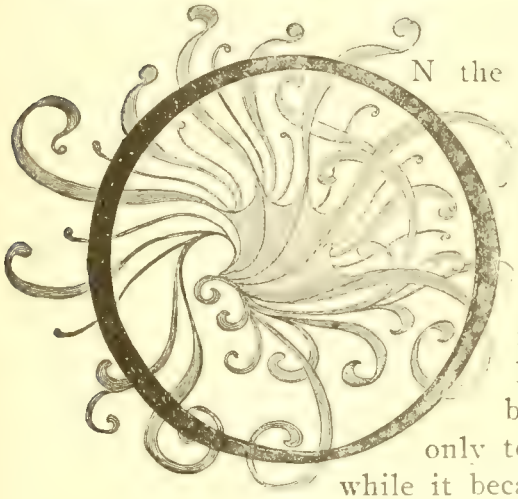
Here, then, ended the lofty anticipations which had elevated him above all mercenary views in his struggle along these perilous coasts, and had given a heroic character to the early part of his voyage. It is true, he had been in pursuit of a mere chimera, but it was the chimera of a splendid imagination and a penetrating judgment. The subsequent discovery of the Pacific Ocean bathing the opposite shores of that narrow isthmus, has proved that a great part of his theory was well founded.



INDIAN FROM THE MOSQUITO COAST (MODERN).

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RETURN TO THE COAST OF VERAGUA CONTESTS WITH THE NATIVES. 1502.)



N the 5th of December, Columbus sailed from El Retrete, to return westward in search of the gold mines of Veragua. He had not proceeded far, however, when the wind suddenly veered to the west, the point from whence, for three months, he had been wishing it to blow, but from whence it now came only to contradict him. In a little while it became so variable and furious as to baffle all seamanship. For nine days the vessels were tossed about, at the mercy of a raging tempest, in an unknown sea, and often exposed to the awful perils of a lee shore. The sea, according to the description of Columbus, boiled at times like a cauldron; at other times it ran in mountain waves, covered with foam. At night, the raging billows sparkled with luminous particles which made them resemble great surges of flame. For a day and a night the heavens glowed like a furnace with incessant flashes of lightning; while the loud claps of thunder were often mistaken by the mariners for signal guns of distress from their foundering companions. During the whole time there was such a deluge of rain, that the seamen were almost drowned in their open vessels.

In the midst of this wild tumult of the elements they beheld a new object of alarm. The ocean in one place became strangely



THE SHIPS OF COLUMBUS THREATENED WITH ENTIRE DESTRUCTION BY WATER SPOUTS

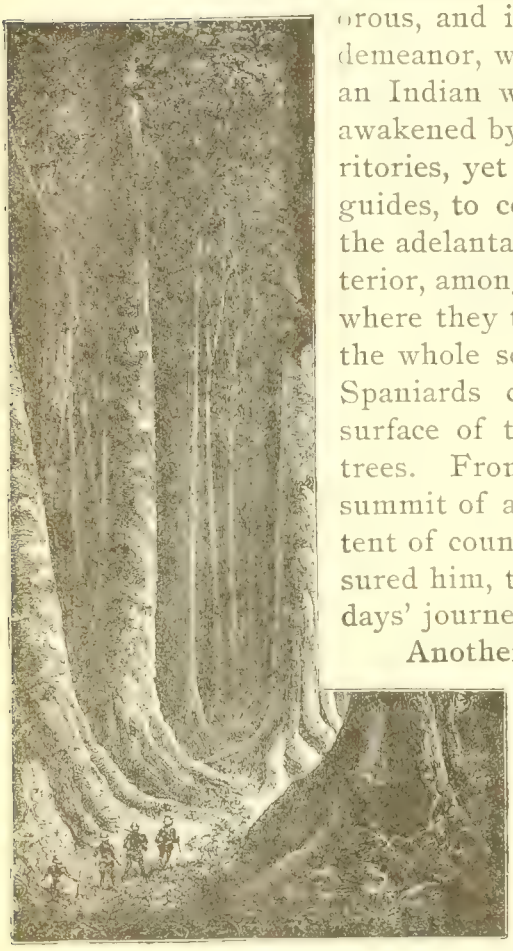
agitated. The water was whirled up into a kind of Pyramid or cone, while a livid cloud, tapering to a point, bent down to meet it. Joining together, they formed a column, which rapidly approached the ships, spinning along the surface of the deep, and drawing up the waters with a rushing sound. The affrighted mariners, when they beheld this waterspout advancing towards them, despaired of averting it by human means, and began to repeat certain passages from St. John the Evangelist. The waterspout passed close by their ships without injuring them, and they attributed their escape to the miraculous efficacy of their quotations from the Scriptures.

An interval of calm succeeded, but even this afforded but little consolation to the tempest-tossed mariners, they looked upon it as deceitful, and beheld with alarm great numbers of sharks, so abundant and ravenous in those latitudes, roaming about the ships. Among the superstitions of the seas is the belief that these voracious fish have not only the faculty of smelling dead bodies at a distance, but have a presentiment of their prey, and keep about vessels which have sick persons on board, or which are in danger of being wrecked.

For three weeks longer they continued to be driven to and fro, by changeable and tempestuous winds, endeavoring to make a distance of merely thirty leagues, insomuch that Columbus gave this line of seaboard the name of *La Costa de los Contrastes*, or the Coast of Contradictions. At length, to his great joy, he arrived, on the day of Epiphany, (the 6th of January) on the coast of Veragua, and anchored in a river to which, in honor of the day, he gave the name of Belen or Bethlehem.

The natives of the neighborhood manifested the same fierce and warlike character that generally prevailed along this coast. They were soon conciliated, however, and brought many ornaments of fine gold to traffic; but assured the admiral that the mines lay near the river Veragua, which was about two leagues distant. The adelantado had an interview with Quibian, the cacique of Veragua, who afterwards visited the ships. He was a stern warrior, of tall and powerful frame, and taciturn and cautious character. A few days afterwards, the adelantado, attended by sixty-eight men, well armed, proceeded to explore the Veragua, and seek its reputed mines. They ascended the river about a league and a half, to the village of Quibian, which was situated on a hill. The cacique de-

scended with a numerous train of his subjects, unarmed, and took his seat on a great stone, which one of his attendants drew out of the river. He received his guests with courtesy, for the lofty, vigorous, and iron form of the adelantado, and his resolute demeanor, were calculated to inspire awe and respect in an Indian warrior. Though his jealousy was evidently awakened by the intrusion of the Spaniards into his territories, yet he readily furnished Don Bartholomew with guides, to conduct him to the mines. These guides led the adelantado and his men about six leagues into the interior, among thick forests of lofty and magnificent trees, where they told them the mines were situated. In fact, the whole soil appeared impregnated with gold, and the Spaniards collected a considerable quantity from the surface of the earth, and from among the roots of the trees. From hence, the adelantado was conducted to the summit of a high hill, which overlooked an immense extent of country, with various villages, and the guides assured him, that the whole land, to the distance of twenty days' journey westward, abounded in gold.



DON BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS ON THE ROAD THROUGH THE VIRGIN FORESTS OF VERAGUA TO THE RESPECTIVE GOLD MINES.

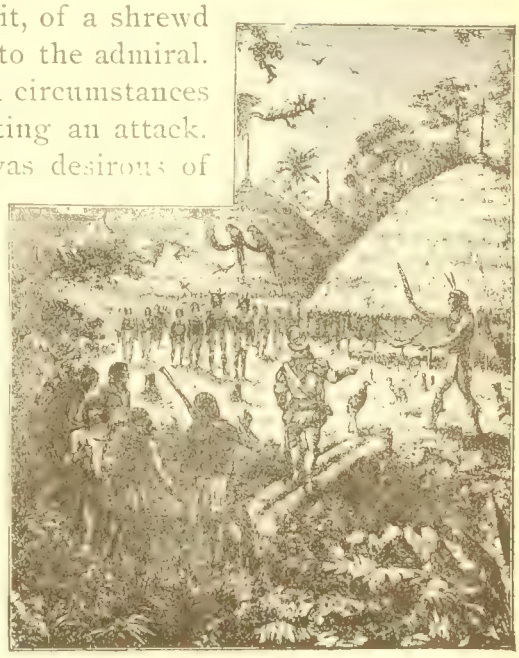
Another expedition of Don Bartholomew along the coast, westward, was equally satisfactory; and the reports which he brought of golden tracts of country, together with the rumors of a rich and civilized kingdom in the interior, and the erroneous idea with respect to the vicinity of the Ganges, all concurred to produce a new illusion in the ardent mind of Columbus. He fancied that he had actually arrived at the Aurea Chersonesus, from whence, according to Josephus, the gold had been procured for the building of the temple of Jerusalem. Here, then, was a place at which to found a colony, and establish a mart, which should become an emporium of the wealth of a vast region of mines. His brother, Don Bartholomew, concurred with him in opinion, and agreed to remain here with the greater part of the people, while the admiral should return to Spain for supplies and reinforcements.

They immediately proceeded to carry their plan into operation.

Eighty men were selected to remain. Houses of wood, thatched with palm leaves, were erected on the high bank of a creek, about a bow-shot within the mouth of the river Belen. A storehouse was built to receive part of the ammunition, artillery, and stores; the rest was put on board of one of the caravels, which was to be left for the use of the colony.

The houses being sufficiently finished to be habitable, the admiral prepared for his departure, when he found, to his surprise, that the river, which on his arrival had been swollen by rain, had subsided to such a degree, that there was not above half a fathom of water on the bar. Though his vessels were small, it was impossible to draw them over the sands at the mouth of the river, on account of a heavy surf. He was obliged, therefore, to wait until the rains should again swell the river.

In the mean time, Quibian beheld with secret indignation these strangers intruding themselves into his dominions. Columbus had sought to secure his friendship by various presents, but in vain. The caciquè, ignorant of the vast superiority of the Europeans in the art of war, thought it easy to overwhelm and destroy them. He sent messengers around, and ordered all his fighting men to assemble at his residence, under pretext of making war upon a neighboring province. The movements of the Indians awakened the suspicions of one Diego Mendez, chief notary of the armament. He was a man of zeal and spirit, of a shrewd and prying character, and entirely devoted to the admiral. He mingled among the Indians, and observed circumstances which satisfied him that they were meditating an attack. The admiral was loth to believe it, and was desirous of clearer information, before he took any step that might interrupt the pacific intercourse that yet prevailed. The indefatigable Mendez now undertook a service of life and death. Accompanied by a few friendly Indians, he penetrated as a spy to the very residence of Quibian, who they heard had been wounded in the leg by an arrrow. Mendez gave himself out as a surgeon come to cure the wound, and made his way to the mansion of the grim warrior, which



DIEGO MENDEZ APPROACHING THE VILLAGE OF THE CACIQUE QUIBIAN.

was situated on the crest of a hill, and surrounded by three hundred heads, on stakes; dismal trophies of the enemies he had vanquished in battle. Undismayed by this sight, Mendez endeavored to enter, but was met at the threshold by the son of the cacique, who repulsed him with a violent blow, that made him recoil several paces. He managed to pacify the furious young savage, by taking out a box of ointment, and assuring him that he only came for the purpose of curing his father's wounds. He then made him presents of a comb, scissors, and mirror, taught him and his Indians the use of them in cutting and arranging their hair, and thus ingratiated himself with them by administering to their vanity. It was impossible, however, to gain admittance to the cacique; but Mendez saw enough to convince him that the attack was about to be carried into effect, and that it was merely delayed by the wound of the cacique; he hastened back, therefore, to Columbus with the intelligence.

An Indian interpreter, a native of the neighborhood, corroborated the report of Mendez. He informed the admiral that Quibian intended to come secretly in the dead of the night, with all his warriors, to set fire to the ships and houses, and massacre the Spaniards.

When the adelantado heard of this plot, he conceived a counterplot to defeat it, which he carried into effect with his usual promptness and resolution. Taking with him seventy-four men, well armed, among whom was Diego Mendez, and being accompanied by the Indian interpreter who had revealed the conspiracy, he set off in boats to the mouth of the Veragua, ascended it rapidly, and landed in the night at the village of the cacique, before the Indians could have notice of his approach. Lest Quibian should take the alarm and fly, he ascended to his house, accompanied only by Diego Mendez and four other men, ordering the rest to come on gradually and secretly, and at the discharge of an arquebuse to rush up and surround the house, and suffer no one to escape.

The cacique, hearing of his approach, came forth, and seating himself in the portal, desired him to advance singly. Don Bartholomew complied, ordering Diego Mendez and his four companions to remain at a little distance, but to rush to his aid at a concerted signal. He then advanced, addressed the cacique by means of the interpreter, inquired about his wound, and pretending to

examine it, took him by the arm. This was the signal, at which four of the Spaniards rushed forward, the fifth discharged the arquebuse. A violent struggle ensued between Don Bartholomew and the cacique, who were both men of great muscular force, but, with the assistance of Diego Mendez and his companions, Quibian was overpowered, and bound hand and foot. In the meantime the main body of the Spaniards surrounded the house, and captured the wives and children of the cacique, and several of his principal subjects. The prisoners were sent off to the ships, while the adelantado, with a part of his men, remained on shore to pursue the Indians who had escaped.

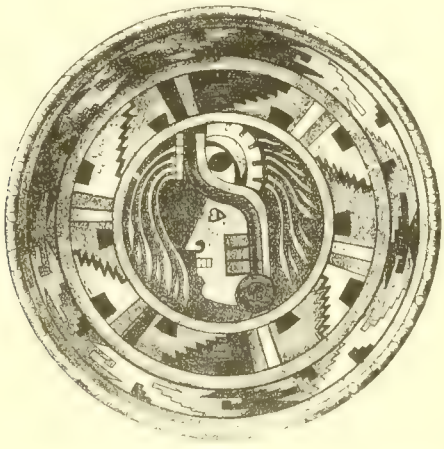


VIOLENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE CACIQUE QUIBIAN AND THE ADELANTADO.

The cacique was conveyed to the boats by Juan Sanchez, the principal pilot of the squadron, a powerful and spirited man. The adelantado charged him to be on his guard against any attempt at rescue or escape. The sturdy pilot replied, that if the cacique escaped from his clutches he would give them leave to pluck out his beard hair by hair. On arriving at the boat, he secured his prisoner by a strong cord to one of the benches. It was a dark night; as the boat proceeded down the river, the cacique complained piteously of the painfulness of his bonds, until the rough heart of the pilot was touched with compassion. He loosened the cord, therefore, by which Quibian was tied to the bench, keeping the end of it in his hand. The wily Indian now watched his opportunity, and plunged suddenly into the water with such violence that the pilot had to let go the cord, lest he should be drawn in after him. The darkness of the night, and the bustle which took place in prevent-

ing the escape of the other prisoners, rendered it impossible to pursue the cacique, or even to ascertain his fate. Juan Sanchez hastened to the ships with the residue of the captives, deeply mortified at being thus outwitted by a savage.

The adelantado remained all night on shore, but on the following morning, seeing the wild and rugged nature of the country, he gave up all further pursuit of the Indians, and returned to the ships with the spoils of the cacique's mansion, consisting of bracelets, anklets, and massive plates of gold, and two golden coronets. One-fifth of the booty was set apart for the crown, the residue was shared among those concerned in the enterprise, and one of the coronets was assigned to the adelantado as a trophy of his exploit.



BOTTOM OF AN ENAMELED CUP FOUND IN THE CEMETERY OF TENENEPANGO, MEXICO.
SIMILAR IN WORKMANSHIP TO POTTERY FOUND IN COSTA RICA.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

DISASTERS OF THE SETTLEMENT. (1503.)

SATISFIED that the vigorous measures of the adelantado had struck terror into the Indians, and crushed their hostile designs, Columbus took advantage of a swelling of the river, to pass the bar with three of his caravels, leaving the fourth for the use of the settlement. He then anchored within a league of the shore, until a favorable wind should spring up for Hispaniola.

The cacique Quibian had not perished in the river, as some had supposed. Plunging to the bottom, he swam for some distance below the surface, and then emerging, escaped to the shore. His home, however, was desolate, and to complete his despair, he saw the vessels standing out to sea, bearing away his wives and children captives. Furious for revenge, he gathered together a great number of his warriors, and assailed the settlement when the Spaniards were scattered and off their guard. The Indians launched their javelins through the roofs of the houses, which were of palm leaves, or hurled them in at the windows, or thrust them between the logs which composed the walls, and wounded several of the Spaniards. On the first alarm, the adelantado seized a sword, and sallied forth with seven or eight of his men;



THE ADELANTADO WOUNDED BY ONE OF QUIBIAN'S WARRIORS.

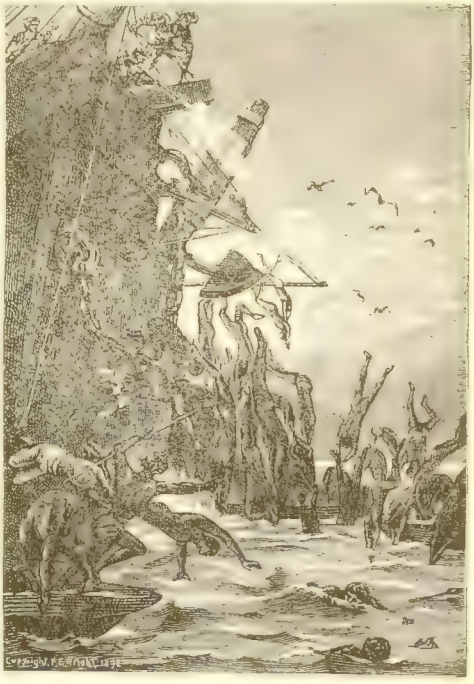
Diego Mendez brought several others to his assistance. They had a short skirmish; one Spaniard was killed, and eight wounded; the adelantado received a thrust in the breast with a javelin; but they succeeded in repulsing the Indians, with considerable loss, and driving them into the forest.

During the skirmish, a boat came on shore from the ships to procure wood and water. It was commanded by Diego Tristan, a captain of one of the caravels. When the Indians were put to flight, he proceeded up the river, in quest of fresh water, disregarding the warning counsels of those on shore.

The boat had ascended about a league above the village, to a part of the river overshadowed by lofty banks and spreading trees. Suddenly the forest resounded with yells and war-whoops, and the blasts of conchs. A shower of missiles was rained from the shores, and canoes darted out from creeks and coves, filled with warriors, brandishing their weapons. The Spaniards, losing all presence of mind, neglected to use their firearms, and only sought to shelter themselves with their bucklers. The captain, Diego Tristan, though covered with wounds, endeavored to animate his men, when a javelin pierced his right eye, and struck him dead. The canoes now closed upon the boat, and massacred the crew. One Spaniard alone escaped, who, having fallen overboard, dived to the bottom, swam under water, and escaped unperceived to shore, bearing tidings of the massacre to the settlement. The Spaniards were so alarmed at the intelligence, and at the thoughts of the dangers that were thickening around them, that, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the adelantado, they determined to embark in the caravel, and abandon the place altogether. On making the attempt, however, they found that, the torrents having subsided, the river was again shallow, and it was impossible for the caravel to pass over the bar. A high sea and boisterous surf also prevented their sending off a boat to the admiral, with intelligence of their danger. While thus cut off from all retreat or succor, horrors increased upon them. The mangled bodies of Diego Tristan and his men came floating down the stream, and drifted about the harbor, with flights of crows and other carrion birds feeding on them, and hovering, and screaming, and fighting about their prey.

In the mean time, the dismal sound of conchs and war drums was heard in every direction in the bosom of the surrounding for-

est, showing that the enemy was augmenting in number, and preparing for further hostilities. The adelantado, therefore, deemed it unsafe to remain in the village, which was adjacent to the woods. He chose an open place on the shore, where he caused a kind of bulwark to be made of the boat of the caravel, and of casks and sea chests. Two places were left open as embrasures, in which were mounted a couple of falconets, or small pieces of artillery. In this little fortress, the Spaniards shut themselves up, and kept the Indians at a distance by the terror of their firearms; but they were exhausted by watching and by incessant alarms, and looked forward with despondency to the time when their ammunition should be exhausted, or they should be driven forth by hunger to seek for food.



INDIAN PRISONERS MAKE A BREAK FOR LIBERTY, BY THROWING THEMSELVES HEADLONG INTO THE SEA FROM THE FORECASTLE OF THE CARAVEL.

While the Spaniards were exposed to such imminent peril on shore, great anxiety prevailed on board of the ships. Day after day elapsed without the return of Diego Tristan and his party, and it was feared that some disaster had befallen them. But one boat remained for the service of the ships, and they dared not risk it in the rough sea and heavy surf, to send it on shore for intelligence. A circumstance occurred to increase the anxiety of the crews. The Indian prisoners were confined in the forecastle of one of the caravels. In the night they suddenly burst open the hatch, several flung themselves into the sea, and swam to the shore; the rest were secured and forced back into the forecastle, but such was their unconquerable spirit and their despair, that they hanged or strangled themselves with ends of cords which lay about in their prison, and in the morning were all found dead.

The escape of some of the prisoners gave great uneasiness to the admiral, fearing they would stimulate their countrymen to some new act of vengeance. Still it was impossible to send a boat on shore. At length one Pedro Ledesma, a man of great strength and resolution, volunteered, if the boat would take him to the edge

of the surf, to plunge into the sea, swim to the shore, and bring off intelligence. He succeeded, and, on his return, informed the admiral of all the disasters of the settlement; the attack by the Indians, and the massacre of Diego Tristan and his boat's crew. He found the Spaniards in their forlorn fortress, in a complete state of insubordination. They were preparing canoes to take them to the ships, when the weather should moderate. They threatened that, if the admiral refused to take them on board, they would embark in the remaining caravel, as soon as it could be extricated from the river, and would abandon themselves to the mercy of the seas, rather than continue on that fatal coast.

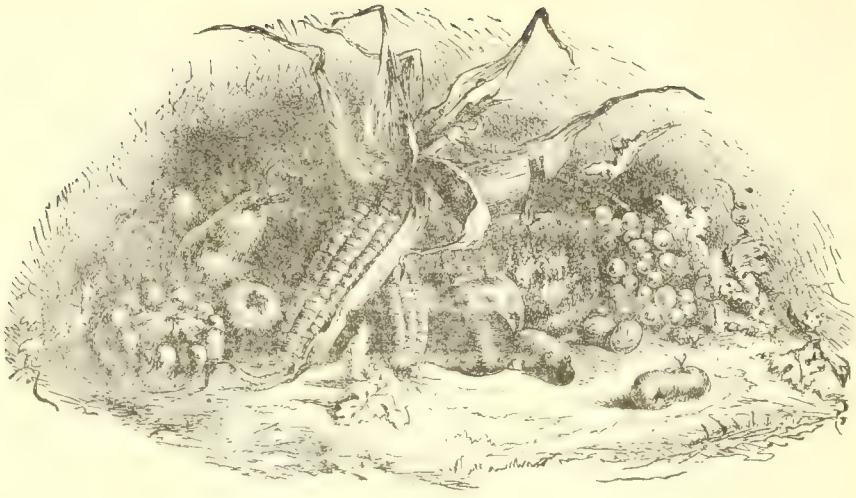
The admiral was deeply afflicted at this intelligence, but there appeared no alternative but to embark all the people, abandon the settlement for the present, and return at a future day, with a force competent to take secure possession of the country. The state of the weather rendered the execution even of this plan doubtful. The high wind and boisterous waves still prevented communication, and the situation of those at sea, in crazy and feebly manned ships, on a lee shore, was scarcely less perilous than that of their comrades on the land. Every hour increased the anxiety of the admiral. Days of constant perturbation, and nights of sleepless anguish, preyed upon a constitution broken by age and hardships. Amidst the acute maladies of the body, and the fever of the mind, he appears to have been visited by partial delirium. In a letter to the sovereigns, he gives an account of a kind of vision, which comforted him when full of despondency, and tossing upon a couch of pain. In the silence of the night, when, wearied and sighing, he had fallen into a slumber, he thought he heard a voice reproaching him with his want of confidence in God. "Oh fool, and slow to believe thy God!" exclaimed the voice; "what did he more for Moses or for his servant David? From the time that thou wert born he has ever taken care of thee. When he saw thee of a fitting age, he made thy name to resound marvellously throughout the world. The Indies, those rich parts of the earth, he gave thee for thine own, and empowered thee to dispose of them to others according to thy pleasure. He delivered thee the keys of the gates of the ocean sea, shut up by such mighty chains, and thou wert obeyed in many lands, and didst acquire honorable fame among Christians. * * * * Thou dost call despondingly for succor.

Answer! who has afflicted thee? God, or the world? The privileges and promises which God has made thee, he has never broken. He fulfills all that he promises, and with increase. Thy present troubles are the reward of the toils and perils thou hast endured in serving others." Amidst its reproaches the voice mingled promises of further protection, and assurances that his age should be no impediment to any great undertaking.

Such is the vision which Columbus circumstantially relates in a letter to the sovereigns. The words here spoken by a supposed voice, are truths which dwelt upon his mind and agitated his spirit in his waking hours; it is natural, therefore, that they should recur vividly in his feverish dreams. He had a solemn belief that he was a peculiar instrument in the hands of Providence, which, together with a deep tinge of superstition, common to the age, made him prone to mistake every striking dream for a revelation.

His error was probably confirmed by subsequent circumstances. Immediately after the supposed vision, and after nine days of boisterous weather, the wind subsided, the sea became calm, and the adelantado and his companions were happily rescued from their perilous situation, and embarked on board of the ships. Every thing of value was likewise brought on board, and nothing remained but the hull of the caravel, which could not be extricated from the river. Diego Mendez was extremely efficient in bringing off the people and the property; and, in reward of his zeal and services, the admiral gave him the command of the caravel, vacant by the death of the unfortunate Diego Tristan.





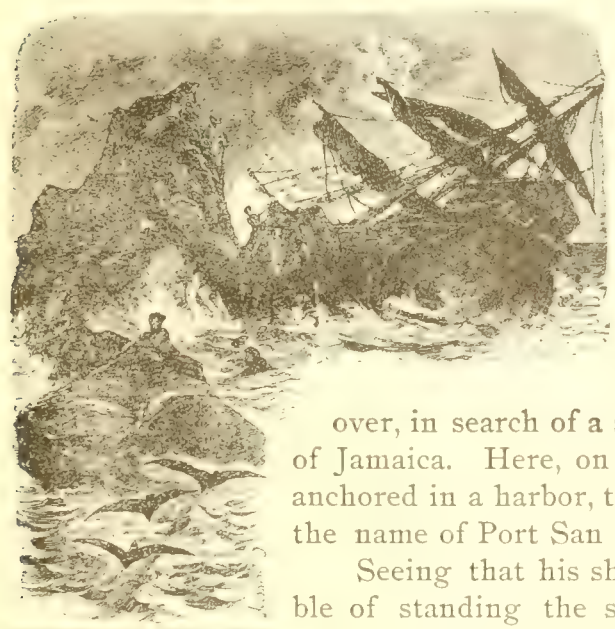
CHAPTER XL.

VOYAGE TO JAMAICA. TRANSACTIONS AT THAT ISLAND. (1503.)

TOWARDS the end of April, Columbus set sail from the disastrous coast of Veragua. The wretched condition of his ships, the enfeebled state of his crews, and the scarcity of provisions, determined him to make the best of his way for Hispaniola: but it was necessary, before standing across for that island, to gain a considerable distance to the east, to avoid being swept away far below their destined port by the currents. The pilots and mariners, who had not studied the navigation of these seas with an equally experienced and observant eye, fancied, when Columbus stood along the coast to the east, that he intended to proceed immediately to Spain, and murmured loudly at the madness of attempting so long a voyage, with ships destitute of stores and consumed by the worms. The admiral

did not impart his reasons, for he was disposed to make a mystery of his routes, seeing the number of private adventurers daily crowding into his track.

Continuing along the coast eastward, he was obliged to abandon one of the caravels in the harbor of Puerto Bello, being so pierced by the teredo that it was impossible to keep her afloat. He then proceeded about ten leagues beyond Point Blas, near to what is at present called the gulf of Darien, and which he supposed to be the province of Mangi, in the territories of the Grand Khan. Here he bade farewell to the main land, and stood northward on the first of May, in quest of Hispaniola. Notwithstanding all his precautions, however, he was carried so far west by the currents, as to arrive, on the 30th of May, among the cluster of islands called the Queen's Gardens, on the south side of Cuba. During this time, his crews had suffered excessively from hunger and fatigue. They were crowded into two caravels, little better than mere wrecks, and which were scarcely kept afloat by incessant labor at the pump. They were enfeebled by scanty diet, and dejected by a variety of hardships. A violent storm, on the coast of Cuba, drove the vessels upon each other, and shattered them to such a degree, that the admiral, after struggling as far as Cape Cruz, gave up all further attempt to navigate them to Hispaniola, and stood over, in search of a secure port, on the island of Jamaica. Here, on the 24th of June, they anchored in a harbor, to which the admiral gave the name of Port San Gloria.



COLUMBUS RUNS THE CARAVELS AGROUND ON THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA

Seeing that his ships were no longer capable of standing the sea, and were in danger of foundering even in port, Columbus ran them aground, within bowshot of the shore, where they were fastened together side by side. They soon filled with water. Thatched cabins were then erected at the prow and

stern to shelter the crews, and the wreck was placed in the best possible state of defense. Thus castled in the sea, Columbus trusted to be able to repel any sudden attack of the natives, and at the same time to keep his men under proper restraint. No one was permitted to go on shore without especial license, and the utmost precaution was taken to prevent any offence being given to the Indians, who soon swarmed to the harbor with provisions, as any exasperation of them might be fatal to the Spaniards in their present forlorn situation. Two persons were appointed to superintend all bargains, and the provisions thus obtained were divided every evening among the people. As the immediate neighborhood, however, might soon be exhausted, the zealous and intrepid Diego Mendez made a tour in the interior, accompanied by three men, and made arrangements for the caciques at a distance to furnish daily supplies at the harbor, in exchange for European trinkets. He returned in triumph, in a canoe which he had purchased from the Indians, and which he had freighted with provisions, and through his able arrangement the Spaniards were regularly supplied.



INDIANS BRINGING PROVISIONS FOR BARTER TO THE SHIPWRECKED CREW OF COLUMBUS

The immediate wants of his people being thus provided for, Columbus revolved in his anxious mind the means of getting from this island. His ships were beyond the possibility of repair, and there was no hope of a chance sail arriving to his relief, on the shores of a savage island, in an unfrequented sea. At length, a mode of relief occurred to him, through the means of this same Diego Mendez whose courage and loyalty he had so often proved. He took him aside to sound him on the subject, and Mendez himself has written an account of this interesting conversation, which is full of character.

"Diego Mendez, my son," said the venerable admiral, "of all

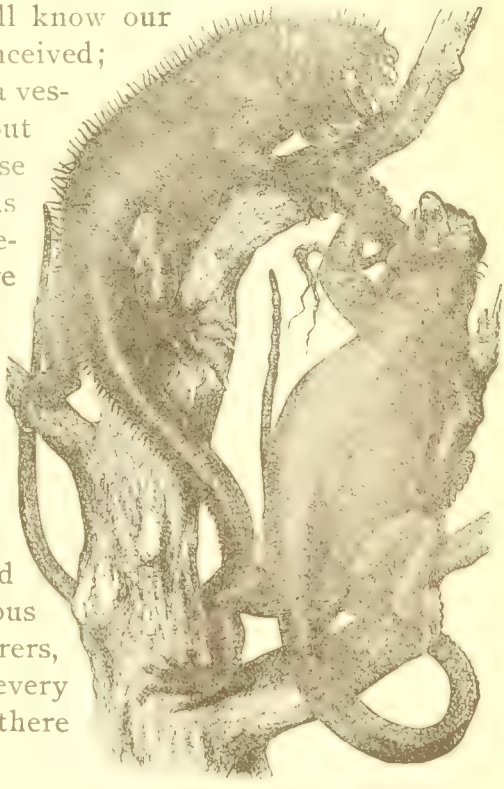
those who are here, you and I alone know the great peril in which we are placed. We are few in number, and these savage Indians are many, and of fickle and irritable natures. On the least provocation, they may throw firebrands from the shore, and consume us in our straw-thatched cabins. The arrangement which you have made for provisions, and which at present they fulfill so cheerfully, they may capriciously break to-morrow, and may refuse to bring us any thing; nor have we the means of compelling them. I have thought of a remedy, if it meets your views. In this canoe which you have purchased, some one may pass over to Hispaniola, and procure a ship, by which we shall all be delivered from this great peril. Tell me your opinion on the matter."



DIEGO MENDEZ OFFERS THE NATIVES TO PROCURE FOR THEM SUPPLIES OF PROVISIONS FROM HISPANIOLA.

"Señor," replied Diego Mendez, "I well know our danger to be far greater than is easily conceived; but as to passing to Hispaniola in so small a vessel as a canoe, I hold it not merely difficult, but impossible, since it is necessary to traverse a gulf of forty leagues, and between islands where the sea is impetuous and seldom in repose. I know not who there is would venture upon so extreme a peril."

Columbus made no reply; but from his looks, and the nature of his silence, Mendez plainly perceived himself to be the person whom the admiral had in view. Resuming, therefore, the conversation, "Señor," said he, "I have many times put my life in peril to save you and my comrades, and God has hitherto preserved me in a miraculous manner. There are, nevertheless, murmurers, who say that your Excellency intrusts to me every affair wherein honor is to be gained, while there

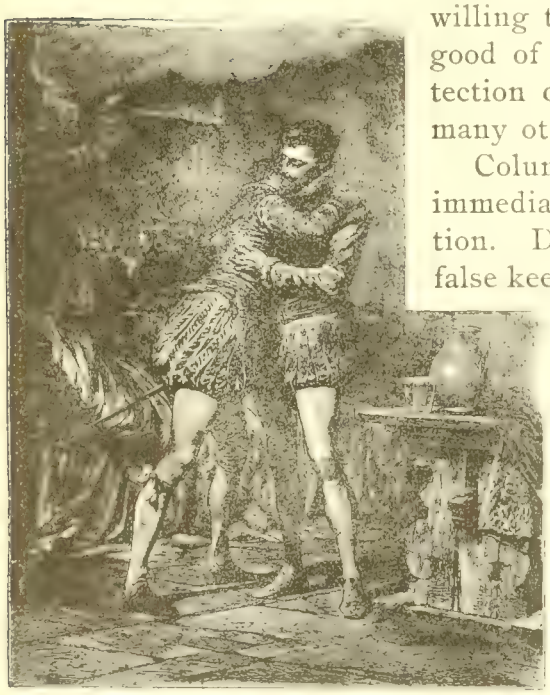


IGUANA, A SPECIES OF LIZARD HIGHLY PRIZED BY THE NATIVES OF THE ANTILLES AS AN ARTICLE OF FOOD.

are others in company who would execute them as well as I. I beg, therefore, that you would assemble the people, and propose this enterprise, to see if any one will undertake it, which I doubt. If all decline, I will then come forward and risk my life in your service, as I have many times done already."

The admiral willingly humored the wishes of the worthy Mendez; for never was simple vanity accompanied by more generous and devoted zeal.

On the following morning the crew was accordingly assembled, and the proposition made. Every one drew back, pronouncing it the height of rashness. Upon this Diego Mendez stepped forward. "Señor," said he, "I have but one life to lose, yet I am willing to venture it for your service, and for the good of all here present; and I trust in the protection of God, which I have experienced on so many other occasions."



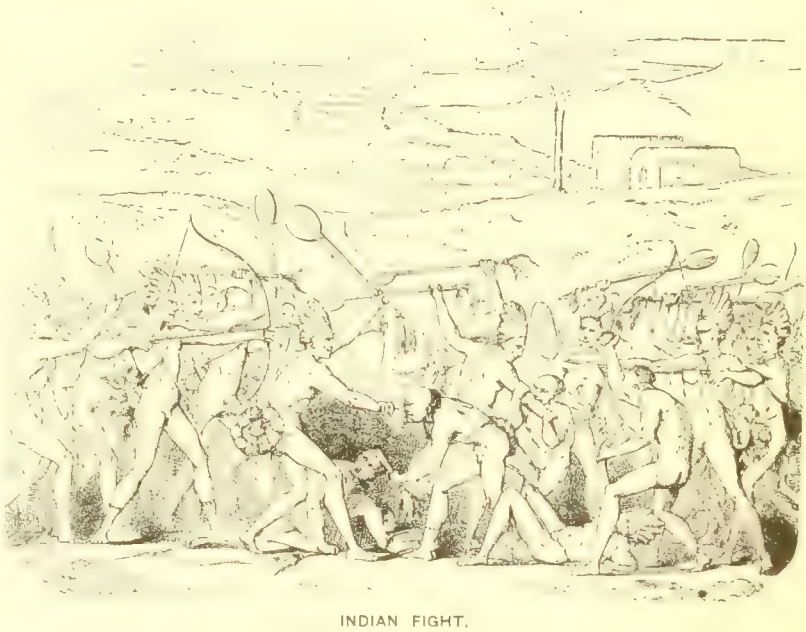
COLUMBUS THANKS HIS NOBLE AND ZEALOUS FOLLOWER, DIEGO MENDEZ, FOR HIS DEVOTION TO HIS CAUSE

Columbus embraced this zealous follower, who immediately set about preparing for the expedition. Drawing his canoe on shore, he put on a false keel and nailed weatherboards along the bow and stern, to prevent the sea from breaking over it. He then payed it with a coat of tar, furnished it with a mast and sail, and put in provisions for himself, a Spanish comrade, and six Indians.

In the mean while Columbus wrote a letter to Ovando, governor of Hispaniola, begging that a ship might immediately be sent to bring him and his men to Hispaniola; and he wrote another to the sovereigns, entreating for a ship to convey them from Hispaniola to Spain. In this letter he gave a comprehensive account of this voyage, and expressed his opinion that Veragua was the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients. He supposed himself to have reached the confines of the dominions of the Grand Khan, and offered, if he lived to return to Spain, to conduct a mission thither to instruct that potentate in the Christian faith. What an instance of soaring enthusiasm and irrepressible enterprise is here exhibited. At the

time he was indulging these visions, and proposing new and romantic enterprises, he was broken down by age and infirmities, racked by pain, confined to his bed, and shut up in a wreck on the coast of a remote and savage island.

The despatches being ready, Diego Mendez embarked with his Spanish comrade and his six Indians, and coasted the island eastward. Their voyage was toilsome and perilous. When arrived at the end of the island they were suddenly surrounded and taken prisoners by the Indians, who carried them three leagues into the interior, where they determined to kill them. A dispute arising about the division of the spoils, they soon became embroiled in a general fight; while thus engaged, Diego Mendez escaped, regained his canoe, and made his way back to the harbor in it, alone, after fifteen days' absence. Nothing daunted by the perils and hardships he had undergone, he offered to depart immediately, on a second attempt, provided he could be escorted to the end of the island by an armed force. His offer was accepted, and Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese, who had commanded one of the caravels, and was strongly attached to the admiral, was associated with him in this second expedition. Each had a canoe, with six Spaniards and ten Indians under his command. On reaching Hispaniola, Fiesco was to return immediately to Jamaica, to bring tidings to the admiral of the safe arrival of his messenger; while Diego Mendez was to proceed to San Domingo, and, after purchasing and despatching a ship, was to depart for Spain with the letter to the sovereigns.



INDIAN FIGHT.

REPRODUCED FROM AN ENGRAVING BY JEAN DE LEVI.

All arrangements being made, the Indians placed in the canoes

a supply of cassava bread, and each his calabash of water. The Spaniards, beside their provisions, had each his sword and target. The adelantado, with an armed band, kept pace with them along the coast, until they reached the end of the island, where, waiting for three days until the weather was perfectly serene, they launched forth on the broad bosom of the sea. The adelantado remained watching them, until they became mere specks on the ocean, and the evening hid them from his view, and then returned to the harbor.



MONUMENT OF COLUMBUS AT BARCELONA.

CHAPTER XLI.

MUTINY OF PORRAS. ECLIPSE OF THE MOON. STRATAGEM OF COLUMBUS TO PROCURE SUPPLIES FROM THE INDIANS. 1503

MONTHS elapsed, and nothing was heard of Mendez and Fiesco. The Spaniards, enfeebled by past sufferings, crowded in close quarters, in a moist and sultry climate, and reduced to a vegetable diet, to which they were unaccustomed, became extremely sickly, and their maladies were heightened by anxiety and suspense. Day after day, and week after week, they kept a wistful look-out upon the sea for the expected return of Fiesco, flattering themselves that every Indian canoe, gliding at a distance, might be the harbinger of deliverance. It was all in vain; and at length they began to fear that their messengers had perished. Some gradually sank into despondency; others became peevish and impatient, and, in their unreasonable heat, railed at their venerable and infirm commander as the cause of all their misfortunes.

Among the officers of Columbus were two brothers, Francisco and Diego Porras, relations of the royal treasurer Morales. To gratify the latter, the admiral had appointed one of them captain of a caravel, and the other notary and accountant-general of the expedition. They were vain and insolent men, and, like many others whom Columbus had benefited, requited his kindness with the blackest ingratitude. Mingling with the people, they assured them that Columbus had no intention of returning to Spain, having in reality been banished thence by the sovereigns. Hispaniola, they said, was equally closed against him, and it was his

design to remain in Jamaica, until his friends could make interest at court to procure his recall. As to Mendez and Fiesco, they had been sent to Spain by Columbus on his own private concerns; if this were not the case, why did not the promised ship arrive? or why did not Fiesco return? Or, if the canoes had really been sent for succor, the long time that had elapsed, without tidings, gave reason to believe that they had perished by the way. In such case, their only alternative would be to take Indian canoes, and endeavor to reach Hispaniola: but there was no hope of persuading the admiral to do this; he was too old, and too infirm, to undertake such a voyage.

By these insidious suggestions, they gradually prepared the people for revolt, assuring them of the protection of their own relatives in Spain, and of the countenance of Ovando and Fonseca, if not of the favor of the sovereigns themselves, who had shown their ill-will towards Columbus by stripping him of part of his dignities and privileges.

On the 2d of January, 1504, the mutiny broke out. Francisco Porras suddenly entered the cabin where Columbus was confined to his bed by the gout, reproached him vehemently for keeping them in that desolate place to perish, and accused him of having no intention to return to Spain. The admiral raised himself in bed, and, maintaining his calmness, endeavored to reason with the traitor; but Porras was deaf to all argument. "Embark immediately, or remain, in God's name!" cried he, with a voice that resounded all over the wreck. "For my part, I am for Castile! those who choose, may follow me!"

This was the signal. "For Castile! for Castile!" was heard on every side. The mutineers sprang upon the most conspicuous parts of the vessel, brandishing their weapons, and, amidst the uproar, the voices of some desperadoes were heard menacing the life of the admiral.

Columbus, ill and infirm as he was, leaped out of bed, and tottered forth to pacify the mutineers, but was forced back into his cabin by some of his faithful adherents. The adelantado sallied forth, sword in hand, and planted himself in a situation to take the whole brunt of the assault. It was with the greatest difficulty that several of the loyal part of the crew could restrain his fury, and prevail upon him to relinquish his weapon, and retire to the cabin of his brother.

The mutineers, being entirely unopposed, took ten canoes, which the admiral had purchased from the Indians; others, who had not been concerned in the mutiny, joined them, through fear of remaining behind, when so reduced in number; in this way, forty-eight abandoned the admiral. Many of the sick crawled forth from their cabins, and beheld their departure with tears and lamentations, and would gladly have accompanied them, had their strength permitted.



THE ADELANTADO, SWORD IN HAND, BRAVES THE FURY OF THE MUTINEERS. (SEE PAGE 252.)

Porras coasted with his squadron of canoes to the east-ward, landing occasionally and robbing the natives, pretending to act under the authority of Columbus, that he might draw on him their hostility. Arrived at the east end of the island, he procured several Indians to manage the canoes, and then set out on his voyage across the gulf. The Spaniards had scarcely proceeded four leagues, when the wind came ahead, with a swell of the sea that threatened to overwhelm the deeply laden canoes. They immediately turned for land, and, in their alarm, threw overboard the greater part of their effects. The danger still continuing, they drew their swords, and compelled most of the Indians to leap into the sea. The latter were skillful swimmers, but the distance to land was too great for their strength; if, however, they at any time took hold of the canoes to rest themselves and recover breath, the

Spaniards, fearful of their overturning the slight barks, would stab them, or cut off their hands. Some were thus slain by the sword, others sunk exhausted beneath the waves; eighteen perished miserably; and none survived but a few who had been retained to manage the canoes.

Having reached the shore in safety, Porras and his men waited until the weather became favorable, and then made another effort to cross to Hispaniola, but with no better success. They then abandoned the attempt in despair, and returned westward, towards the harbor, roving from village to village, living upon the provisions of the Indians, which they took by force if not readily given, and conducting themselves in the most licentious manner. If the natives remonstrated, they told them to seek redress at the hands of the admiral, whom, at the same time, they represented as the implacable foe of the Indian race, and bent upon gaining a tyrannical sway over their island.

In the mean time, Columbus, when abandoned by the mutineers, and left in the wreck with a mere handful of sick and desponding men, exerted himself to the utmost to restore this remnant to an efficient state of health and spirits. He ordered that the small stock of biscuit which remained, and the most nourishing articles of the provisions furnished by the Indians, should be appropriated to the invalids: he visited them individually, cheered them with hopes of speedy deliverance, and promised that on his return to Spain he would intercede with the sovereigns, that their loyalty might be munificently rewarded. In this way, by kind and careful treatment, and encouraging words, he succeeded in restoring them from a state of sickness and despondency, and rendering them once more fit for service.

Scarcely, however, had the little garrison of the wreck recovered from the shock of the mutiny, when it was menaced by a new and appalling evil. The scanty number of the Spaniards prevented them from foraging abroad for provisions, and rendered them dependent on the voluntary supplies of the natives. The latter began to grow negligent. The European trinkets, once so inestimable in their eyes, had sunk in value by becoming common, and were now almost treated with indifference. The arrangements made by Diego Mendez were irregularly attended to, and at length entirely disregarded. Many of the caciques had been incensed by the conduct

of Porras and his followers, which they supposed justified by the admiral; others had been secretly instigated by the rebels to withhold provisions, in hopes of starving Columbus and his people, or of driving them from the island.

The horrors of famine began to threaten the terrified crew, when a fortunate idea presented itself to Columbus. From his knowledge of astronomy, he ascertained that within three days there would be a total eclipse of the moon, in the early part of the night. He summoned, therefore, the principal caciques to a grand conference, appointing for it the day of the eclipse. When all were assembled, he told them by his interpreter, that he and his followers were worshippers of a Deity, who lived in the skies, and held them under his protection; that this great Deity was incensed against the Indians, who had refused or neglected to furnish his faithful worshippers with provisions, and intended to chastise them with famine and pestilence. Lest they should disbelieve this warning, a signal would be given that very night in the heavens. They would behold the moon change its color, and gradually lose its light; a token of the fearful punishment which awaited them.



COLUMBUS AND THE ECLIPSE.

Many of the Indians were alarmed at the solemnity of this prediction, others treated it with derision; all, however, awaited with solicitude the coming of the night. When they beheld a black shadow stealing over the moon, and a mysterious gloom gradually covering the whole face of nature, they were seized with the utmost consternation. Hurrying with provisions to the ships, and throwing themselves at the feet of Columbus, they implored him to intercede with his God to withhold the threatened calamities, assuring him that thenceforth they would bring him whatever he required. Columbus retired to his cabin, under pretense of communing with the Deity, the forests and shores all the while resounding with the howlings of the savages. He returned shortly, and informed the natives that the Deity had deigned to pardon them, on condition of their fulfilling their promises, in sign of which he would withdraw the darkness from the moon. When the Indians saw that planet restored presently to its brightness, and rolling in all its beauty through the firmament, they overwhelmed the admiral with thanks for his intercession. They now regarded him with awe and reverence, as one enjoying the peculiar favor and confidence of the Deity, since he knew upon earth what was passing in the heavens. They hastened to propitiate him with gifts; supplies again arrived daily at the harbor, and from that time forward there was no want of provisions.

CHAPTER XLII.

ARRIVAL OF DIEGO DE ESCOBAR AT THE HARBOR. BATTLE WITH THE REBELS. (1504.)

EIGHT months had now elapsed, since the departure of Mendez and Fiesco, yet no tidings had been received of their fate. The hopes of the most sanguine were nearly extinct, and many, considering themselves abandoned and forgotten by the world, grew wild and desperate in their plans. Another conspiracy, similar to that of Porras, was on the point of breaking out, when one evening, towards dusk, a sail was seen standing towards the harbor. It was a small caravel, which kept out at sea, and sent its boat on shore. In this came Diego de Escobar, one of the late confederates of Roldan, who had been condemned to death under the administration of Columbus, and pardoned by his successor, Bobadilla. There was bad omen in such a messenger.

Escobar was the bearer of a mere letter of compliment and condolence from Ovando, accompanied by a barrel of wine and a side of bacon. The governor expressed great concern at his misfortunes and regret at not having in port a vessel of sufficient size to bring off himself and people, but promised to send one as soon as possible. Escobar drew off with the boat, and kept at a distance from the wreck, awaiting any letters the admiral might have to send in reply, and holding no conversation with any of the Spaniards. Columbus hastened to write to Ovando, depicting the horrors of his situation, and urging the promised relief. As soon as Escobar received this letter, he returned on board of his caravel,

which made all sail, and disappeared in the gathering gloom of the night.

The mysterious conduct of Escobar caused great wonder and consternation among the people. Columbus sought to dispel their uneasiness, assuring them that vessels would soon arrive to take them away. In confidence of this, he said, he had declined to depart with Escobar, because his vessel was too small to take the whole, and had despatched him in such haste, that no time might be lost in sending the requisite ships. These assurances, and the certainty that their situation was known in San Domingo, cheered the hearts of the people, and put an end to the conspiracy.

Columbus, however, was secretly indignant at the conduct of Ovando, believing that he had purposely delayed sending relief, in the hopes that he would perish on the island, being apprehensive that, should he return in safety, he would be reinstated in the government of Hispaniolia. He considered Escobar merely as a spy, sent by the governor to ascertain whether he and his crew were yet in existence. Still he endeavored to turn the event to some advantage with the rebels. He sent two of his people to inform them of the promise of Ovando to send ships for his relief, and he offered them a free pardon, and a passage to Hispaniola, on condition of their immediate return to obedience.

On the approach of the ambassadors, Porras came forth to meet them, accompanied solely by a few of the ringleaders of his party, and prevented their holding any communication with the mass of his people. In reply to the generous offer of the admiral, they refused to return to the wreck, but agreed to conduct themselves peaceably and amicably, on receiving a solemn promise that, should two vessels arrive, they should have one to depart in; should but one arrive, the half of it should be granted to them; and that, in the mean time, the admiral should share with them the sea stores and articles of Indian traffic which remained in his possession. When it was observed that these demands were extravagant and inadmissible, they replied, that if they were not peaceably conceded, they would take them by force; and with this menace they dismissed the ambassadors.

The conference was not conducted so privately but that the rest of the rebels learnt the whole purport of the mission. Porras seeing them moved by the offer of pardon and deliverance, resorted

to the most desperate falsehoods to delude them. He told them that these offers of the admiral were all deceitful, and that he only sought to get them into his power, that he might wreak on them his vengeance. As to the pretended caravel which had visited the harbor, he assured them that it was a mere phantasm, conjured up by the admiral, who was deeply versed in magic. In proof of this, he adverted to its arriving in the dusk of the evening, its holding communication with no one but the admiral, and its sudden disappearance in the night. Had it been a real caravel, the crew would have sought to converse with their countrymen; the admiral, his son, and brother, would have eagerly embarked on board; at any rate, it would have remained a little while in port, and not have vanished so suddenly and mysteriously.



PORRAS LEADING THE REBELS TOWARDS THE HARBOR.

By these and similar delusions Porras succeeded in working upon the feelings and credulity of his followers; and persuaded them that, if they persisted in their rebellion, they would ultimately triumph, and perhaps send home the admiral in irons, as had once before been done from Hispaniola. To involve them beyond hope of pardon, he marched them one day towards the harbor, with an intention of seizing upon the stores remaining in the wreck, and getting the admiral in his power.

Columbus heard of their approach but being confined by his infirmities, sent Don Bartholomew to reason with them and endeavor to win them to obedience. The adelantado, who was generally a man rather of deeds than words, took with him fifty men well armed. Arriving near the rebels, he sent messengers to treat with them; but Porras forbade them to approach. The latter cheered his followers by pointing, with derision, to the pale countenances of their opponents, who were emaciated by recent sickness and long confinement in the wreck; whereas his men, for the most part, were hardy sailors, rendered robust by living in the open air. He assured them that the followers of the adelantado were mere household men,* fair-weather troops, who could never

* Men unfit to work outside.

stand before them. He did not reflect that with such men, pride and spirit often more than supply the place of bodily force, and that his adversaries had the incalculable advantage of justice and law upon their side.

Deluded by his words into a transient glow of courage, the rebels did not wait to be attacked, but rushed with shouts upon the enemy. Six of them had made a league to assault the adelantado, but were so well received that he laid several of them dead at his feet, among whom was Juan Sanchez, the same powerful mariner who had carried off the cacique Quibian. In the midst of the affray the adelantado was assailed by Francisco de Porras, who, with a blow of his sword, cleft his buckler, and wounded the hand which grasped it. The sword remained wedged in the shield, and before it could be withdrawn, the adelantado closed upon Porras, grappled him, and, being assisted by others, succeeded in taking him prisoner.

The rebels, seeing their leader a captive, fled in confusion, but were not pursued, through fear of an attack from the Indians, who had remained drawn up in battle array, gazing with astonishment at this fight between white men, but without offering to aid either party. The adelantado returned in triumph to the wreck, with Porras and several other prisoners. Only two of his own men had been wounded, one of whom died. On the following day, the rebels sent a letter to the admiral, signed with all their names, confessing their misdeeds, imploring pardon, and making a solemn oath of obedience; imprecating the most awful curses on their heads should they break it. The admiral saw, by the abject nature of the letter, how completely the spirit of these misguided men was broken; with his wonted magnanimity he pardoned their offenses, merely retaining their ringleader, Francisco Porras, a prisoner, to be tried in Spain for his misdeeds.



CHAPTER XLIII.

VOYAGE OF DIEGO MENDEZ TO HISPANIOLA. DELIVERANCE OF COLUMBUS FROM THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA. (1504.)

IT is proper here to give some account of the mission of Diego Mendez and Bartholomew Fiesco. When they had taken leave of the adelantado at the east end of the island of Jamaica, they continued all day in a direct course; there was no wind, the sky was without a cloud, and the sea like a mirror reflected the burning rays of the sun. The Indians who paddled the canoes would often leap into the water, to cool their glowing bodies, and refresh themselves from their toil. At the going down of the sun they lost sight of land. During the night the Indians took turns, one half to row while the others slept. The Spaniards, in like manner, divided their forces; while some took repose, the others sat with their weapons in their hands, ready to defend themselves in case of any perfidy on the part of their savage companions.

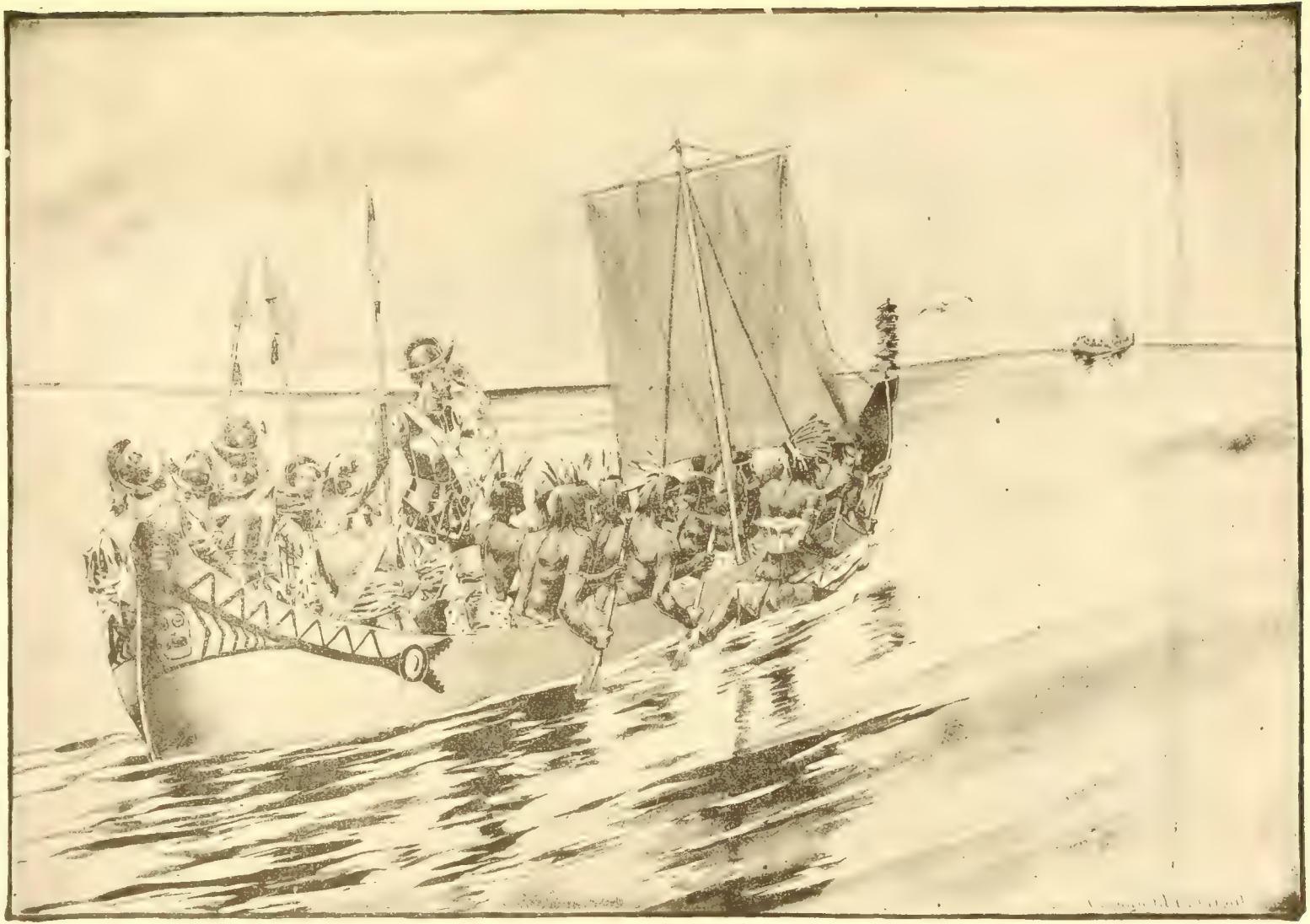
Watching and toiling in this way through the night, they were excessively fatigued on the following day; and, to add to their distress, they began to experience the torments of thirst, for the Indians, parched with heat, had already drained the contents of their calabashes. In proportion as the sun rose, their misery increased, and was irritated by the prospect around them—nothing but water,

while they were perishing with thirst. About mid-day, when their strength was failing them, the commanders produced two small kegs of water, which they had probably reserved in secret for such an extremity. Administering a cooling mouthful occasionally, they enabled the Indians to resume their toils. They held out the hopes of soon arriving at a small island, called Navasa, which lay directly in their way, about eight leagues distant from Hispaniola. Here they would find water to assuage their thirst, and would be able to take repose.

The night closed upon them without any sight of the island; they feared that they had deviated from their course; if so, they should miss the island entirely, and perish with thirst before they could reach Hispaniola. One of the Indians died of the accumulated sufferings of labor, heat, and raging thirst; others lay panting and gasping at the bottom of the canoes. Their companions were scarcely able to continue their toils. Sometimes they endeavored to cool their parched palates by taking sea water in their mouths, but its briny bitterness only increased their thirst. One after another gave up, and it seemed impossible that they should live to reach Hispaniola.

The commanders, by admirable management, had hitherto kept up this weary struggle with suffering and despair; but they too began to despond. Diego Mendez sat watching the horizon, which was gradually lighting up with those faint rays which precede the rising of the moon. As that planet arose, he perceived it to emerge from behind a dark mass elevated above the level of the ocean. It proved to be the island of Navasa, but so low, and small, and distant, that, had it not been thus revealed by the rising moon, he would never have discovered it. He immediately gave the animating cry of "land." His almost expiring companions were roused to new life, and exerted themselves with feverish impatience. By the dawn of day they sprang on shore, and returned thanks to God for their deliverance. The island was a mere barren mass of rocks, but they found abundance of rain-water in hollow places. The Spaniards exercised some degree of caution in their draughts; but the poor Indians, whose toils had increased the fever of their thirst, gave way to a kind of frantic indulgence, of which several died upon the spot, and others fell dangerously ill.

After reposing all day on the island, where they made a grate-



DIEGO MENDEZ BRAVES THE TERRORS OF THE OPEN OCEAN IN AN INDIAN CANOE,
TO BRING SUCCOR TO THE SHIPWRECKED COLUMBUS.
DRAWING BY F. H. LUNGREN.

ful repast upon shell-fish gathered along the shore, but they set off in the evening for Hispaniola, the mountains of which were distinctly visible, and arrived at Cape Tiburon on the following day, the fourth since their departure from Jamaica. Fiesco would now have returned to give the admiral assurance of the safe arrival of his messenger, but both Spaniards and Indians refused to encounter the perils of another voyage in the canoes.

Parting with his companions, Diego Mendez took six Indians of the island, and set off for San Domingo. After proceeding for eighty leagues against the currents, he was informed that the governor had departed for Xaragua, fifty leagues distant. Still undaunted by fatigues and difficulties, he abandoned the canoe, and proceeded alone, on foot, through forests and over mountains, until he arrived at Xaragua, achieving one of the most perilous expeditions ever undertaken by a devoted follower for the safety of his commander.

He found Ovando completely engrossed by wars with the natives. The governor expressed great concern at the unfortunate situation of Columbus, and promised to send him immediate relief; but Mendez remained for seven months at Xaragua, vainly urging for that relief, or for permission to go to San Domingo in quest of it. The constant excuse of Ovando was, that there were not ships of sufficient burden in the island to bring off Columbus and his men. At length, by daily importunity, Mendez obtained permission to go to San Domingo, and await the arrival of certain ships which were expected. He immediately set out on foot; the distance was seventy leagues, and part of his toilsome journey lay through forests and mountains, infested by hostile and exasperated Indians. Immediately after his departure, Ovando despatched from Xaragua the pardoned rebel, Escobar, on that reconnoitering visit, which caused so much wonder and suspicion among the companions of Columbus.

If the governor had really entertained hopes that, during the delay of relief, Columbus might perish in the island, the report brought back by Escobar must have completely disappointed him. No time was now to be lost, if he wished to claim any merit in his deliverance, or to avoid the



DIEGO MENDEZ IMPORTUNES OVANDO TO SEND SUCCOR TO THE SHIPWRECKED COLUMBUS.

disgrace of having totally neglected him. His long delay had already roused the public indignation, insomuch that animadversions had been made upon his conduct even in the pulpits. Diego Mendez, also, had hired and victualled a vessel at the expense of Columbus, and was on the point of despatching it. The governor, therefore, exerted himself, at the eleventh hour, and fitted out a caravel, which he put under the command of Diego de Salcedo, the agent employed by Columbus to collect his rents in San Domingo. It was these two vessels which arrived at Jamaica shortly after the battle with Porras, and brought relief to the admiral and his faithful adherents, after a long year of dismal confinement to the wreck.*

On the 28th of June, all the Spaniards embarked, friend and foe, on board of the vessels, and made sail joyfully for San Domingo; but, from adverse winds and currents, they did not arrive there until the 13th of August. Whatever lurking enmity there might be to Columbus in the place, it was overpowered by popular sympathy for his late disasters. Whatever had been denied to his merits was granted to his misfortunes; and even the envious, appeased by his present reverses, seemed to forgive him for having once been so triumphant.

The governor and the principal inhabitants came forth to meet him, and received him with signal distinction. He was lodged in the house of Ovando, who treated him with the utmost courtesy and attention; but there were too deep causes of jealousy and distrust between them, for their intercourse to be cordial. Their powers, too, were so defined in their several patents, as to clash with

* Some brief notice of the further fortunes of Diego Mendez may be interesting to the reader.

When King Ferdinand heard of his faithful services, he bestowed rewards upon him, and permitted him to bear a canoe in his coat of arms, as a memento of his hardy enterprise. He continued devotedly attached to the admiral, serving him zealously after his return to Spain, and during his last illness. Columbus retained a grateful and affectionate sense of his fidelity. On his death-bed, he promised Mendez that he should be appointed principal alguazil of the island of Hispaniola. The promise, however, was not performed by the heirs of Columbus. Mendez was afterwards engaged in various voyages of discovery, met with many vicissitudes and died poor. In his last will, he requested that his armorial bearing of an Indian canoe should be engraved on his tombstone, and under it the following words: "Here lies the honorable Cavalier, Diego Mendez; who served greatly the royal crown of Spain, in the conquest of the Indies, with Admiral Christopher Columbus, of glorious memory, who made the discovery; and afterwards by himself, in ships at his own cost. Bestow, in charity, a Paternoster and an Ave Maria."

each other, and to cause questions of jurisdiction. Ovando assumed a right to take cognizance of all transactions at Jamaica, as happening within the limits of his government. He set at liberty the traitor Porras, and talked of punishing the followers of Columbus for the deaths of the mutineers whom they had slain in battle. Columbus, on the other hand, asserted the absolute jurisdiction given him by the sovereigns, in his letter of instructions, over all persons who had sailed in his expedition, from the time of their departure from Spain until their return. The governor heard him with great courtesy and a smiling countenance, but observed, that the letter gave him no authority within the bounds of his government. He relinquished the idea, however, of trying the faithful adherents of Columbus, and sent Porras to Spain, to be examined by the board which had charge of the affairs of the Indies.



INDIANS MAKING BIRCH BARK CANOES.

CHAPTER XLIV.

AFFAIRS AT HISPANIOLA, DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF OVANDO. RETURN OF COLUMBUS TO SPAIN. (1504.)

THE sojourn of Columbus at San Domingo was but little calculated to yield him satisfaction. He was grieved at the desolation of the island, through the oppressive treatment of the natives, and the horrible massacres which had taken place under the administration of Ovando; and here let us turn for a moment from pursuing the story of the admiral, to notice some of the principal occurrences which had taken place in Hispaniola during his absence.

A great crowd of adventurers, of various ranks, had thronged the fleet of Ovando, all confidently expecting to make sudden fortunes. They had scarcely landed when they all hurried off to the mines, which were about eight leagues distant. The road swarmed like an ant-hill. Every one had his knapsack of biscuit and flour, and his mining implements on his shoulder. Those hidalgos, or gentlemen, who had no servants to carry their burdens, were fain to bear them on their own backs, and lucky was he who had a horse for the expedition, for he would be able to bring back the greater load of treasure. They all set off in high spirits, eager who should first reach the golden land; thinking they had but to arrive at the mines, and gather gold, as easily and readily as fruit from the trees. When they arrived, however, they found, to their dismay, that it required experience to discover the veins of ore; that the whole process of mining was exceedingly slow and toilsome, and its results precarious.

They digged eagerly for a time, but found no ore; growing hungry, they threw by their implements, sat down to eat, and then returned to work. It was all in vain. "Their labor," says Las Casas, "gave them a keen appetite and quick digestion, but no gold." They soon exhausted their provisions and their patience, and returned murmuring along the road they had lately trod so exultingly. They arrived at San Domingo half famished, downcast, and despairing. Such is too often the case of those who ignorantly engage in mining; which, of all objects of speculation, is the most brilliant, promising, and fallacious. Poverty soon fell upon these misguided men. Some wasted away and died broken-hearted; others were hurried off by raging fevers; so that there soon perished upwards of a thousand men.

Ovando was reputed a man of great prudence and sagacity, and he certainly took several judicious measures for the regulation of the island and the relief of the colonists; but his policy was fatal to the natives. When he had been sent out to supersede Bobadilla, the queen, shocked at the cruel bondage which had been inflicted on the Indians, had pronounced them all free. The consequence was, they immediately refused to labor in the mines.

Ovando, in 1503, represented that this entire liberty granted to the natives was not merely ruinous to the colony, but detrimental to themselves, as it produced habits of idleness, profligacy, and neglect of all religion. The sovereigns permitted, therefore, that they should be obliged to labor moderately, if essential to their well-being, but that they should be paid regularly and fairly, and instructed in religion on certain days, and that all compulsory measures should be tempered with persuasion and kindness. Under cover of this hired labor, thus intended for the health of soul and body, more intolerable toil was exacted from them, and more horrible cruelties inflicted, than in the worst days of Bobadilla. Many perished from hunger, or sank under the lash; many killed themselves in despair; and even mothers overcame the powerful instinct of nature, and destroyed the infants at their breasts, to spare them a life of wretchedness. Even those who survived the exacted terms of labor, and were permitted to return to their homes, which were often sixty and eighty leagues distant, were dismissed so worn down by toil and hardship, and so scantily furnished with provisions, that they perished by the way. Some

sank down and died by the side of a brook, others under the shade of a tree, where they had crawled for shelter from the sun. "I have found many dead on the road," says the venerable Bishop Las Casas; "others gasping under the trees, and others in the pangs of death, faintly crying, Hunger! hunger!"

The wars of Ovando were equally desolating. To punish a slight insurrection in the province of Higuey, at the eastern end of the island, he sent his troops, who ravaged the country with fire and sword, showed no mercy to age or sex, put many to death with the most wanton, ingenious, and horrible tortures, and brought off the brave Cotabanama, one of the five sovereign caciques of the island, in chains to San Domingo, where he was ignominiously hanged by Ovando for the crime of defending his territory and his native soil against usurping strangers.



OVANDO SETS OUT FOR XARAGUA AT THE HEAD OF AN ARMY OF FOUR HUNDRED MEN.

But the most atrocious act of Ovando, and one that must heap odium on his name wherever the woes of the gentle natives of Hayti create an interest, was the punishment he inflicted on the province of Xaragua for a pretended conspiracy. The exactions of tribute, in this once happy and hospitable province, had caused occasional quarrels between the inferior caciques and the Spaniards; these were magnified by alarmists, and Ovando was persuaded that there was a deep-laid plot among the natives to rise upon their oppressors. He immediately set out for Xaragua, at the head of nearly four hundred well-armed soldiers, seventy of whom were steel-clad horsemen. He gave out that he was going on a visit of friendship, to make arrangements about the payment of tribute.

Behechio, the ancient cacique of the province, was dead, and his sister, Anacaona, had succeeded to the government. She came forth to meet Ovando, according to the custom of her nation, attended by her most distinguished subjects, and her train of dam-

sels, waving palm branches, and dancing to the cadence of their popular areytos. All her principal caciques had been assembled to do honor to her guests, who for several days were entertained with banquets and national games and dances. In return for these exhibitions, Ovando invited Anacaona, with her beautiful daughter Higuenamota, and her principal subjects, to witness a tilting match by the cavalry in the public square. When all were assembled, the square crowded with unarmed Indians, Ovando gave a signal, and instantly the horsemen rushed into the midst of the naked and defenceless throng, trampling them under foot, cutting them down with their swords, transfixing them with their lances, and sparing neither age nor sex. Above eighty caciques had been assembled in one of the principal houses. It was surrounded by troops, the caciques were bound to the posts which supported the roof, and put to cruel tortures, until, in the extremity of anguish, they were made to admit the truth of the plot with which their queen and themselves had been charged. When self-accusation had thus been tortured from them, a horrible punishment was immediately inflicted; fire was set to the house, and they all perished miserably in the flames.

As to Anacaona, she was carried to San Domingo, where the mockery of a trial was given her, in which she was found guilty, on the confessions wrung by torture from her subjects, and on the testimony of their butchers, and she was barbarously hanged by the people whom she had so long and so signally befriended.

After the massacre at Xaragua, the destruction of its inhabitants still went on; they were hunted for six months amidst the fastnesses of the mountains, and their country ravaged by horse and foot, until, all being reduced to deplorable misery and abject submission, Ovando pronounced the province restored to order, and, in commemoration of his triumph, founded a town near the lake, which he called Santa Maria de la Verdadera Paz (St. Mary of the True Peace).



ANACAONA, THE GOLDEN FLOWER OF XARAGUA

Such was the tragical fate of the beautiful Anacaona, once extolled as the Golden Flower of Hayti; and such the story of the delightful region of Xaragua; a place which the Europeans, by

their own account, found a perfect paradise, but which, by their vile passions, they filled with horror and desolation.

These are but brief and scanty anecdotes of the ruthless system which had been pursued, during the absence of the admiral, by the commander Ovando, this man of boasted prudence and moderation, who had been sent to reform the abuses of the island, and above all, to redress the wrongs of the natives. The system of Columbus may have borne hard upon the Indians, born and brought up as they were in untasked freedom, but it was never cruel or sanguinary. He had fondly hoped, at one time, to render them civilized, industrious, and tributary subjects to the crown, zealous converts to the faith, and to derive from their regular tributes a great and steady revenue. How different had been the event! The five great tribes which had peopled the mountains and the valleys, at the time of the discovery, and had rendered by their mingled villages and hamlets, and tracts of cultivation, the rich levels of the vegas so many "painted gardens," had almost all passed away, and the native princes had perished chiefly by violent and ignominious deaths. "I am informed," said he, in a letter to the sovereigns, "that since I left this island, six parts out of seven of the natives are dead, all through ill-treatment and inhumanity; some by the sword, others by blows and cruel usage, others through hunger; the greater part have perished in the mountains, whither they had fled, from not being able to support the labor imposed upon them."

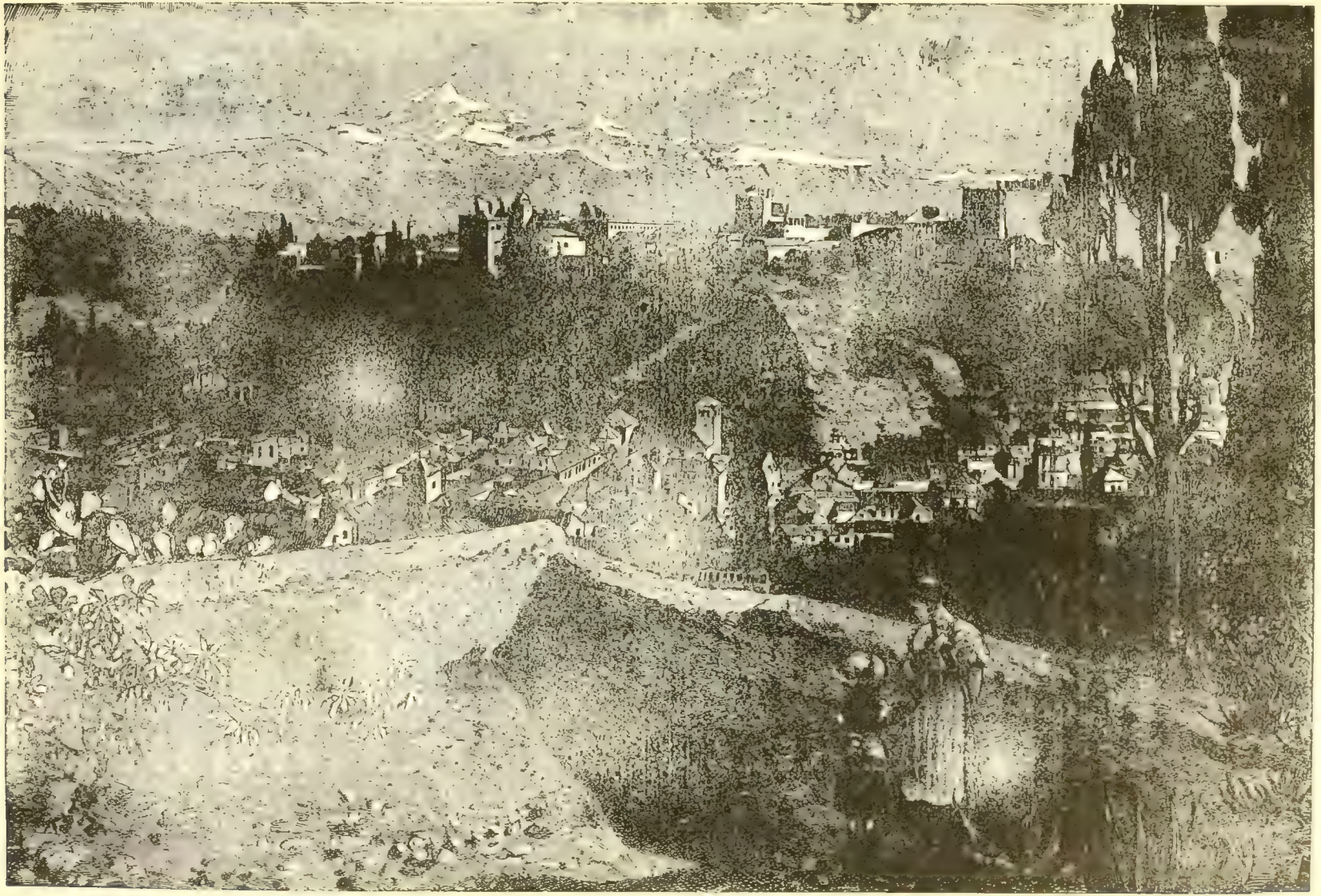
He found his own immediate concerns in great confusion. His rents and arrears were either uncollected, or he could not obtain a clear account and a full liquidation of them; and he complained that Ovando had impeded his agents in their management of his concerns. The continual misunderstandings which took place between him and the governor, though always qualified on the part of the latter with courtly complaisance, induced Columbus to hasten his departure. He caused the ship in which he had returned from Jamaica to be repaired and fitted out, and another hired, in which he offered a passage to such of his late crew as chose to return. The greater part preferred to remain in San Domingo: as they were in great poverty, he relieved their necessities from his own purse, and advanced money to those who accompanied him, for the expenses of their voyage. All the funds he could collect were ex-

hausted in these disbursements, and many of the men thus relieved by his generosity had been among the most violent of the rebels.

On the 12th of September, he set sail; but had scarcely left the harbor, when the mast of his ship was carried away in a sudden squall. He embarked, therefore, with his family, in the other vessel, commanded by the adelantado, and sent back the damaged ship to port. Fortune continued to persecute him to the end of this his last and most disastrous expedition. Throughout the voyage he experienced tempestuous weather, suffering at the same time the excruciating torments of the gout, until, on the 7th of November, his crazy and shattered bark anchored in the harbor of San Lucar. From thence he proceeded to Seville, to enjoy a little tranquillity of mind and body, and to recruit his health after his long series of fatigues, anxieties, and hardships.



ARMOR OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.
ARTILLERY MUSEUM, PARIS.



THE CITY OF GRANADA AND THE CASTLE OF THE ALHAMBRA; BURIAL PLACE OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA



THE GOLDEN TOWER OF SEVILLE, LANDING PLACE OF ALL THE TREASURE BROUGHT FROM AMERICA. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)

CHAPTER XLV.

FRUITLESS APPLICATION OF COLUMBUS TO BE REINSTATED IN HIS GOVERNMENT. HIS LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH. (1504.)

THE residence of Columbus, during the winter, at Seville, has generally been represented as an interval of repose: never was honorable repose more merited, more desired, and less enjoyed. Care and sorrow were destined to follow him, by sea and land; and in varying the scene, he but varied the nature of his afflictions. Ever since his memorable arrest by Bobadilla, his affairs had remained in confusion, and his rents and dues had been but partially and irregularly collected, and were detained in intermediate hands. The last voyage had exhausted his finances, and involved him in embarrassments. All that he had been able to collect of the money due to him in

Hispaniola, had been expended in bringing home many of his late crew, and, for the greater part, the crown remained his debtor. The world thought him possessed of countless wealth, while in fact he was suffering pecuniary want.

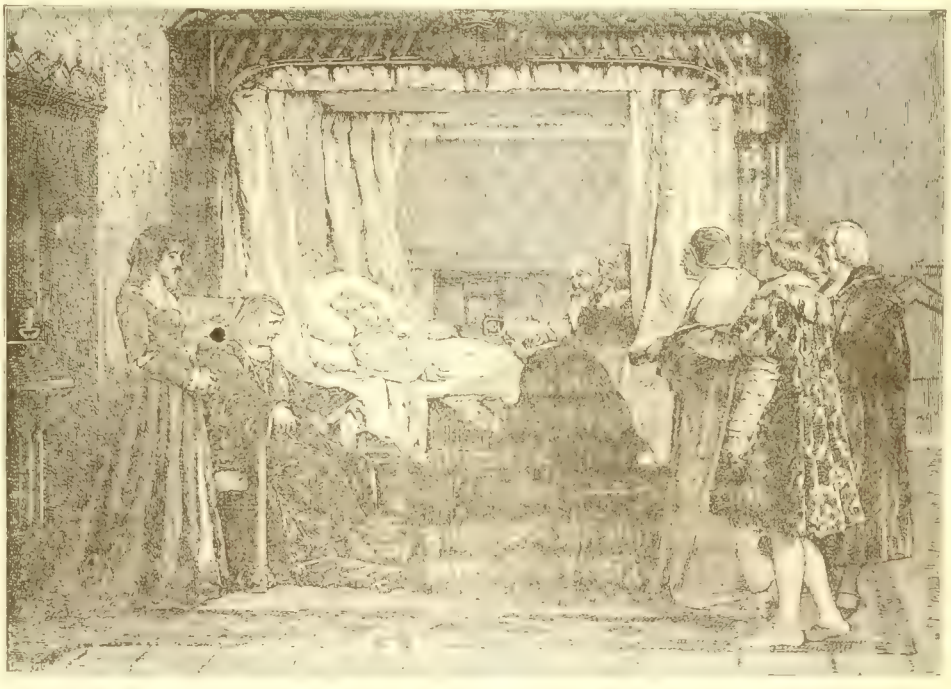
In letters, written at this time, to his son Diego, he repeatedly urges to him the necessity of practicing extreme economy until the arrears due to him should be paid. "I receive nothing of the revenue due to me," says he, on another occasion, "but live by borrowing. Little have I profited by twenty years of toils and perils, since at present I do not own a roof in Spain. I have no resort, but an inn; and, for the most times, have not wherewithal to pay my bill."

Being unable, from his infirmities, to go to court, he had to communicate with the sovereigns by letter, or through the intervention of friends, and exerted himself strenuously, but ineffectually, to draw their attention to the disastrous state of Hispaniola under the administration of Ovando, to obtain the restitution of his honors, and the payment of his arrears, and what seemed to lay equally near his heart, to obtain relief for his unfortunate seamen.

His letters were unregarded, or at least unanswered; his claims remained unsatisfied; and a cold indifference and neglect appeared to prevail towards him. All the tidings from the court filled him with uneasiness. Porras, the ringleader of the late faction, had been sent home by Ovando to appear before the council of the Indies, but the official documents in his cause had not arrived. He went at large, and being related to Morales the royal treasurer, had access to people in place, and an opportunity of enlisting their opinions and prejudices on his side. Columbus began to fear that the violent scenes in Jamaica might, by the perversity of his enemies and the effrontery of the delinquents, be wrested into matters of accusation against him, as had been the case with the rebellion of Roldan. The faithful and indefatigable Diego Mendez was at this time at court, and he trusted to his honest representations to counteract the falsehoods of Porras. Nothing can surpass the affecting earnestness and simplicity with which, in one of his letters, he declares his loyalty. "I have served their majesties," says he, "with as much zeal and diligence as if it had been to gain Paradise, and if I have failed in any thing, it has been because my knowledge and powers went no further." Whilst reading this touching appeal, we can scarcely realize the fact, that it should be written by Columbus, the

same extraordinary man, who, but a few years before, had been idolized at this court as a benefactor, and received with almost royal honors.

His anxiety to have a personal interview with the sovereigns became every day more intense; he felt the inefficacy of letter writing, and, indeed, even that resource began to fail him, for the severity of his malady for a great part of the time deprived him of the use of his hands. He made repeated attempts to set off for the court; a litter was once actually at the door to convey him thither, but his increasing infirmities, and the inclemency of the season, obliged him to abandon the journey. In the meantime, the intrigues of his enemies appeared to be prevailing; the cold-hearted Ferdinand treated all his applications with indifference; on the justice and magnanimity of Isabella, alone, he relied for the redress of his grievances, but she lay dangerously ill. "May it please the Holy Trinity," says he, "to restore our sovereign queen to health; for by her will every thing be adjusted which is now in confusion." Alas! while writing that letter, his noble benefactress was a corpse.



ISABELLA DICTATES HER LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT. (PAINTING BY EDWARD ROSALES.)

The health of Isabella had long been undermined by repeated shocks of domestic calamities. The death of her only son, the Prince Juan; of her beloved daughter, and bosom friend, the Princess Isabella; and of her grandson and prospective heir, the Prince

Miguel, had been three cruel wounds to her maternal heart. To these were added the constant grief caused by the infirmity of intellect of her daughter Juana, and the domestic unhappiness of that princess with her husband the Archduke Philip. The desolation which walks through palaces admits not the familiar sympathies and sweet consolations which alleviate the sorrows of common life. Isabella pined in state, amidst the obsequious homage of a court, surrounded by the trophies of a glorious and successful reign, and placed at the summit of earthly grandeur. A deep and incurable melancholy settled upon her, which undermined her constitution, and gave a fatal acuteness to her bodily maladies. After four months of illness, she died, on the 26th of November, 1504, at Medina del Campo, in the fifty-fourth year of her age; but long before her eyes closed upon the world, her heart had closed upon all its pomps and vanities. "Let my body," said she, in her will, "be interred in the monastery of San Francisco, in the Alhambra of the city of Granada, in a low sepulchre, with no other monument than a plain stone, and an inscription. But I desire and command, that if the king, my lord, should choose a sepulchre in any church or monastery, in any other part or place of these my kingdoms, that my body be transported thither, and buried beside the body of his highness; so that the union we have enjoyed while living, and which, through the mercy of God, we hope our souls will experience in heaven, may be represented by our bodies in the earth."*



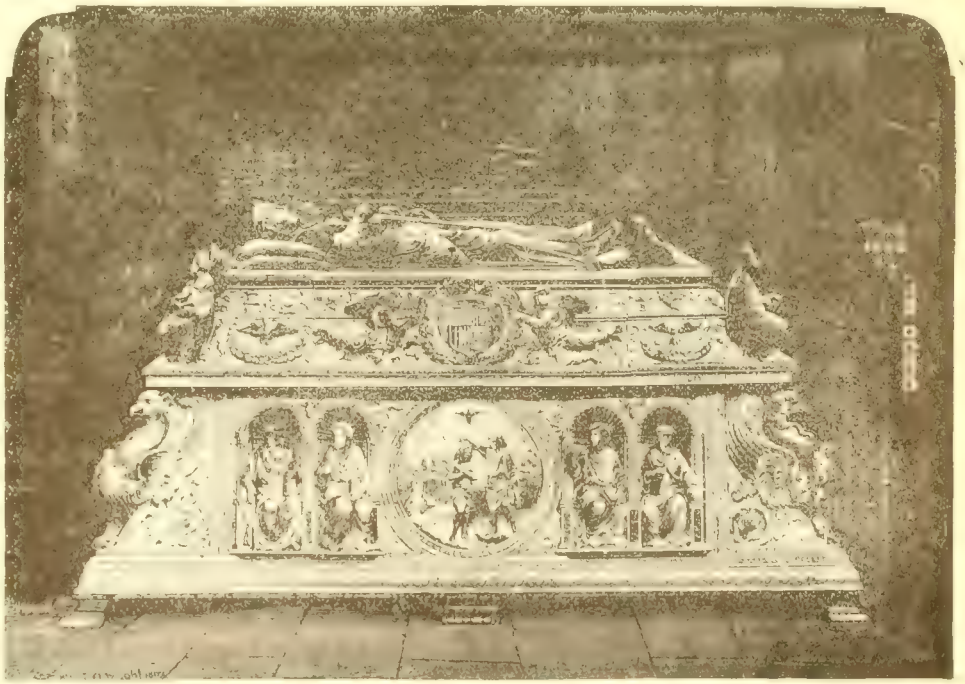
ISABELLA.

Such was one of several passages in the will of this admirable woman, which bespoke the chastened humility of her heart, and in which, as has been well observed, the affections of conjugal love

*The dying command of Isabella has been obeyed. The author of this work has seen her tomb in the royal chapel of the cathedral of Granada, in which her remains are interred with those of Ferdinand. Their effigies, sculptured in white marble, lie side by side, on a magnificent sepulchre. The altar of the chapel is adorned with bas-reliefs representing the conquest and surrender of Granada.

were delicately entwined with fervent religion and the most tender melancholy. She was one of the purest spirits that ever ruled over the destinies of a nation. Had she been spared, her benignant vigilance would have prevented many a scene of horror in the colonization of the new world, and might have softened the lot of its native inhabitants. As it is, her fair name will ever shine with celestial radiance in the early dawning of its history.

The news of the death of Isabella reached Columbus while he was writing a letter to his son. He notices it in a postscript or memorandum, written in the haste and brevity of the moment, but in beautifully touching and mournful terms. "A memorial," he writes, "for thee, my dear son Diego, of what is at present to be done. The principal thing is to commend affectionately, and with great devotion, the soul of the queen, our sovereign, to God. Her life was always catholic and pious, and prompt to all things in his holy service; for this reason we may rest assured that she is received into his glory, and beyond the cares of this rough and weary world. The next thing is, to watch and labor in all matters for the service of our sovereign, the king, and to endeavor to alleviate his grief. His majesty is the head of Christendom. Remember the proverb, which says, when the head suffers, all the members suffer. Therefore all good Christians should pray for his health and long life; and we, who are in his employ, ought more than others to do this with all study and diligence."



SEPULCHRE OF THE CATHOLIC KING AND QUEEN, FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, DONA JUANA, "LA LOCA," AND D. PHILIP "EL HERMOSO," IN THE ROYAL CHAPEL OF THE CATHEDRAL OF GRANADA. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

It is impossible to read this letter without

being moved by the simply eloquent yet artless language in which Columbus expresses his tenderness for the memory of his benefactress, his weariness under the gathering cares and ills of life, and his persevering and enduring loyalty towards the sovereign who was so ungratefully neglecting him.

The death of Isabella was a fatal blow to his fortunes. While she lived, he had every thing to anticipate from her high sense of justice, her regard for her royal word, her gratitude for his services, and her admiration of his character. With her illness, however, his interests had languished; and when she died, he was left to the justice and generosity of Ferdinand!

During the remainder of the winter, and a great part of the spring, he remained at Seville, detained by painful illness. His brother, the adelantado, who supported him with his accustomed fondness and devotion through all his trials, proceeded to court to attend to his concerns, taking with him the admiral's younger son, Fernando, then aged about seventeen. The latter the affectionate father repeatedly represents to his son Diego, as a man in understanding and conduct, though but a stripling in years, and inculcates the strongest fraternal attachment; alluding to his own brethren with one of those warm and affecting touches which speak the kindness of his heart. "To thy brother conduct thyself as the elder brother should unto the younger. Thou hast no other, and I praise God that this is such a one as thou dost need. Ten brothers would not be too many for thee. Never have I found a better friend, to right or left, than my brothers."

Among the persons whom Columbus employed, at this time, in his missions to the court, was Amerigo Vespucci. He describes him as a worthy but unfortunate man, who had not profited as much as he deserved by his undertakings, and who had always been disposed to render him service.

It was not until the month of May that Columbus was able to accomplish his journey to court, which was at that time at Segovia. He, who but a few years before had entered the city of Barcelona in triumph, attended by the chivalry of Spain, and hailed with rapture by the multitude, now arrived at the gates of Segovia, a way-worn, melancholy, and neglected man; oppressed even more by sorrows than by his years and infirmities. When he presented himself at court, he was made lamentably sensible of the loss of

his protectress, the benignant Isabella. He met with none of that distinguished attention, that cordial kindness, that cherishing sympathy, which his unparalleled services and his recent sufferings had merited. Ferdinand, it is true, received him with many professions of kindness; but with those cold, ineffectual smiles, which pass like wintry sunshine over the countenance, and convey no warmth to the heart.



BRONZE STATUE OF FERDINAND IN THE CATHEDRAL OF MALAGA.

Many months were passed by Columbus in painful and humiliating solicitation. His main object was to obtain the restitution of his high offices as viceroy and governor of the Indies; as to the mere pecuniary claims for revenues and arrears, he considered them of minor importance, and nobly offered to leave them to the disposition of the king; but his official dignities belonged to his reputation; they had been granted also, by solemn treaty, and were not to be made a matter of arbitrament. As the latter, however, were precisely the claims which the jealous monarch was the least disposed to grant, they stood continually in the way of all arrangement. The whole matter was at one time referred to a tribunal, called the "Junta de Descargos," which had charge of the settlement of the affairs of the late queen, but nothing resulted from their deliberations; the wishes of the king were too well known to be thwarted.

Columbus endeavored to bear these delays with patience; but he had no longer the physical strength, and the glorious anticipations, which had once sustained him through his long application at this court. He was again confined to his bed by a return of the gout, aggravated by the irritations of his spirit. From this couch of anguish, he addressed one more appeal to the justice of the king. He no longer petitioned for himself, but for his son Diego. He entreated that he might be appointed in his place to the government of which he had been so wrongfully deprived. "This," said he, "is a matter which concerns my honor; as to all the rest, do as your majesty thinks proper; give or withhold, as may be most for your interest, and I shall be content. I believe it is the anxiety

caused by the delay of this affair, which is the principal cause of my ill health."

This petition was treated by Ferdinand with his usual evasions; he endeavored to prevail upon Columbus and his son to waive their claims to paramount dignities in the new world, and accept, in place thereof, titles and estates in Castile. Columbus rejected all proposals of the kind with indignation, as calculated to compromise those titles which were the trophies of his achievements. He saw, however, that all further hope of redress from Ferdinand was vain. From the bed, to which he was confined, he addressed a letter to his constant friend, Diego de Deza, then Archbishop of Seville, expressive of his despair. "It appears," said he, "that his majesty does not think fit to fulfill that, which he, with the queen who is now in glory, promised me by word and seal. For me to contend to the contrary, would be to contend with the wind. I have done all that I could do. I leave the rest to God, whom I have ever found propitious to me in my necessities."

In the midst of illness and despondency, when both life and hope were expiring in the bosom of Columbus, a new gleam was awakened, and blazed up for the moment with characteristic fervor. He heard with joy of the arrival from Flanders of King Philip and Queen Juana, to take possession of their throne of Castile. In the daughter of Isabella, he trusted to find a patroness and a friend. King Ferdinand and all the court repaired to Loredo, to receive the youthful sovereigns. Columbus sent his brother, the adelantado, to represent him, and wrote a letter to the king and queen, lamenting his being prevented by illness from coming in person to manifest his devotion. He expressed a hope, that he should receive at their hands the restitution of his honors and estates; and assured them that, though cruelly tortured at present by disease, he would yet be able to render them services, the like of which had never been witnessed.

Such was the last sally of this sanguine and unconquerable spirit; which, disregarding age and infirmities, and all past sorrows and disappointments, spoke from his dying bed with all the confidence of youthful hope, and talked of still greater enterprises as if he had a long and vigorous life before him. The adelantado took an affectionate leave of his brother, whom he was never to behold again, and set out on his mission to the new sovereigns. He ex-



THE DEATH OF COLUMBUS.

"INTO THY HANDS, O LORD, I COMMEND MY SPIRIT," WERE HIS LAST WORDS.

PAINTING BY F. ORTEGA.

perienced the most gracious reception, and flattering hopes were given him that the claims of the admiral would speedily be satisfied.

In the mean-time, the cares and troubles of Columbus were drawing to a close. The transient fire which had recently reanimated him was soon quenched by accumulating infirmities. Immediately after the departure of the adelantado, his illness increased in violence. Finding that his end was approaching, he arranged all his earthly affairs, for the benefit of his successors. In a codicil made on the eve of his decease, he enforced his original testament, constituting his son Diego his universal heir, entailing his honors and estates on the male line of his family, and providing for his brothers Don Bartholomew and Don Diego, and his natural son Don Fernando. In his will he enjoined that a portion of his revenues should be annually deposited in the bank of St. George, at Genoa, until a sufficient sum should be accumulated to set on foot a crusade to the holy land; for the rescue of the holy sepulchre was, to the last, the great object of his ambition, and he left a solemn charge upon his heirs to aid personally in the pious enterprise. Other provisions were made for the foundation of churches—the support of Beatrix Enriquez, the mother of Fernando—the relief of his poor relations, and the payment of the most trivial debts.

Having thus scrupulously attended to all the claims of affection, loyalty, and justice, upon earth, he turned his thoughts to heaven, confessing himself, partaking of the holy sacrament, and complying with the other ceremonies of a devout Catholic. In his last moments, he was attended by his son Diego, and a few faithful followers, among whom was Bartholomew Fiesco, who had accompanied Diego Mendez in the perilous expedition from Jamaica to Hispaniola. Surrounded by these devoted friends, he expired, with great resignation, on the 20th of May, 1506, being about seventy years of age. His last words were, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum." "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."



HOUSE IN VALLADOLID WHERE COLUMBUS DIED

CHAPTER XLVI.

OBSEQUIES OF COLUMBUS

THE body of Columbus was deposited in the convent of San Francisco, and his obsequies were celebrated with funereal pomp in the parochial church of Santa Maria de la Antigua, in Valladolid. His remains were transported, in 1513, to the Carthusian convent of Las Cuevas, at Seville, and deposited in the chapel of Santa Christo. In the year 1536, they were removed to Hispaniola, and interred by the side of the grand altar of the cathedral of the city of San Domingo. But even here they did not rest in quiet. On the cession of Hispaniola to the French, in 1795, it was determined by the Spaniards to bear them off to the island of Cuba as precious relics, connected with the most glorious epoch of Spanish history. Accordingly, on the 20th of December, 1795, in the presence of an august assemblage of the dignitaries of the Church and the civil and military officers, the vault was opened beside the high altar of the cathedral: within were found the fragments of a leaden coffin, a number of bones, and a quantity of mould, evidently the remains of a human body. These were carefully collected, and put into a case of gilded lead, secured by an iron lock; the case was enclosed in a coffin covered with black velvet, and



COLUMBUS MONUMENT IN THE CONVENT OF LAS CUEVAS, SEVILLE

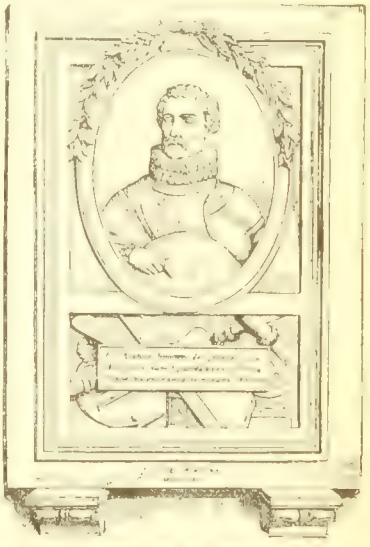
the whole placed in a temporary mausoleum. On the following day there was another grand convocation at the cathedral: the vigils and masses for the dead were chanted, and a funeral sermon was preached by the archbishop. After these solemn ceremonials in the cathedral, the coffin was transported to the ship, attended by a grand civil, religious, and military procession. The banners were covered with crape; there were chants and responses, and discharges of artillery; and the most distinguished persons of the several orders took turns to support the coffin.



LEAD ENCASED WITH THE REMAINS OF COLUMBUS FOUND IN THE CATHEDRAL OF SAN DOMINGO SEPT. 1877.

The reception of the body at Havana was equally august. There was a splendid procession of boats to conduct it from the ship to the shore. On passing the vessels of war in the harbor, they all paid the honors due to an admiral and captain-general of the navy. On arriving at the mole, the remains were met by the governor of the island, accompanied by the generals of the military staff. They were then conveyed in the utmost pomp to the cathedral. Masses and the solemn ceremonies of the dead were performed by the bishop, and the mortal remains of Columbus were deposited in the wall, on the right side of the grand altar.

It is with deep satisfaction that the author of this work perused the documents which give an account of a ceremonial so noble and affecting, and so honorable to the Spanish nation. When we read of the remains of Columbus thus conveyed from the port of San Domingo, after an interval of nearly three hundred years, as sacred national relics, with civil and military pomp, and high religious ceremonial, we cannot but reflect that it was from this very port he was carried off loaded with ignominious chains, blasted apparently in fame and fortune, and taunted by the revilings of the rabble: such honors, it is true, are nothing to the dead, nor can they atone to the heart, now dust and ashes, for all the wrongs and sorrows it may have suffered; but they speak volumes of comfort to the illustrious yet slandered and persecuted living, encouraging them bravely to bear

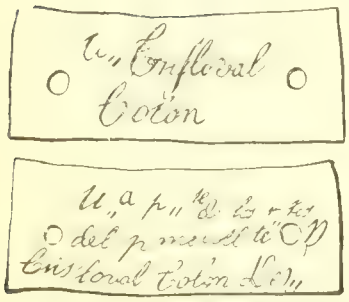


MEMORIAL TABLET IN THE CATHEDRAL OF THE HAVANA.

with present injuries, by showing them how true merit outlives all calumny, and receives its glorious reward in the admiration of after ages.

NOTE FROM JUSTIN WINSOR'S CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS."

It is a question which has been raised since 1877 whether the body of Columbus was the one then removed, and over which so much parade was made during the transportation and re-interment in Cuba. There has been a controversy on the point, in which the Bishop of Santo Domingo and his adherents have claimed that the remains of Columbus are still in their charge, while it was those of his son Diego which had been removed. The Academy of History at Madrid have denied this, and in a long report to the Spanish Government have asserted that there was no mistake in the transfer, and that the additional casket found was that of Christopher Colon, the grandson. It was represented, moreover, that those features of the inscription on the lately found leaden box which seemed to indicate it as the casket of the first admiral of the Indies had been fraudulently added or altered. The question has probably been thrown into the category of doubt, though the case as presented in favor of Santo Domingo has some recognizably weak points, which the advocates of the other side have made the most of, and to the satisfaction, perhaps, of the more careful inquirers. The controversial literature on the subject is considerable. The repairs of 1887 in the Santo Domingo cathedral revealed the



FRONT AND BACK OF OUTSIDE SILVER PLATE FOUND ON LEADEN BOX CONTAINING THE SUPPOSED REMAINS OF COLUMBUS, CATHEDRAL OF SAN DOMINGO.

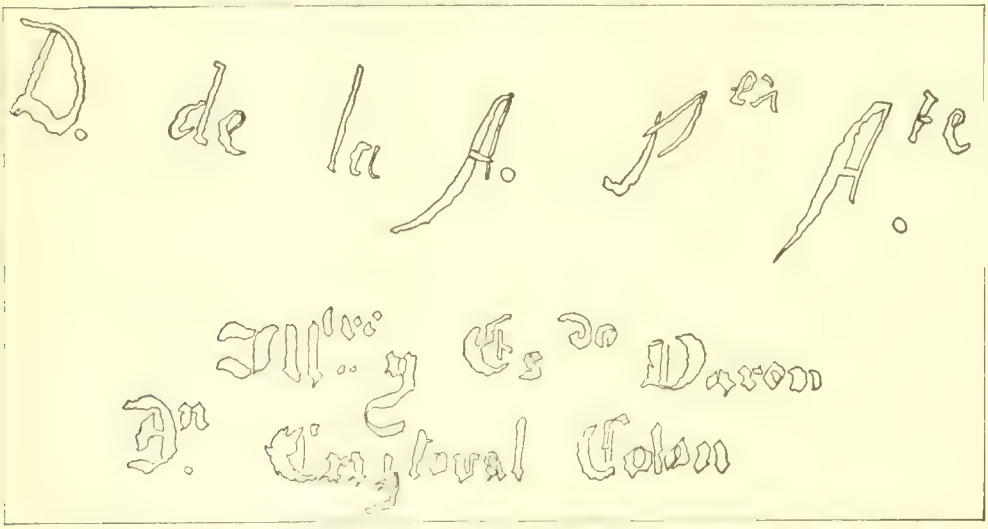
LOWER INSCRIPTION

UA. PTE. DE LOS RTOS DEL PMER. ALTE. DN CRISTOVAL COLON DOR

STANDS FOR

URNA PERTENECIENTE DE LOS RESTOS DEL PRIMER ALMIRANTE DON CRISTOVAL COLON, DESCUBRIDOR.

TRANSLATION: URN BELONGING TO THE REMAINS OF THE FIRST ADMIRAL DON CRISTOVAL COLON, DISCOVERER



THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TWO SIDES OF THE HINGED LID OF LEADEN COFFIN FOUND IN THE CATHEDRAL OF SAN DOMINGO, SEPT. 10, 1877.

UPPER INSCRIPTION ON OUTSIDE OF LID: D. DE LA A PER A. STANDS FOR: DESCUBRIDOR DE LA AMERICA, PRIMER ALMIRANTE. TRANSLATION: DISCOVERER OF AMERICA, FIRST ADMIRAL.

LOWER INSCRIPTION ON INSIDE OF LID ILLRE Y ESDO. VARON DN CRISTOVAL COLON. STANDS FOR: ILLUSTRE Y ESCLARECIDO VARON, DON CRISTOVAL COLON. TRANSLATION: ILLUSTRIOUS AND FAMOUS MAN, DON CRISTOVAL COLON.

empty vault from which the transported body had been taken; but they showed also the occupied vault of the grandson Luis, and another in which was a leaden case which bore the inscriptions which are in dispute.

It is the statement of the *Historie** that Columbus preserved the chains in which he had come home from his third voyage, and that he had them buried with him, or intended to do so. The story is often repeated, but it has no other authority than the somewhat dubious one of that book; and it finds no confirmation in Las Casas, Peter Martyr, Bernaldez, or Oviedo.

Humboldt says that he made futile inquiry of those who had assisted in the re-interment at Havana if there were any trace of these fetters or of oxide of iron in the coffin. In the accounts of the recent discovery of remains at Santo Domingo, it is said that there was equally no trace of fetters in the casket.

* Historie, the Italian title of the biographical book written by his son Fernando.



MARBLE MONUMENT OF COLUMBUS
AT MADRID
Executed by D. Jeronim Suñol



CHAPTER XLVII.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTER OF COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS was a man of great and inventive genius. The operations of his mind were energetic, but irregular, bursting forth, at times, with that irresistible force which characterizes intellects of such an order. His ambition was lofty and noble, inspiring him with high thoughts, and an anxiety to distinguish himself by great achievements. He aimed at dignity and wealth in the same elevated spirit with which he sought renown; they were to rise from the territories he should discover, and be commensurate in importance. The vast gains that he anticipated from his discoveries, he intended to appropriate to princely purposes; to institutions for the relief of the poor of his native city, to the foundation of churches, and, above all, to crusades for the recovery of the holy sepulchre.

He was tenacious of his rank and privileges, not from a mere vulgar love of titles, but because he prized them as testimonials and trophies of his illustrious deeds. Every question of compromise concerning them, he repulsed with disdain. "These things," said he, nobly, "concern my honor." In his testament, he enjoined on his son Diego, and whomsoever after him should inherit his estates, whatever other titles might be granted by the king, always to sign himself, simply, "The Admiral," by way of perpetuating in the family the source of its real greatness.

His conduct was characterized by the grandeur of his views, and the magnanimity of his spirit. Instead of ravaging the newly-

found countries like many of his contemporary discoverers, who were intent only on immediate gain, he regarded them with the eyes of a legislator; he sought to colonize and cultivate them, to civilize the natives, to subject every thing to the control of law, order, and religion, and thus to found regular and prosperous empires. That he failed in this, was the fault of the dissolute rabble which it was his misfortune to command, with whom all law was tyranny, and all order oppression.



THE PARMIGIANO PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS

An alleged portrait of Columbus which has more artistic merit than most of the others and which for a long time was believed to be genuine, but which is now believed by many to be a forgery. Most authorities, however, declare that it is not a portrait of Columbus at all, but of one Gilberto di Sassone, an Italian nobleman who lived at Naples in the time of Parmigiano, by whom it was painted. How it came to be in the possession of the Farnese family, how it was discovered, and how it finally found its way to the Royal Museum at Madrid, are matters of history, including a portrait of America. Nevertheless, it was accepted by the Duke of Veragua, a descendant of Columbus, and brought with him to Paris in 1878, and presented to Cardinal Alexander Farnese. The King of Naples succeeded to the Farnese estates and removed the painting to the Royal Museum. The picture is a rare example of art, but does not bear the slightest resemblance to the features of the admiral as described by his contemporaries, nor is the garb such as was worn in Spain at the time he lived.—*The Columbus Portraits;* [illegible]

He was naturally irritable and impetuous, and keenly sensible to injury and injustice; yet the quickness of his temper was counteracted by the benevolence and generosity of his heart. The magnanimity of his nature shone forth through all the troubles of his stormy career. Though continually outraged in his dignity, braved in his authority, foiled in his plans, and endangered in his person, by the seditions of turbulent and worthless men, and that, too, at times when suffering under anguish of body and anxiety of mind, enough to exasperate the most patient, yet he restrained his valiant and indignant spirit, and brought himself to forbear, and reason, and even to supplicate. Nor should we fail to notice how free he was from all feeling of revenge, how ready to forgive and forget on the least signs of repentance and atonement. He has been extolled for his skill in controlling others, but far greater praise is due to him for the firmness he displayed in governing himself.

His piety was genuine and fervent; religion mingled with the whole course of his thoughts and actions, and shone forth in his most private and unstudied writings. Whenever he made any great discovery, he devoutly returned thanks to God. The voice of prayer and the melody of praise rose from his ships on discovering the new world, and his first action on landing was to prostrate himself upon the earth, and offer up thanksgivings. Every evening, the *Salve Regina*, and other vesper hymns, were chanted by his crew, and masses were performed in the beautiful groves that bordered the wild shores of this heathen land. All his great enterprises were undertaken in the name of the Holy Trinity, and he partook of the holy sacrament previous to embarkation. He observed the festivals of the Church in the wildest situations. The Sabbath was to him a day of sacred rest, on which he would never sail from a port unless in case of extreme necessity. The religion, thus deeply seated in his soul, diffused a sober dignity, and a benign composure, over his whole deportment; his very language was pure and guarded, and free from all gross or irreverent expressions.

It can not be denied, however, that his piety was mingled with superstition, and darkened by the bigotry of the age. He evidently concurred in the opinion, that all the nations who did not acknowledge the Christian faith were destitute of natural rights; and that the sternest measures might be used for their conversion, and the severest punishments inflicted upon them, if obstinate in unbelief. In this spirit of bigotry he considered himself justified in making captives of the Indians, and transporting them to Spain, to have them taught the doctrines of Christianity, and in selling them for slaves if they pretended to resist his invasions. In doing the latter, he sinned against the natural goodness of his heart, and against the feelings he had originally entertained and expressed towards this gentle and hospitable people; but he was goaded on by the mercenary impatience of the crown, and by the sneers of his enemies, at the unprofitable result of his enterprises. It is but justice to his character to observe, that the enslavement of the Indians thus taken in battle was at first openly countenanced by the crown, and that, when the question of right came to be discussed at the request of the queen, several of the most distinguished jurists and theologians advocated the practice; so that

the question was finally settled, in favor of the Indians, solely by the humanity of Isabella. As the venerable Bishop Las Casas observes, where the most learned men have doubted, it is not surprising that an unlearned mariner should err.

These remarks, in palliation of the conduct of Columbus, are required by candor. It is proper to show him in connection with the age in which he lived, lest the errors of the times should be considered his individual faults. It is not intended, however, to justify him on a point where it is inexcusable to err. Let it remain a blot on his illustrious name, and let others derive a lesson from it.

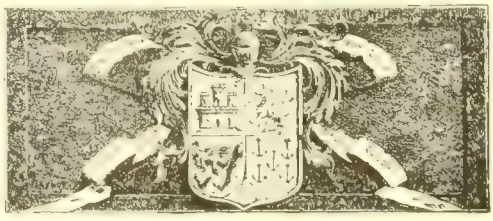
A peculiar trait in his rich and varied character remains to be noticed; namely, that ardent and enthusiastic imagination, which threw a magnificence over his whole course of thought. A poetical temperament is discernible throughout all his writings and in all his actions. We see it in all his descriptions of the beauties of the wild lands he was discovering; in the enthusiasm with which he extols the verdure of the forests, the grandeur of the mountains, and the crystal clearness of the running streams; the blandness of the temperature, the purity of the atmosphere, and the fragrance of the air, "full of dew and sweetness." It spread a golden and glorious world around him, and tinged every thing with its own gorgeous colors. It betrayed him into visionary speculations, which subjected him to the sneers and cavils of men of cooler and safer, but more groveling minds. Such were the conjectures formed on the coast of Paria, about the form of the earth, and the situation of the terrestrial Paradise; about the mines of Ophir, and the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients; and such was the heroic scheme of a crusade, for the recovery of the holy sepulchre. It filled his mind with solemn and visionary meditations on mystic passages of the Scriptures, and on the shadowy portents of the prophecies. It exalted his own office in his eyes, and made him conceive himself an agent sent forth upon a sublime and awful mission, and subject to mysterious intimations from the Deity; such as the voice which he imagined spoke to him in comfort amidst the troubles of Hispaniola, and in the silence of the night on the disastrous coast of Veragua.

He was decidedly a visionary, but a visionary of an uncommon kind, and successful in his dreams. The manner in which his ar-

dent imagination and mercurial nature were controlled by a powerful judgment, and directed by an acute sagacity, is the most extraordinary feature in his character. Thus governed his imagination, instead of exhausting itself in idle flights, lent aid to his judgment, and enabled him to form conclusions at which common minds could never have arrived, nay, which they could not perceive when pointed out.

To his intellectual vision it was given to read the signs of the times, and to trace in the conjectures and reveries of past ages the indications of an unknown world, as soothsayers were said to read predictions in the stars, and to foretell events from the visions of the night. "His soul," observes a Spanish writer, "was superior to the age in which he lived. For him was reserved the great enterprise of traversing a sea which had given rise to so many fables, and of deciphering the mystery of his age."

With all the visionary fervor of his imagination, its fondest dreams fell short of the reality. He died in ignorance of the real grandeur of his discovery! Until his last breath, he entertained the idea that he had merely opened a new way to the old resorts of opulent commerce, and had discovered some of the wild regions of the East. He supposed Hispaniola to be the ancient Ophir, which had been visited by the ships of King Solomon, and that Cuba and Terra Firma were but remote parts of Asia. What visions of glory would have broken upon his mind, could he have known that he had indeed discovered a new continent equal to the old world in magnitude, and separated by two vast oceans from all the earth hitherto known by civilized man! and how would his magnanimous spirit have been consoled, amidst the afflictions of age, and the cares of penury, the neglect of a fickle public, and the injustice of an ungrateful king, could he have anticipated the splendid empires which would arise in the beautiful world he had discovered; and the nations and tongues and languages which were to fill its lands with his renown, and to revere and bless his name to the latest posterity!

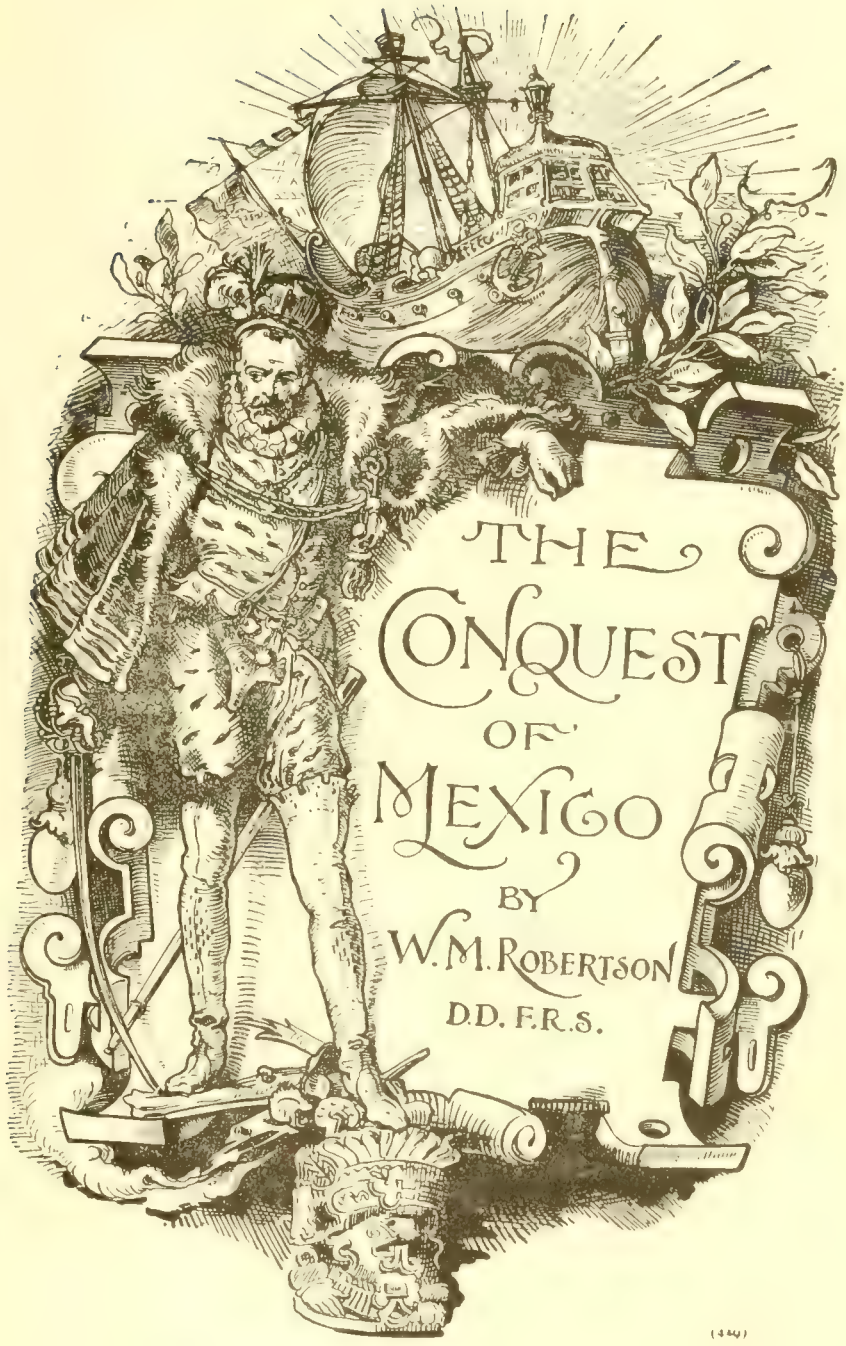


BOOK II.



FERDINAND CORTES.

PAINTING IN POSSESSION OF THE MARQUIS OF SALAMANCA.


THE
CONQUEST
OF
MEXICO
BY
W. M. ROBERTSON
D.D. F.R.S.

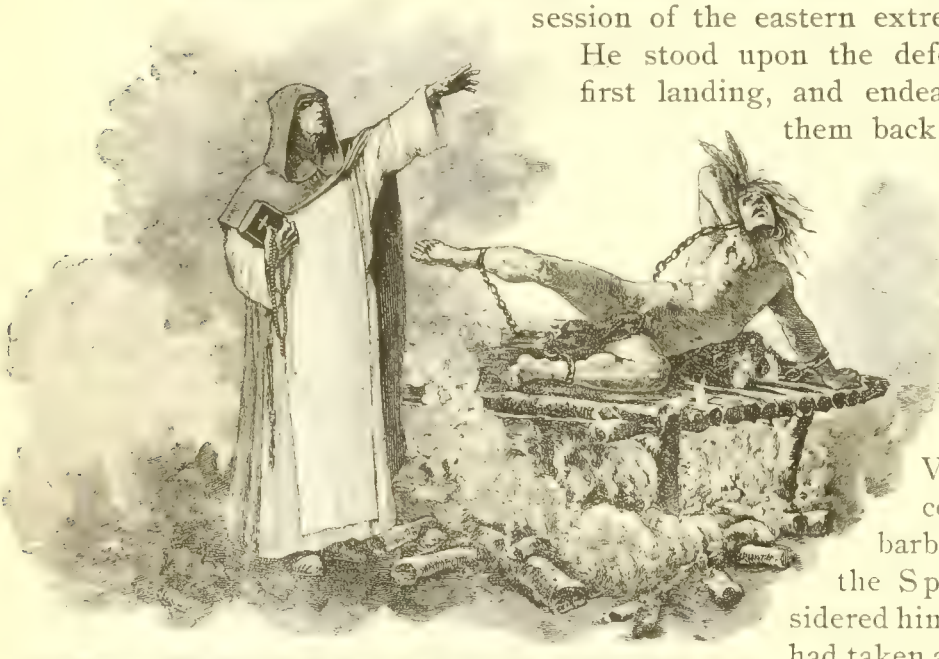


CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

THE rigorous treatment of the inhabitants of the island of San Domingo having almost extirpated the race, many of the Spanish planters, finding it impossible to carry on their works with the same vigor and profit, were obliged to look out for settlements in some country where people were not yet wasted by oppression. Others, with the inconsiderate levity natural to men upon whom wealth pours in with a sudden flow, had squandered in thoughtless prodigality what they acquired with ease, and were driven by necessity to embark in the most desperate schemes, in order to retrieve their affairs. From all these causes, when Diego Columbus proposed to conquer the island of Cuba, and to establish a colony there, many persons of chief distinction in Hispaniola engaged with alacrity in the measure. He gave the command of the troops destined for that service to Diego Velasquez, one of his father's companions in his second voyage, and who, having been long settled in Hispaniola, had acquired an ample fortune, with such reputation for probity and prudence, that he seemed to be well qualified for conducting an expedition of importance. Three hundred men were deemed

sufficient for the conquest of an island of above seven hundred miles in length, and filled with inhabitants. But they were of the same unwarlike character with the people of Hispaniola. They were not only intimidated by the appearance of their new enemies, but unprepared to resist them. For though, from the time that the Spaniards took possession of the adjacent island, there was reason to expect a descent on their territories, none of the small communities into which Cuba was divided, had either made any provision for its own defense, or had formed any concert for their common safety. The only obstruction the Spaniards met with was from Hatuey, a cacique, who had fled from Hispaniola, and had taken possession of the eastern extremity of Cuba. He stood upon the defensive at their first landing, and endeavored to drive them back to their ships. His feeble troops, however, were soon broken and dispersed; and he himself being taken prisoner, Velasquez, according to the barbarous maxim of the Spaniards, considered him as a slave who had taken arms against his master, and condemned him to the flames. When Hatuey was fastened to the stake, a Franciscan friar laboring to convert him, promised him immediate admittance to the joys of heaven, if he would embrace the Christian faith. "Are there any Spaniards," says he, after some pause, "in that region of bliss which you describe?" "Yes," replied the monk, "but only such as are worthy and good." "The best of them," returned the indignant cacique, "have neither worth nor goodness: I will not go to a place where I may meet with one of that accursed race." This dreadful example of vengeance struck the people of Cuba with



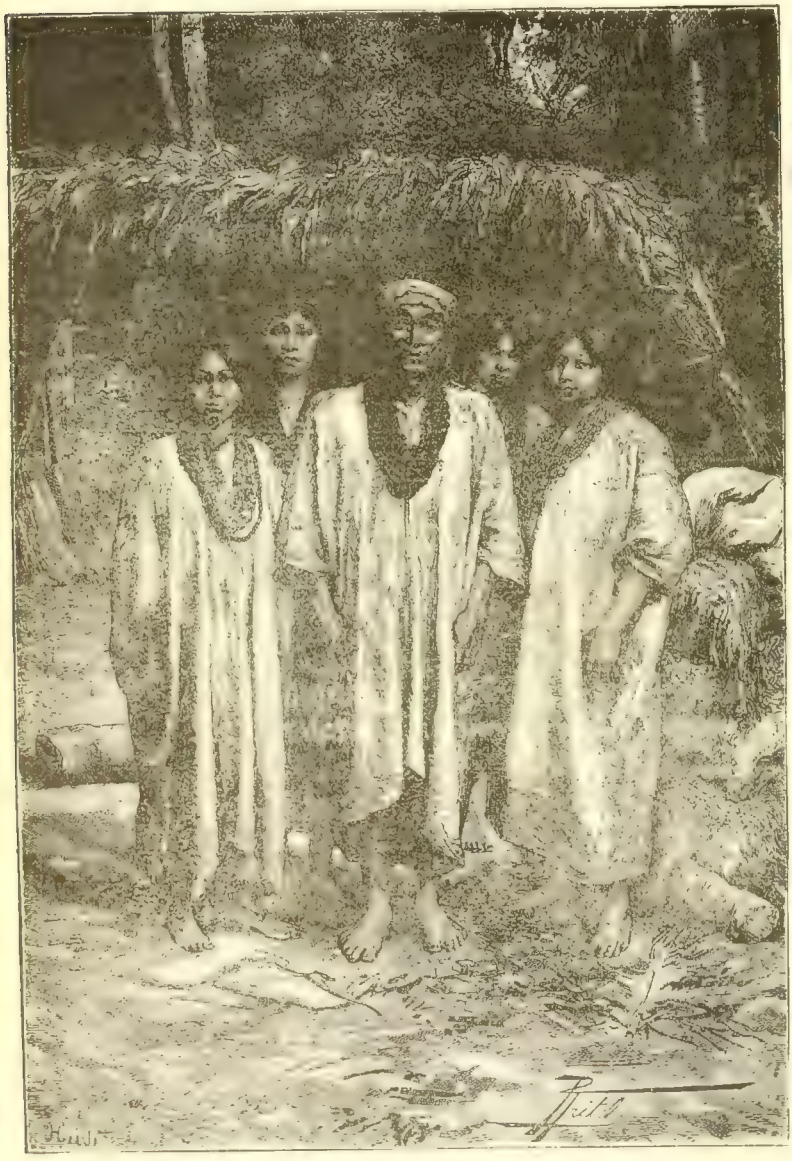
THE IGNOBLE AND CRUEL DEATH OF THE CACIQUE HATUEY, WHO EVEN AT THE LAST MOMENT DISDAINS TO MEET HIS OPPRESSORS IN THE WORLD TO COME

such terror, that they scarcely gave any opposition to the progress of their invaders; and Velasquez, without the loss of a man, annexed this extensive and fertile island to the Spanish monarchy.

Diego Velasquez retained the government of that island, as the deputy of Don Diego Columbus, though he seldom acknowledged his superior, and aimed at rendering his own authority altogether independent. Under his prudent administration, Cuba became one of the most flourishing of the Spanish settlements. The fame of this allured thither many persons from the other colonies, in hopes of finding either some permanent establishment or some employment for their activity. As Cuba lay to the west of all the islands occupied by the Spaniards, and as the ocean which stretches beyond it towards that quarter had not hitherto been explored, these circumstances naturally invited the inhabitants to attempt new discoveries. An expedition for this purpose, in which activity and resolution might conduct to sudden wealth, was more suited to the genius of the age than the patient industry requisite in clearing ground and manufacturing sugar. Instigated by this spirit, several officers, who had served under Pedrarias in Darien, entered into an association to undertake a voyage of discovery. They persuaded Francisco Hernandez Cordova, an opulent planter in Cuba, and a man of distinguished courage, to join with them in the adventure, and chose him to be their commander. Velasquez not only approved of the design, but assisted in carrying it on. As the veterans from Darien were extremely indigent, he and Cordova advanced money for purchasing three small vessels, and furnished them with every thing requisite either for traffic or for war. A hundred and ten men embarked on board of them, and sailed from St. Jago de Cuba on the 8th of February, 1517. By the advice of their chief pilot, Antonio Alaminos, who had served under the first admiral Columbus, they stood directly west, relying on the opinion of that great navigator, who uniformly maintained that a westerly course would lead to the most important discoveries.

On the twenty-first day after their departure from St. Jago, they saw land, which proved to be *Cape Catoche*, the eastern point of that large peninsula projecting from the continent of America which still retains its original name of *Yucatan*. As they approached the shore, five canoes came off full of people decently clad in cotton garments; an astonishing spectacle to the Spaniards, who

had found every other part of America possessed by naked savages. Cordova endeavored by small presents to gain the good-will of these people. They, though amazed at the strange objects now presented, for the first time, to their view, invited the Spaniards to visit their habitations, with an appearance of cordiality. They landed accordingly, and as they advanced into the country, they observed with new wonder some large houses built with stone. But they soon found that, if the people of Yucatan had made progress in improvement beyond their countrymen, they were likewise more artful and warlike. For though the cacique received Cordova with many tokens of friendship, he had posted a considerable body of his subjects in ambush behind a thicket, who, upon a signal given by him, rushed out and attacked the Spaniards with great boldness, and some degree of martial order. At the first flight of their arrows, fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded; but the Indians were struck with such terror by the sudden explosion of the firearms, and so surprised at the execution done by them, by the cross-bows, and by the other weapons of their new enemies, that they fled precipitately. Cordova quitted a country where he had met with such a fierce reception.



LACONDAN (YUCATAN) CACIQUE AND FAMILY.

SHOWING TYPE AND COSTUME OF THE NATIVES OF THE PRESENT DAY. THEY HAVING MADE BUT LITTLE ADVANCEMENT OVER THEIR ANCESTORS AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST. D. CHARNAY.

carrying off two prisoners, together with the ornaments of a small temple, which he plundered in his retreat.

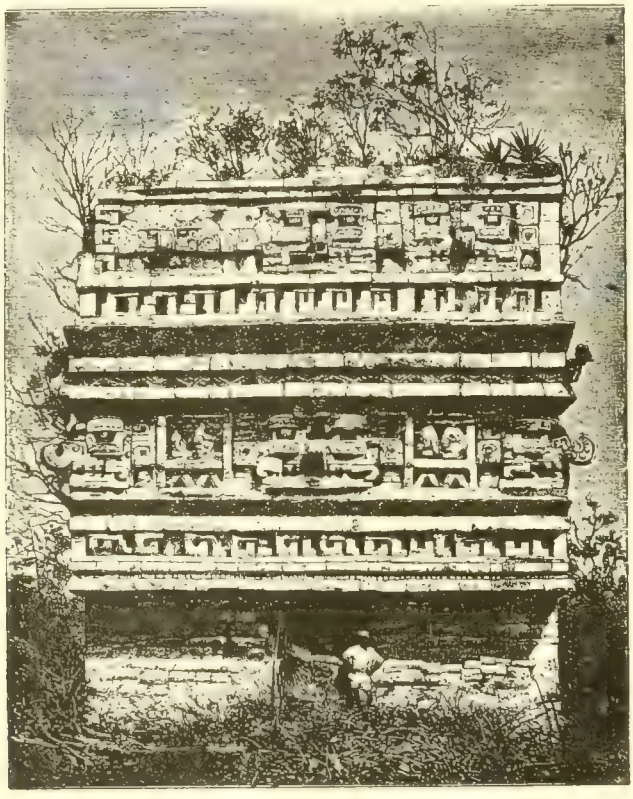
He continued his course towards the west, without losing sight of the coast, and on the sixteenth day arrived at Campeachy. There the natives received them more hospitably; but the Spaniards were much surprised, that on all the extensive coast along which they had sailed, and which they imagined to be a large island, they had not observed any river. As their water began to fail, they advanced, in hopes of finding a supply; and at length they discovered the mouth of a river at Potonchan, a few leagues beyond Campeachy. Cordova landed all his troops, in order to protect the sailors while employed in filling the casks; but notwithstanding this precaution, the natives rushed down upon them with such fury and in such numbers, that forty-seven of the Spaniards were killed upon the spot, and one man only of the whole body escaped unhurt. Their commander, though wounded in twelve different places, directed the retreat with presence of mind equal to the courage with which he had led them on in the engagement, and with much difficulty they regained their ships. After this fatal repulse, nothing remained but to hasten back to Cuba with their shattered forces. In their passage thither they suffered the most exquisite distress for



PRINCIPAL FACADE OF THE PALACE OF THE NUNS AT CHICHEN—ITZA YUCATAN.

THE AZTEC AND MAYA RELIGION INTRODUCED AMONG THEIR VIRGINS A VERY SIMILAR INSTITUTION TO THE ONE AMONG ROMAN CATHOLICS. THE VIRGINS REMAINED CELIBATES, LIVED IN CONVENTS, TOOK RELIGIOUS VOWS, ETC.

want of water, that men wounded, and sickly, shut up in small vessels, and exposed to the heat of the torrid zone, can be supposed to endure. Some of them, sinking under these calamities, died by the way; Cordova, their commander, expired soon after they landed in Cuba.



LEFT WING OF THE PALACE OF THE NUNS AT CHICHEN—ITZA, YUCATAN.

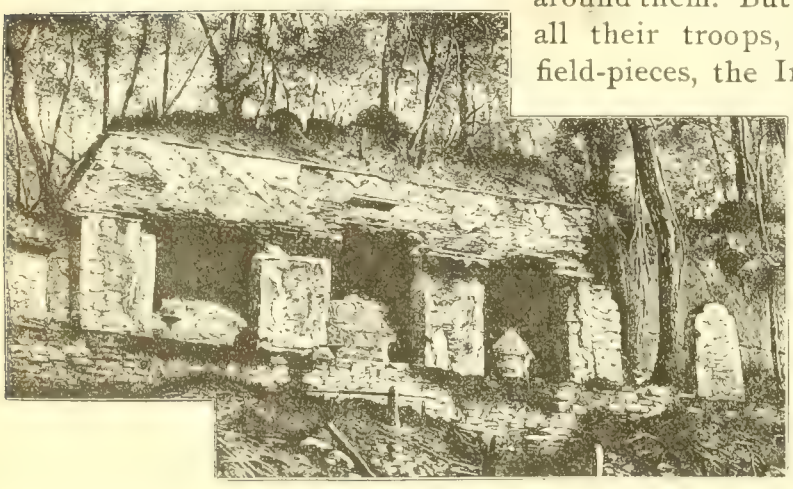
WOMEN WERE ALLOWED TO EXERCISE SACERDOTAL FUNCTIONS, EXCEPT THOSE OF SACRIFICE. ONE OF THE EARLY MISSIONARIES, FATHER ACOSTA, EXCLAIMS: "IN TRUTH, IT IS VERY STRANGE TO SEE THAT THIS FALSE OPINION OF RELIGION HATH SO GREAT FORCE AMONG THESE YOUNG MEN AND MAIDENS OF MEXICO, THAT THEY WILL SERVE THE DIVELL WITH SO GREAT RIGOR AND AUSTERITY, WHICH MANY OF US DOE NOT IN THE SERVICE OF THE MOST HIGH GOD; THE WHICH IS A GREAT SHAME AND CONFUSION." ENGLISH TRANSLATION, LIB. 5, CAP. 6.

CHAPTER XLIX.

VOYAGE OF JUAN DE GRIJALVA. DISCOVERY OF NEW SPAIN, THE MODERN MEXICO. (1518.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the disastrous conclusion of this expedition, it contributed rather to animate than to damp a spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards. They had discovered an extensive country, situated at no great distance from Cuba, fertile in appearance, and possessed by a people far superior in improvement to any hitherto known in America. Though they had carried on little commercial intercourse with the natives, they had brought off some ornaments of gold, not considerable in value, but of singular fabric. These circumstances, related with the exaggeration natural to men desirous of heightening the merit of their own exploits, were more than sufficient to excite romantic hopes and expectations. Great numbers offered to engage in a new expedition. Velasquez, solicitous to distinguish himself by some service so meritorious, as might entitle him to claim the government of Cuba independent of the admiral, not only encouraged their ardor, but, at his own expense, fitted out four ships for the voyage. Two hundred and forty volunteers, among whom were several persons of rank and fortune, embarked in this enterprise. The command of it was given to Juan de Grijalva, a young man of known merit and courage, with instructions to observe attentively the nature of the countries which he should discover, to barter for gold, and, if circumstances were inviting, to settle a colony in some

proper station. He sailed from St. Jago de Cuba on the 8th of April, 1518. The pilot Alaminos held the same course as in the former voyage; but the violence of the currents carrying the ships to the south, the first land which they made was the island of Cozumel, to the east of Yucatan. As all the inhabitants fled to the woods and mountains at the approach of the Spaniards, they made no long stay there, and without any remarkable occurrence they reached Potonchan on the opposite side of the Peninsula. The desire of avenging their countrymen who had been slain there, concurred with their ideas of good policy, in prompting them to land, that they might chastise the Indians of that district with such exemplary rigor as would strike terror into all the people around them. But though they disembarked all their troops, and carried ashore some field-pieces, the Indians fought with such courage, that the Spaniards gained the victory with difficulty, and were confirmed in their opinion that the inhabitants of this country would prove more formidable enemies than any they had met with in other parts of America. From Potonchan they continued their voyage towards the west, keeping as near as possible to the shore, and casting anchor every evening, from dread of the dangerous accidents to which they might be exposed in an unknown sea. During the day their eyes were turned continually towards land, with a mixture of surprise and wonder at the beauty of the country, as well as the novelty of the objects which they beheld. Many villages were scattered along the coast, in which they could distinguish houses of stone that appeared white and lofty at a distance. In the warmth of their admiration, they fancied these to be cities adorned with towers and pinnacles; and one of the soldiers happening to remark that this country resembled Spain in appearance, Grijalva, with universal applause, called it New Spain,



INTERIOR OR FACADE OF THE PALACE AT PALENQUE.



AZTEC PRIESTS OFFERING UP A LIVING HUMAN HEART TO THEIR DEITY, THE GREAT LUMINARY OF THE HEAVENS

REDRAWN FROM DATA OBTAINED FROM CLAVIGERO, AND THE RAMIREZ MSS.

the name which distinguished this extensive and opulent province of the Spanish empire until very recently. They landed in a river which the natives called Tabasco [June 9]; and the fame of their victory at Potonchan having reached this place, the cacique not only received them amicably, but bestowed presents upon them of such value, as confirmed the high ideas which the Spaniards had formed with respect to the wealth and fertility of the country. These ideas were raised still higher by what occurred at the place where they next touched. This was considerably to the west of Tabasco, in the province since known by the name of Guaxaca. There they were received with the respect paid to superior beings. The people perfumed them, as they landed, with incense of gum copal, and presented to them as offerings the choicest delicacies of their country. They were extremely fond of trading with their new visitants, and in six days the Spaniards obtained ornaments of gold of curious workmanship, to the value of fifteen thousand pesos, in exchange for European toys of small price. The two prisoners whom Cordova had brought from Yucatan had hitherto served as interpreters; but as they did not understand the language of this country, the Spaniards learned from the natives by signs, that they were subjects of a great monarch called Montezuma, whose dominion extended over that and many other provinces. Leaving this place, with which he had so much reason to be pleased, Grijalva continued his course towards the west. He landed on a small island [June 19], which he named the Isle of Sacrifices, because there the Spaniards beheld, for the first time, the horrid spectacle of human victims, which the barbarous superstition of the natives offered to their gods. He touched at another small island, which he called San Juan de Ulloa. From this place he despatched Pedro de Alvarado, one of his officers, to Velasquez, with a full account of the important discoveries which he had made, and with all the treasure that he acquired by trafficking with the natives. After the departure of Alvarado, he himself, with the remaining vessels, proceeded along the coast as far as the river Panuco, the country still appearing to be well peopled, fertile, and opulent.

Several of Grijalva's officers contended that it was not enough to have discovered those delightful regions, or to have performed, at their different landing-places, the empty ceremony of taking

possession of them for the crown of Castile, and that their glory was incomplete unless they planted a colony in some proper station, which might not only secure the Spanish nation a footing in the country, but, with the reinforcements which they were certain of receiving, might gradually subject the whole to the dominion of their sovereign. But the squadron had now been above five months at sea; the greatest part of their provisions was exhausted, and what remained of their stores so much corrupted by the heat of the climate, as to be almost unfit for use; they had lost some men by death; others were sickly; the country was crowded with people who seemed to be intelligent as well as brave; and they were under the government of one powerful monarch, who could bring them to act against their invaders with united force. To plant a colony under so many circumstances of disadvantage, appeared a scheme too perilous to be attempted. Grijalva, though possessed of both ambition and courage, was destitute of the superior talents capable of forming or executing such a great plan. He judged it more prudent to return to Cuba, having fulfilled the purpose of his voyage, and accomplished all that the armament which he commanded enabled him to perform. He returned to St. Jago de Cuba, on the 26th of October, from which he had taken his departure about six months before.



THE HOUSE OF THE DWARFS AT UXMAL.

This was the longest as well as the most successful voyage which the Spaniards had hitherto made in the New World. They had discovered that Yucatan was not an island, as they had supposed, but part of the great continent of America. From Poton-

chan they had pursued their course for many hundred miles along a coast formerly unexplored, stretching at first towards the west, and then turning to the north; all the country which they had discovered appeared to be no less valuable than extensive. As soon as Alvarado reached Cuba, Velasquez, transported with success so far beyond his most sanguine expectations, immediately despatched a person of confidence to carry this important intelligence to Spain, to exhibit the rich productions of the countries which had been discovered by his means, and to solicit such an increase of authority as might enable and encourage him to attempt the conquest of them. Without waiting for the return of his messenger, or for the arrival of Grijalva, of whom he was become so jealous or distrustful that he was resolved no longer to employ him, he began to prepare such a powerful armament as might prove equal to an enterprise of so much danger and importance.



TALIAN ARMOR XVI. CENTURY

CHAPTER L.

APPOINTMENT OF CORTES AS COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION. VELASQUEZ BECOMES JEALOUS OF HIM AND ENDEAVORS TO DEPRIVE HIM OF THE COMMAND. (1518.)



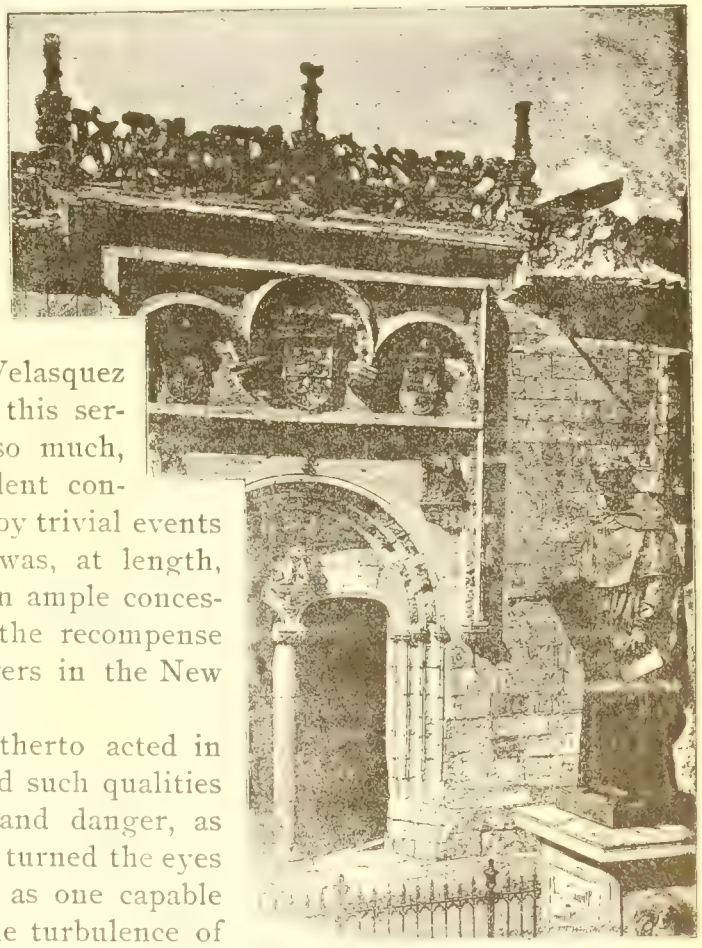
DONA MARINA, INTERPRETER OF CORTES.

WHEN Grijalva [1518] returned to Cuba, he found the armament destined to attempt the conquest of that rich country which he had discovered almost complete. Not only ambition, but avarice, had urged Velasquez to hasten his preparations; and having such a prospect of gratifying both, he had advanced considerable sums out of his private fortune towards defraying the expenses of the expedition. At the same time, he exerted his influence as governor, in engaging the most distinguished persons in the colony to undertake the service. At a time when the spirit of the Spanish nation was adventurous to excess, a number of soldiers, eager to embark in any daring enterprise, soon appeared. But it was not so easy to find a person qualified to take the command in an expedition of so much importance; and the character of Velasquez, who had the right of nomination, greatly increased the difficulty of the choice. Though of most aspiring ambition, and not destitute of talents for government, he possessed neither such courage, nor such vigor and activity of mind, as to undertake in person the conduct

of the armament which he was preparing. In this embarrassing situation, he formed the chimerical scheme, not only of achieving great exploits by a deputy, but of securing to himself the glory of conquests which were to be made by another. In the execution of this plan, he fondly aimed at reconciling contradictions. He was solicitous to choose a commander of intrepid resolution, and of superior abilities, because he knew these to be requisite in order to ensure success; but, at the same time, from the jealousy natural to little minds, he wished this person to be of a spirit so tame and obsequious as to be entirely dependent on his will. But when he came to apply those ideas in forming an opinion concerning the several officers who occurred to his thoughts as worthy of being intrusted with the command, he soon perceived that it was impossible to find such incompatible qualities united in one character. Such as were distinguished for courage and talents were too high-spirited to be passive instruments in his hands. Those who appeared more gentle and tractable, were destitute of capacity, and unequal to the charge. This augmented his perplexity and his fears. He deliberated long and with much solicitude, and was still wavering in his choice when Amador de Lares, the royal treasurer in Cuba, and Andres Duero, his own secretary, the two persons in whom he chiefly confided, were encouraged by this irresolution to propose a new candidate; and they supported their recommendation with such assiduity and address, that, no less fatally for Velasquez than happily for their country, it proved successful.

The man whom they pointed out to him was Fernando Cortes. He was born at Medellin, a small town in Estremadura, in the year 1485, and descended from a family of noble blood, but of very moderate fortune. Being originally destined by his parents to the study of law, as the most likely method of bettering his condition, he was sent early to the university of Salamanca, where he imbibed some tincture of learning. But he was soon disgusted with an academic life, which did not suit his ardent and restless genius, and retired to Medellin, where he gave himself up entirely to active sports and martial exercises. At this period of life he was so impetuous, so overbearing, and so dissipated, that his father was glad to comply with his inclination, and sent him abroad as an adventurer in arms. There were in that age two conspicuous theaters, on which such of the Spanish youth as courted military glory might display their valor; one in Italy, under

the command of the Great Captain; the other in the New World. Cortes preferred the former, but was prevented by indisposition from embarking with a reinforcement of troops sent to Naples. Upon this disappointment he turned his views towards America, whither he was allured by the prospect of the advantages which he might derive from the patronage of Ovando, the governor of Hispaniola, who was his kinsman. When he landed at San Domingo, in 1504, his reception was such as equaled his most sanguine hopes, and he was employed by the governor in several honorable and lucrative stations. These, however, did not satisfy his ambition; and, in the year 1511, he obtained permission to accompany Diego Velasquez in his expedition to Cuba. In this service he distinguished himself so much, that, notwithstanding some violent contests with Velasquez, occasioned by trivial events unworthy of remembrance, he was, at length, taken into favor, and received an ample concession of lands and of Indians, the recompense usually bestowed upon adventurers in the New World.



THE GATEWAY OF THE ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA

Though Cortes had not hitherto acted in high command, he had displayed such qualities in several scenes of difficulty and danger, as raised universal expectation, and turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him as one capable of performing great things. The turbulence of youth, as soon as he found objects and occupations suited to the ardor of his mind, gradually subsided and settled into a habit of regular indefatigable activity. The impetuosity of his temper, when he came to act with his equals, insensibly abated, by being kept under restraint, and mellowed into a cordial soldierly frankness. These qualities were accompanied with calm prudence in concerting his schemes, with persevering vigor in executing

them, and with, what is peculiar to superior genius, the art of gaining the confidence and governing the minds of men. To all which were added the inferior accomplishments that strike the vulgar, and command their respect; a graceful person, a winning aspect, extraordinary address in martial exercises, and a constitution of such vigor as to be capable of enduring any fatigue.

As soon as Cortes was mentioned to Velasquez by his two confidants, he flattered himself that he had, at length, found what he had hitherto sought in vain, a man with talents for command, but not an object for jealousy. Neither the rank nor the fortune of Cortes, as he imagined, was such that he could aspire at independence. He had reason to believe, that, by his own readiness to bury ancient animosities in oblivion, as well as his liberality in conferring several recent favors, he had already gained the good-will of Cortes, and hoped, by this new and unexpected mark of confidence, that he might attach him forever to his interest.

Cortes, receiving his commission [Oct. 23] with the warmest expressions of respect and gratitude to the governor, immediately erected his standard before his own house, appeared in a military dress, and assumed all the ensigns of his new dignity. His utmost influence and activity were exerted in persuading many of his friends to engage in the service, and in urging forward the preparations for the voyage. All his own funds, together with what money he could raise by mortgaging his lands and Indians, were expended in purchasing military stores and provisions, or in supplying the wants of such of his officers as were unable to equip themselves in a manner suited to their rank. Inoffensive, and even laudable as this conduct was, his disappointed competitors were malicious enough to give it a turn to his disadvantage. They represented him as aiming already, with little disguise, at establishing an independent authority over his troops, and endeavoring to secure their respect or love by his ostentatious and interested liberality. They reminded Velasquez of his former dissensions with the man in whom he now reposed so much confidence, and foretold that Cortes would be more apt to avail himself of the power which the governor was inconsiderately putting in his hands, to avenge past injuries, than to requite recent obligations. These insinuations made such impression upon the suspicious mind of Velasquez, that Cortes soon observed some symptoms of a growing alienation and distrust in his behavior, and

was advised by Lares and Duero to hasten his departure before these should become so confirmed as to break out with open violence. Fully sensible of this danger, he urged forward his preparations with such rapidity, that he set sail from St. Jago de Cuba on the 18th of November; Velasquez taking leave of him with an appearance of perfect friendship and confidence, though he had secretly given it in charge to some of Cortes' officers, to keep a watchful eye upon every part of their commander's conduct.

Cortes proceeded to Trinidad, a small settlement on the same side of the island, where he was joined by several adventurers, and received a supply of provisions and military stores, of which his stock was still very incomplete. He had hardly left St. Jago, when the jealousy which had been working in the breast of Velasquez grew so violent, that it was impossible to suppress it. The armament was no longer under his own eye and direction; and he felt that as his power over it ceased, that of Cortes would become more absolute. Imagination now aggravated every circumstance which had formerly excited suspicion: the rivals of Cortes industriously threw in reflections which increased his fear; and, with no less art than malice, they called superstition to their aid, employing the predictions of an astrologer in order to complete the alarm. All these, by their united operation, produced the desired effect. Velasquez repented bitterly of his own imprudence, in having committed a trust of so much importance to a person whose fidelity appeared so doubtful, and hastily despatched instructions to Trinidad, empowering Verdugo, the chief magistrate there, to deprive Cortes of his commission. But Cortes had already made such progress in gaining the esteem and confidence of his troops, that, finding officers as well as soldiers equally zealous to support his authority, he soothed or intimidated Verdugo, and was permitted to depart from Trinidad without molestation.



VELASQUEZ GIVES HIS LAST ORDERS TO CORTES ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE.

From Trinidad Cortes sailed for the Havana, in order to raise more soldiers, and to complete the victualing of his fleet. There several persons of distinction entered into the service, and engaged to supply what provisions were still wanting; but, as it was necessary to allow them some time for performing what they had prom-

ised, Velasquez, sensible that he ought no longer to rely on a man of whom he had so openly discovered his distrust, availed himself of the interval which this unavoidable delay afforded, in order to make one attempt more to wrest the command out of the hands of Cortes. He loudly complained of Verdugo's conduct, accusing him either of childish facility, or of manifest treachery, in suffering Cortes to escape from Trinidad. Anxious to guard against a second disappointment, he sent a person of confidence to the Havana, with peremptory injunctions to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes, to send him prisoner to St. Jago under a strong guard, and to countermand the sailing of the armament until he should receive further orders. He wrote, likewise, to the principal officers, requiring them to assist Barba in executing what he had given him in charge. But before the arrival of this messenger, a Franciscan friar of St. Jago had secretly conveyed an account of this interesting transaction to Bartholomew de Olmedo, a monk of the same order, who acted as chaplain to the expedition.

Cortes, forewarned of the danger, had time to take precautions for his own safety. His first step was to find some pretext for removing from the Havana Diego de Ordaz, an officer of great merit, but in whom, on account of his known attachment to Velasquez, he could not confide in this trying and delicate juncture. He gave him the command of a vessel, destined to take on board some provisions in a small harbor beyond Cape Antonio, and thus made sure of his absence without seeming to suspect his fidelity. When he was gone, Cortes no longer concealed the intentions of Velasquez from his troops; and as officers and soldiers were equally impatient to set out on an expedition, in preparing for which most of them had expended all their fortunes, they expressed their astonishment and indignation at the illiberal jealousy to which the governor was about to sacrifice, not only the honor of their general, but all their sanguine hopes of glory and wealth. With one voice they entreated that he would not abandon the important station to which he had such a good title. They conjured him not to deprive them of a leader whom they followed with such well-founded confidence, and offered to shed the last drop of their blood in maintaining his authority. Cortes was easily induced to comply with what he himself so ardently desired. He swore that he would never desert

soldiers who had given him such a signal proof of their attachment, and promised instantly to conduct them to that rich country, which had been so long the object of their thoughts and wishes. This declaration was received with transports of military applause, accompanied with threats and imprecations against all who should presume to call in question the jurisdiction of their general, or to obstruct the execution of his designs.

Every thing was now ready for their departure; but though this expedition was fitted out by the united effort of the Spanish power in Cuba; though every settlement had contributed its quota of men and provisions; though the governor had laid out considerable sums, and each adventurer had exhausted his stock, or strained his credit, the poverty of the preparation was such as must astonish the present age, and bore, indeed, no resemblance to an armament destined for the conquest of a great empire. The fleet consisted of eleven vessels; the largest of a hundred tons, which was dignified by the name of Admiral; three of seventy or eighty tons, and the rest small open barks. On board of these were six hundred and seventeen men; of which five hundred and eight belonged to the land-service, and a hundred and nine were seamen or artificers. The soldiers were divided into eleven companies, according to the number of the ships, to each of which Cortes appointed a captain, and committed to him the command of the vessel while at sea, and of the men when on shore. As the use of fire arms among the nations of Europe was hitherto confined to a few battalions of regularly disciplined infantry, only thirteen soldiers were armed with muskets, thirty-two were cross-bow men, and the rest had swords and spears. Instead of the usual defensive armor, which must have been cumbersome in a hot climate, most of the soldiers wore jackets quilted with cotton, which experience had taught the Spaniards to be a sufficient protection against the weapons of the Americans They had only sixteen horses, ten small field-pieces, and four falconets.

CHAPTER LI.

DEPARTURE FROM CUBA AND LANDING AT TABASCO. FIRST INTERVIEW WITH THE MEXICANS AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH MONTEZUMA. (1519.

WITH this slender and ill-provided train did Cortes set sail [Feb. 10, 1519], to make war upon a monarch whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown. As religious enthusiasm always mingled with the spirit of adventure in the New World, and, by a combination still more strange, united with avarice, in prompting the Spaniards to all their enterprises, a large cross was displayed in their standards, with this inscription, Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer.

So powerfully were Cortes and his followers animated with both these passions, that no less eager to plunder the opulent country whither they were bound, than zealous to propagate the Christian faith among its inhabitants, they set out, not with the solicitude natural to men going upon dangerous services, but with that confidence which arises from security of success, and certainty of the divine protection.



THE FLAG UNDER WHICH CORTES FOUGHT.

PRESERVED IN THE HOSPITAL OF ESCORIAL, CITY OF MEXICO.

As Cortes had determined to touch at every place where Grijalva had visited, he steered directly towards the island of Cozumel; there he had the good fortune to redeem Jerome de Aguilar, a



THE CACIQUE OF TABASCO PRESENTS CORTES WITH TWENTY FEMALE SLAVES:
AMONG THEM DONA MARINA.
DRAWING BY N MAURIN.

Spaniard, who had been eight years a prisoner among the Indians. This man was perfectly acquainted with a dialect of their language understood through a large extent of country, and, possessing besides a considerable share of prudence and sagacity, proved extremely useful as an interpreter. From Cozumel, Cortes proceeded to the river of Tabasco [March 4], in hopes of a reception as friendly as Grijalva had met with there, and of finding gold in the same abundance; but the disposition of the natives, from some unknown cause, was totally changed. After repeated endeavors to conciliate their good-will, he was constrained to have recourse to violence. Though the forces of the enemy were numerous, and advanced with extraordinary courage, they were routed, with great slaughter, in several successive actions. The loss which they sustained, and still more the astonishment and terror excited by the destructive effect of the fire arms, and the dreadful appearance of the horses, humbled their fierce spirits, and induced them to sue for peace. They acknowledged the King of Castile as their sovereign, and granted Cortes a supply of provisions with a present of cotton garments, some gold, and twenty female slaves.

Cortes continued his course to the westward, keeping as near the shore as possible, in order to observe the country; but could discover no proper place for landing, until he arrived at St. Juan d' Ulloa. As he entered this harbor [April 2], a large canoe, full of people, among whom were two who seemed to be persons of distinction, approached his ship, with signs of peace and amity. They came on board without fear or distrust, and addressed him in a most respectful manner, but in a language altogether unknown to Aguilar. Cortes was in the utmost perplexity and distress at an event of which he instantly foresaw all the consequences, and already felt the hesitation and uncertainty with which he should carry on the great schemes which he meditated, if, in his transactions with the natives, he must depend entirely upon such an imperfect, ambiguous, and conjectural mode of communication as the use of signs. But he did not remain long in his embarrassing situation; a fortunate accident extricated him, when his own sagacity could have contributed little towards his relief. One of the female slaves, whom he had received from the cacique of Tabasco, happened to be present at the first interview between Cortes and his new guests. She perceived his distress, as well as the confusion of Aguilar; and, as

she perfectly understood the Mexican language, she explained what they said in the Yucatan tongue, with which Aguilar was acquainted. This woman, known afterwards by the name of Doña Marina, and who makes a conspicuous figure in the history of the New World, where great revolutions were brought about by small causes and inconsiderable instruments, was born in one of the provinces of the Mexican Empire. Having been sold as a slave in the early part of her life, after a variety of adventures she fell into the hands of the Tabascans, and had resided long enough among them to acquire their language, without losing the use of her own. Though it was both tedious and troublesome to converse by the intervention of two different interpreters, Cortes was so highly pleased with having discovered this method of carrying on some intercourse with the people of a country into which he was determined to penetrate, that in the transports of his joy he considered it as a visible interposition of Providence in his favor.



A MODERN TOLTEC-MEXICAN MAIDEN.

To show Indian type and dress of the "Children of the Sun," which differed very little from that of the present age.

He now learned that the two persons whom he had received on

board of his ship were deputies from Teutile and Pilpatoe, two officers intrusted with the government of that province by a great monarch whom they called Montezuma; and that they were sent to inquire what his intentions were in visiting their coast, and to offer him what assistance he might need, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes, struck with the appearance of those people, as well as the tenor of the message, assured them, in respectful terms, that he approached their country with most friendly sentiments, and came to propose matters of great importance to the welfare of their prince and his kingdom, which he would unfold more fully, in person, to the governor and the general. Next morning, without waiting for any answer, he landed his troops, his horses, and artillery; and, having chosen proper ground, began to erect huts for his men, and to fortify his camp. The natives, instead of opposing the entrance of those fatal guests into their country, assisted them in all their operations with an alacrity of which they had, ere long, good reason to repent.



THE SEASIDE CAVE AT SAN

Next day Teutile and Pilpatoe entered the Spanish camp with a numerous retinue; and Cortes, considering them as the ministers of a great monarch, entitled to a degree of attention very different from that which the Spaniards were accustomed to pay to the petty caciques, with whom they had intercourse in the isles, received them with much formal ceremony. He informed them, that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos of Austria, king of Castile, the greatest monarch of the East, and was intrusted with propositions of such moment, that he could impart them to none but the emperor Montezuma himself, and, therefore, required them to conduct him, without loss of time, into the presence of their master. The Mexican officers could not conceal their uneasiness at a request, which they knew would be disagreeable, and which they foresaw might prove extremely embarrassing to their sovereign, whose mind had been filled with many disquieting apprehensions ever since the

former appearance of the Spaniards on his coasts. But, before they attempted to dissuade Cortes from insisting on his demand, they endeavored to conciliate his good-will by entreating him to accept of certain presents, which, as humble slaves of Montezuma, they laid at his feet. They were introduced with great parade, and consisted of fine cotton cloth, of plumes of various colors, and of ornaments of gold and silver, to a considerable value, the workmanship of which appeared to be as curious as the materials were rich. The display of these produced an effect very different from what the Mexicans intended. Instead of satisfying, it increased the avidity of the Spaniards, and rendered them so eager and impatient to become masters of a country which abounded with such precious productions, that Cortes could hardly listen with patience to the arguments which Pilpatoe and Teutile employed to dissuade him from visiting the capital, and, in a haughty, determined tone, he insisted on his demand, of being admitted to a personal audience of their sovereign. During this interview, some painters, in the train of the Mexican chiefs, had been diligently employed in delineating, upon white cotton cloths, figures of the ships, the horses, the artillery, the soldiers, and whatever else attracted their eyes as singular. When Cortes observed this, and was informed that these pictures were to be sent to Montezuma, in order to convey to him a more lively idea of the strange and wonderful objects now presented to their view, than any words could communicate, he resolved to render the representation still more animating and interesting, by exhibiting such a spectacle, as might give both them and their monarch an awful impression of the extraordinary prowess of his followers, and the irresistible force of their arms. The trumpets, by his order, sounded an alarm; the troops, in a moment, formed in order of battle, the infantry performed such martial exercises as were best suited to display the effect of their different weapons; the horse, in various evolutions, gave a specimen of their agility



A PAGE FROM THE MAYA MANUSCRIPT PRESERVED IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY, DRESDEN.

TWO-THIRDS ORIGINAL SIZE.

Only three or four MSS. are known to be in existence, the finest from Dresden being executed on the finest. They are written on a kind of paper prepared from the fibres of the Mexican Agave, and coated with a layer of gypsum. None of the Maya writings have as yet been deciphered. They were only understood by their priests (Ahkin) and a few initiates from the upper classes.

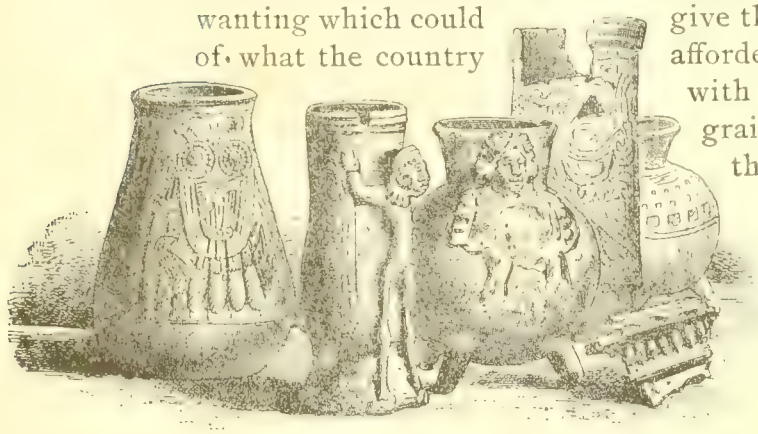
and strength; the artillery, pointed towards the thick woods which surrounded the camp, were fired, and made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on with that silent amazement which is natural when the mind is struck with objects which are both awful and above its comprehension. But, at the explosion of the cannon, many of them fled, some fell to the ground, and all were so much confounded at the sight of men whose power so nearly resembled that of the gods, that Cortes found it difficult to compose and reassure them. The painters had now many new objects on which to exercise their art, and they put their fancy on the stretch in order to invent figures and symbols to represent the extraordinary things which they had seen.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma with those pictures, and a full account of every thing that had passed since the arrival of the Spaniards, and by them Cortes sent a present of some European curiosities to Montezuma, which, though of no great value, he believed would be acceptable on account of their novelty. The Mexican monarchs, in order to obtain early information of every occurrence in all the corners of their extensive empire, had introduced a refinement in police unknown at that time in Europe. They had couriers posted at proper stations along the principal roads; and as these were trained to agility by a regular education, and relieved one another at moderate distances, they conveyed intelligence with surprising rapidity. Though the capital in which Montezuma resided was above a hundred and eighty miles from St. Juan d'Ulloa, Cortes' presents were carried thither, and an answer to his demands was received in a few days. The same officers who had hitherto treated with the Spaniards were employed to deliver this answer; but as they knew how repugnant the determination of their master was to all the schemes and wishes of the Spanish commander, they would not venture to make it known until they had previously endeavored to soothe and mollify him. For this purpose they renewed their negotiation, by introducing a train of a hundred Indians loaded with presents sent to him by Montezuma. The magnificence of these was such as became a great



HEADS AND MASQUES FOUND AT TEOTIHUACAN (MEX.) MADE FROM TERRA COTTA

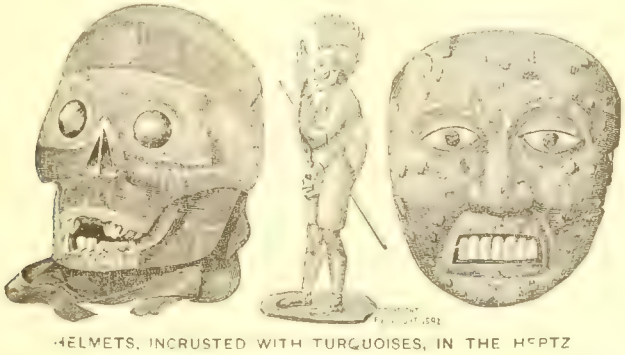
monarch, and far exceeded any idea which the Spaniards had hitherto formed of his wealth. They were placed on mats spread on the ground, in such order as showed them to the greatest advantage. Cortes and his officers viewed, with admiration, the various manufactures of the country; cotton stuffs so fine, and of such delicate texture as to resemble silk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colors, disposed and mingled with such skill and elegance, as to rival the works of the pencil in truth and beauty of imitation. But what chiefly attracted their eyes, were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. These were accompanied with bracelets, collars, rings, and other trinkets of gold, and, that nothing might be wanting which could give the Spaniards a complete idea of what the country afforded, with some boxes filled with pearls, precious stones, and grains of gold unwrought, as they had been found in the mines or rivers. Cortes received all these with an appearance of profound veneration for the monarch by whom they were bestowed. But when the Mexicans, presuming upon this, informed him that their master, though he desired him to accept of what he had sent as a token of regard for that monarch whom Cortes represented, would not give his consent that foreign troops should approach nearer to his capital, or even allow them to continue longer in his dominions, the Spanish general declared, in a manner more resolute and peremptory than formerly, that he must insist on his first demand, as he could not, without dishonor, return to his own country, until he was admitted into the presence of the prince whom he was appointed to visit in the name of his sovereign. The Mexicans, astonished at seeing any man dare to oppose that will, which they were accustomed to consider as supreme and irresistible, yet afraid of precipitating their country into an open rupture with such formidable enemies, prevailed with



ANCIENT MEXICAN VASES

Cortes to promise, that he would not move from his present camp until the return of a messenger whom they sent to Montezuma for further instructions.

The firmness with which Cortes adhered to his original proposal, should, naturally, have brought the negotiation between him and Montezuma to a speedy issue, as it seemed to leave the Mexican monarch no choice, but either to receive him with confidence as a friend, or to oppose him openly as an enemy. The latter was what might have been expected from a haughty prince in possession of extensive power. The Mexican empire, at this period, was at a pitch of grandeur to which no society ever attained in so short a period. Though it had subsisted, according to their own traditions, only a hundred and thirty years, its dominion extended from the North to the South Sea, over territories stretching, with some small interruption, about five hundred leagues from east to west, and more than two hundred from north to south, comprehending provinces not inferior in fertility, population, and opulence, to any in the torrid zone. The people were warlike and enterprising; the authority of the monarch unbounded, and his revenues considerable. If, with the forces which might have been suddenly assembled in such an empire, Montezuma had fallen upon the Spaniards, while encamped on a barren, unhealthy coast, unsupported by any ally, without a place of retreat, and destitute of provisions, it seems to be impossible, even with the advantages of their superior discipline and arms, that they could have stood the shock, and they must either have perished in such an unequal contest, or have abandoned the enterprise.



HELMETS, INCRUSTED WITH TURQUOISES, IN THE HEPTZ COLLECTION, PARIS

The bodies of the Mexican soldiers were generally covered with a loose vest of quilted cotton, so thick as to be impenetrable to the light missives of Indian warfare. Their helmets were sometimes of wood, plain, or incrusted with polished precious stones, fashioned like the heads of wild animals or skulls, etc., and sometimes of silver.—*From M. Brasseur de Bourbourg's Palenque*

CHAPTER LII.

MONTEZUMA'S PERPLEXITY AND TERROR UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS. CORTES ESTABLISHES A CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND IS CHOSEN CHIEF JUSTICE AND CAPTAIN GENERAL.

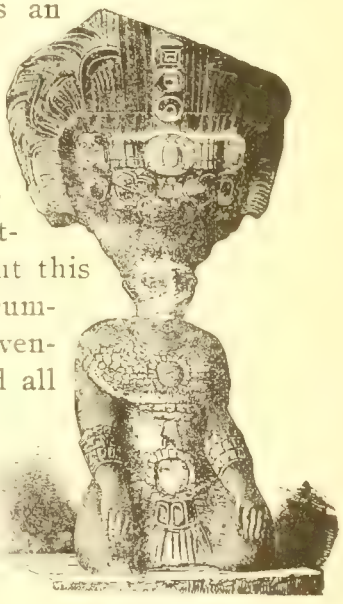


MOCTETZOUMA XOCOTZIN,
COMMONLY KNOWN BY THE NAME OF MONTEZUMA
FROM A PAINTING EXECUTED BY ORDER OF CORTES.

AS the power of Montezuma enabled him to take this spirited part, his own dispositions were such as seemed naturally to prompt him to it. Of all the princes who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, he was the most haughty, the most violent, and the most impatient of control. His subjects looked up to him with awe, and his enemies with terror. The former he governed with unexampled rigor; but they were impressed with such an opinion of his capacity as commanded their respect; and, by many victories over the latter, he had spread far the dread of his arms, and had added several considerable provinces to his dominions. But though his

talents might be suited to the transactions of a state so imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, and sufficient to conduct them while in their accustomed course, they were altogether inadequate to a conjuncture so extraordinary, and did not qualify him either to judge with the discernment or to act with the decision requisite in such a trying emergency.

From the moment that the Spaniards appeared on his coast, he discovered symptoms of timidity and embarrassment. Instead of taking such resolutions as the consciousness of his own power, or the memory of his former exploits, might have inspired, he deliberated with an anxiety and hesitation which did not escape the notice of his meanest courtiers. The perplexity and discomposure of Montezuma's mind upon this occasion, as well as the general dismay of his subjects, were not owing wholly to the impression which the Spaniards had made by the novelty of their appearance and the terror of their arms. Its origin may be traced up to a more remote source. There was an opinion, if we may believe the earliest and most authentic Spanish historians, almost universal among the Americans, that some dreadful calamity was impending over their heads, from a race of formidable invaders, who should come from regions towards the rising sun, to overrun and desolate their country. Whether this disquieting apprehension flowed from the memory of some natural calamity which had afflicted that part of the globe, and impressed the minds of the inhabitants with superstitious fears and forebodings, or whether it was an imagination accidentally suggested by the astonishment which the first sight of a new race of men occasioned, it is impossible to determine. But as the Mexicans were more prone to superstition than any people in the New World, they were more deeply affected by the appearance of the Spaniards, whom their credulity instantly represented as the instrument destined to bring about this fatal revolution which they dreaded. Under those circumstances, it ceases to be incredible that a handful of adventurers should alarm the monarch of a great empire, and all his subjects.



KNEELING IDOL
FROM A LACONDAN TEMPLE.

Notwithstanding the influence of this impression, when the messenger arrived from the Spanish camp with an account that the leader of the stran-



THE TEMPLA ATL N ...TO AL T E AFTER THE RAV ED MEX
CAPT VE FETTERED TO T ... ER AN HT. ON AN
ELEVATED TH ... E ... HO M E ED EMPER OR ON N CREEKS.

gers, adhering to his original demand, refused to obey the order enjoining him to leave the country, Montezuma assumed some degree of resolution; and, in a transport of rage natural to a fierce prince, unaccustomed to meet with any opposition to his will, he threatened to sacrifice those presumptuous men to his gods. But his doubts and fears quickly returned, and, instead of issuing orders to carry his threats into execution, he again called his ministers to confer and offer their advice. Feeble and temporizing measures will always be the result when men assemble to deliberate in a situation where they ought to act. The Mexican counsellors took no effective measure for expelling such troublesome intruders, and were satisfied with issuing a more positive injunction, requiring them to leave the country; but this they preposterously accompanied with a present of such value as proved a fresh inducement to remain there.



MEXICAN CALENDAR STONE.

PRESERVED IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, MEXICO.

This remarkable piece of sculpture consists of dark porphyry, and, in its original dimensions, as taken from the quarry, is computed to have weighed nearly fifty tons. It was transported from the mountain of Chalco, a distance of many leagues, over a broken country intersected by water-courses and canals. In crossing a bridge which traversed one of these latter in the capital, the supports gave way, and the huge mass was precipitated into the water, whence it was with difficulty recovered. The fact that so enormous a fragment of porphyry could be thus safely carried for leagues, in the face of such obstacles, and without the aid of cattle,—for the Aztecs had no animals of draught,—suggests to us no mean ideas of their mechanical skill, and of their machinery; and implies a degree of cultivation, little inferior to that demanded for the geometrical and astronomical science displayed in the inscriptions on this very stone. The face of this dial shows that they had the means of setting the hours of the day with precision, the periods of the solstices and of the equinoxes, and that of the transit of the sun across the zenith of Mexico. — *Prescott, Conquest, Vol. I p. 123, 143*

Meanwhile, the Spaniards were not without solicitude, or a variety of sentiments, in deliberating concerning their own future conduct. From what they had already seen, many of them formed such extravagant ideas concerning the opulence of the country, that, despising danger or hardships when they had in view treasures which



TEUHILE, MONTEZUMA'S AMBASSADOR, QUITS THE SPANISH CAMP
WITH LOOKS AND GESTURES WHICH STRONGLY EXPRESS HIS RESENTMENT.
DRAWING BY N. MAURIN.

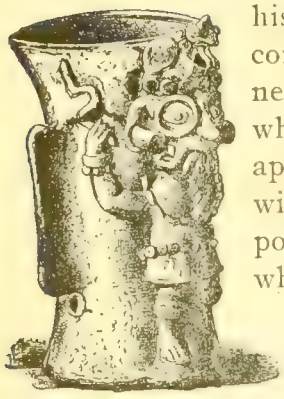
appeared to be inexhaustible, they were eager to attempt the conquest. Others, estimating the power of the Mexican empire by its wealth, and enumerating the various proofs which had occurred of its being under a well-regulated administration, contended, that it would be an act of the wildest frenzy to attack such a state with a small body of men, in want of provisions, unconnected with any ally, and already enfeebled by the diseases peculiar to the climate, and the loss of several of their number. Cortes secretly applauded the advocates for bold measures, and cherished their romantic hopes, as such ideas corresponded with his own, and favored the execution of the schemes which he had formed. From the time that the suspicions of Valesquez broke out with open violence in the attempts to deprive him of the command, Cortes saw the necessity of dissolving a connection which would obstruct and embarrass all his operations, and watched for a proper opportunity of coming to a final rupture with him. Having this in view, he had labored by every art to secure the esteem and affection of his soldiers. With his abilities for command, it was easy to gain their esteem; and his followers were quickly satisfied that they might rely, with perfect confidence, on the conduct and courage of their leader. Nor was it more difficult to acquire their affection. Among the adventurers, nearly of the same rank, and serving at their own expense, the dignity of command did not elevate a general above mingling with those who acted under him. Cortes availed himself of this freedom of intercourse, to insinuate himself into their favor, and by his affable manners, by well-timed acts of liberality to some, by inspiring all with vast hopes, and by allowing them to trade privately with the natives, he attached the greater part of his soldiers so firmly to himself, that they almost forgot that the armament had been fitted out by the authority, and at the expense of another.



TERRA COTTA VASES FOUND AT TENENEPANGO, MEXICO.

During these intrigues, Teutile arrived with the present from Montezuma, and, together with it, delivered the ultimate order of that monarch to depart instantly out of his dominions; and when Cortes, instead of complying, renewed his request of an audience, the Mexican turned from him abruptly, and quitted the camp with looks and gestures which strongly expressed his surprise and

resentment. Next morning, none of the natives, who used to frequent the camp in great numbers, in order to barter with the soldiers, and to bring in provisions, appeared. All friendly correspondence seemed now to be at an end, and it was expected every moment that hostilities would commence. This, though an event that might have been foreseen, occasioned a sudden consternation among the Spaniards, which emboldened the adherents of Velasquez not only to murmur and cabal against their general, but to appoint one of their number to remonstrate openly against his imprudence in attempting the conquest of a mighty empire with such inadequate force, and to urge the necessity of returning to Cuba, in order to refit the fleet and augment the army. Diego de Ordaz, one of his principal officers, whom the malecontents charged with this commission, delivered it with a soldierly freedom and bluntness, assuring Cortes that he spoke the sentiments of the whole army. He listened to this remonstrance without any appearance of emotion; and as he well knew the temper and wishes of his soldiers, and foresaw how they would receive a proposition fatal at once to all the splendid hopes and schemes which they had been forming with such complacency, he carried his dissimulation so far as to seem to relinquish his own measures in compliance with the request of Ordaz, and issued orders that the army should be in readiness next day to reembark for Cuba. As soon as this was known, the disappointed adventurers exclaimed and threatened; the emissaries of Cortes, mingling with them, inflamed their rage; the ferment became general; the whole camp was almost in open mutiny; all demanding with eagerness to see their commander. Cortes was not slow in appearing; when, with one voice, officers and soldiers expressed their astonishment and indignation at the orders which they had received. It was unworthy, they cried, of the Castilian courage to be daunted at the first aspect of danger, and infamous to fly before any enemy appeared. For their parts, they were determined not to relinquish an enterprise that had hitherto been successful, and which tended so visibly to spread the knowledge of true religion, and to advance the glory and interest of their country. Happy under his command, they would follow him with alacrity through every danger, in quest of those settlements and treasures which he had so long held out to their view; but if he chose rather



POTTERY, WITH FIGURE OF TLALOC

The god of rains, and giver of harvests, whose festival was celebrated with that of Quetzalcoatl, on the first day of the first month of the Aztec calendar (February)

to return to Cuba, and tamely give up all his hopes of distinction and opulence to an envious rival, they would instantly choose another general to conduct them in that path of glory which he had not spirit to enter.

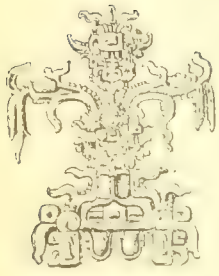
Cortes, delighted with their ardor, took no offense at the boldness with which it was uttered. The sentiments were what he himself had inspired, and the warmth of expression satisfied him that his followers had imbibed them thoroughly. He affected, however, to be surprised at what he heard, declaring that his orders to prepare for embarking were issued from a persuasion that this was agreeable to his troops; that, from deference to what he had been informed was their inclination, he had sacrificed his own private opinion, which was firmly bent on establishing immediately a settlement on the sea-coast, and then on endeavoring to penetrate into the interior part of the country; that now he was convinced of his error; and as he perceived that they were animated with the generous spirit which breathed in every true Spaniard, he would resume, with fresh ardor, his original plan of operation, and doubted not to conduct them, in the career of victory, to such independent fortunes as their valor merited. Upon this declaration, shouts of applause testified the excess of their joy. The measure seemed to be taken with unanimous consent; such as secretly condemned it being obliged to join in the acclamations, partly to conceal their disaffection from their general, and partly to avoid the imputation of cowardice from their fellow-soldiers.

Without allowing his men time to cool or to reflect, Cortes set about carrying his design into execution. In order to give a beginning to a colony, he assembled the principal persons in his army, and, by their suffrage, elected a council and magistrates in



CORTES PROCLAIMED AMIDST THE SHOUTS OF ARMY FROM HIS SOLDIERS THAT HE WOULD CONDUCT THEM TO

whom the government was to be vested. As men naturally transplant the institutions and forms of the mother-country into their new settlements, this was framed upon the model of a Spanish corporation. The magistrates were distinguished by the same names and ensigns of office, and were to exercise a similar jurisdiction. All the persons chosen were most firmly devoted to Cortes, and the instrument of their election was framed in the king's name, without any mention of their dependence on Velasquez. The two principles of avarice and enthusiasm, which prompted the Spaniards to all their enterprises in the New World, seem to have concurred in suggesting the name which Cortes bestowed on his infant settlement. He called it, Villa Rica de Vera Cruz (The Rich Town of the True Cross).



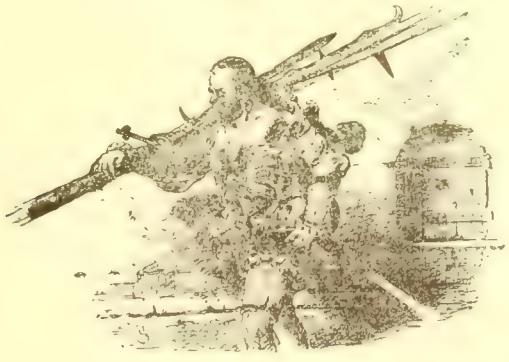
CROSS FROM THE TEMPLE OF THE CROSS, PALENQUE.

The Spaniards could not suppress their wonder as they beheld the Cross, the sacred emblem of their own faith, raise its arm [illegible] worship in the temples of Anahuac, Tabasco, Yucatan. They met with it, in fact, everywhere, and in their perplexity, they looked on it as the delusion of the Devil, who counterfeited the rites of Christianity and the traditions of the chosen people, that he might allure his wretched victims to their own destruction.—*Prescott, Conquest, Vol. I.*

The first meeting of the new council was distinguished by a transaction of great moment. As soon as it assembled, Cortes applied for leave to enter; and approaching with many marks of profound respect, which added dignity to the tribunal, and set an example of reverence for its authority, he began a long harangue, in which, with much art, and in terms extremely flattering to persons just entering upon their new functions, he observed, that, as the supreme jurisdiction over the colony which they had planted was now vested in this court, he considered them as clothed with the authority and representing the person of their sovereign; that, accordingly, he would communicate to them what he deemed essential to the public safety, with the same dutiful fidelity as if he were addressing his royal master; that the security of a colony settled in a great empire, whose sovereign had already discovered his hostile intentions, depended upon arms, and the efficacy of these upon the subordination and discipline preserved among the troops; that his right to command was derived from a commission granted by the governor of Cuba; and as that had been long since revoked, the lawfulness of his jurisdiction might well be questioned; that he might be thought to act upon a defective or even a dubious title; nor could they trust an army which might dispute the powers of its general, at a juncture when it ought implicitly to obey his orders; that, moved by these considerations, he now resigned all his authority to them, that they, having both right to choose, and power to confer full jurisdiction, might appoint one in the king's

name, to command the army in its future operations; and as for his own part, such was his zeal for the service in which they were engaged, that he would most cheerfully take up a pike with the same hand that laid down the general's truncheon, and convince his fellow-soldiers, that though accustomed to command, he had not forgotten how to obey. Having finished his discourse, he laid the commission from Velasquez upon the table, and, after kissing his truncheon, delivered it to the chief magistrate, and withdrew.

The deliberations of the council were not long, as Cortes had concerted this important measure with his confidants, and had prepared the other members, with great address for the part which he wished them to take. His resignation was accepted; and as the uninterrupted tenor of their prosperity under his conduct afforded the most satisfying evidence of his abilities for command, they, by their unanimous suffrage, elected him chief justice of the colony, and captain-general of its army, and appointed his commission to be made out in the king's name, with most ample powers, which were to continue in force until the royal pleasure should be farther known. That this deed might not be deemed the machination of a junto, the council called together the troops, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. The soldiers, with eager applause, ratified the choice which the council had made; the air resounded with the name of Cortes, and all vowed to shed their blood in support of his authority.



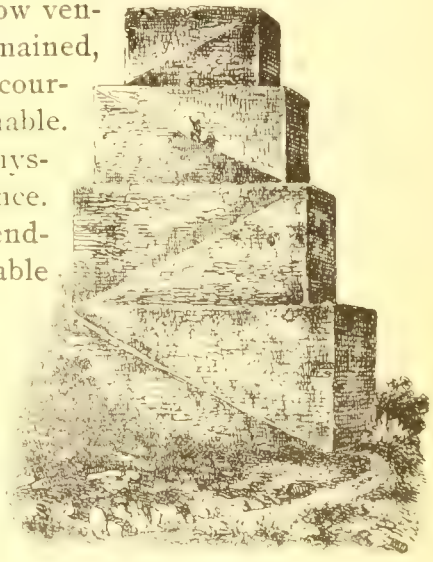
CHAPTER LIII.

CORTES ASCERTAINS THAT THE YOKE OF AZTEC CONFEDERACY IS BORNE UNWILLINGLY BY MANY TOWNS AND DISTRICTS. HIS MARCH TO CEMPOALA AND TREATY WITH THE CACIQUE. DESTRUCTION OF THE FLEET.

CORTES, having now brought his intrigues to the desired issue, and shaken off his mortifying dependence on the governor of Cuba, accepted of the commission, which vested in him supreme jurisdiction, civil as well as military, over the colony, with many professions of respect to the council and gratitude to the army. Together with this new command he assumed greater dignity, and began to exercise more extensive powers. Formerly he had felt himself to be only the deputy of a subject; now he acted as the representative of his sovereign. The adherents of Velasquez, fully aware of what would be the effect of this change in the situation of Cortes, could no longer continue silent and passive spectators of his actions. They exclaimed openly against the proceedings of the council as illegal, and against those of the army as mutinous. Cortes, instantly perceiving the necessity of giving a timely check to such seditious discourse by some vigorous measure, arrested Ordaz, Escudero, and Velasquez de Leon, the ringleaders of this faction, and sent them prisoners aboard the fleet, loaded with chains. Their dependents, astonished and overawed, remained quiet; and Cortes, more desirous to reclaim than to punish his prisoners, who were officers of great merit, courted their friendship with such assiduity and address, that the reconciliation was perfectly cordial; and, on the most trying occasions, neither their connection with the governor of Cuba, nor the memory of the indignity with which they had been treated,

tempted them to swerve from an inviolable attachment to his interest. In this, as well as his other negotiations at this critical conjuncture, which decided with respect to his future fame and fortune, Cortes owed much of his success to the Mexican gold, which he distributed with a liberal hand both among his friends and his opponents.

Cortes, having thus rendered the union between himself and his army indissoluble, by engaging it to join him in disclaiming any dependence on the governor of Cuba, and in repeated acts of disobedience to his authority, thought he might now venture to quit the camp in which he had hitherto remained, and advance into the country. To this he was encouraged by an event no less fortunate than seasonable. Some Indians having approached his camp in a mysterious manner, were introduced into his presence. He found that they were sent with a proffer of friendship from the cacique of Cempoala, a considerable town at no great distance; and from their answers to a variety of questions which he put to them, according to his usual practice in every interview with the people of the country, he gathered, that their master, though subject to the Mexican empire, was impatient of the yoke, and filled with such dread and hatred of Montezuma, that nothing could be more acceptable to him than any prospect of deliverance from the oppression under which he groaned. On hearing this a ray of light and hope broke in upon the mind of Cortes. He saw that the great empire which he intended to attack was neither perfectly united, nor its sovereign universally beloved. He concluded that the causes of disaffection could not be confined to one province, but that in other corners there must be malecontents, so weary of subjection, or so desirous of change, as to be ready to follow the standard of any protector. Full of those ideas, on which he began to form a scheme, that time, and more perfect information concerning the state of the country, enabled him to mature, he gave a most gracious reception to the Cempoalans, and promised soon to visit their cacique.



PYRAMID OF TEHUANTEPEC.

All large cities contained these temples. Copies of [illegible] a mound of earth cased with [illegible] The city of Mexico is said to have contained 600 at the time of the conquest. The ascent was by a flight of stairs, at an angle of the [illegible] was a broad area, on which were [illegible] towers, in which stood [illegible] were stone [illegible] the [illegible] said.

In order to perform this promise, it was not necessary to vary



PRIEST FIGHTING WITH A PRISONER FASTENED TO THE TEMALACATL, OR GLADIATORIAL STONE.

The prisoner was tied to the stone by the waist, and furnished with a sword and shield, both of wood, and much lighter than the ordinary weapons. The priest was armed in the usual manner.

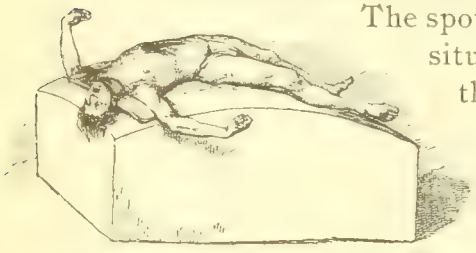
the route which he had already fixed for his march. Some officers, whom he had employed to survey the coast, having discovered a village named Quiabislan, about forty miles to the northward, which, both on account of the fertility of the soil and commodiousness of the harbor, seemed to be a more proper station for a settlement than that where he was encamped, Cortes determined to remove thither. Cempoala lay in his way, where the cacique received him in the manner which he had reason to expect; with gifts and caresses, like a man solicitous to gain his good will; with respect approaching almost to adoration, like one who looked up to him as a deliverer. From him he learned many particulars with respect to the character of Montezuma, and the circumstances which rendered his dominion odious. He was a tyrant, as the cacique told him with tears, haughty, cruel, and suspicious; who treated his own subjects with arrogance, ruined the conquered provinces by excessive exactions, and often tore their sons and daughters from them by violence; the former, to be offered as victims to his gods; the latter, to be reserved as concubines for himself or favorites. Cortes, in reply to him, artfully insinuated, that one great object of the Spaniards in visiting a country so remote from their own, was to redress grievances, and to relieve the oppressed; and having encouraged him to hope for this interposition in due time, he continued his march to Quiabislan.



AZTEC PRIEST SLAYING A HUMAN VICTIM.

before returning the body to the warrior who had been taken in battle to be thus sacrificed and served up in entertainments to his friends.

The spot which his officers had recommended as a proper situation, appeared to him to be so well chosen, that he immediately marked out ground for a town. The houses to be erected were only huts; but these were to be surrounded with fortifications of sufficient strength to resist the assaults of an Indian army. As the finishing of those fortifications was essential to the existence of a colony, and of no less importance in prosecuting the designs which the leader and his followers meditated, both in order to secure a place of retreat, and to preserve their



THE TECHCATL, OR STONE OF SACRIFICE.

Human sacrifices have been practised by many nations, but never, perhaps, on so extensive a scale as by the Aztecs. The miserable victims were dedicated to a cruel deity, to whose shrine the fanatic worshipper would trace the path of the most scrupulous believer. Scarcely any author pretends to estimate the yearly sacrifices throughout the empire at less than 20,000. When the victim reserved for sacrifice arrived on top of the pyramid, he was received by six priests, whose long and matted locks flowed disorderly over their sable robes, covered with hieroglyphic scrolls of mystic import. They led him to the sacrificial stone, (Techcatl) a huge block of jasper, with its upper surface somewhat convex. On this the prisoner was stretched. Five priests secured his head and limbs; while the sixth, clad in a scarlet mantle, dexterously opened the breast of the wretched victim with a sharp razor of flint, or other volcanic substance hard as flint. —*Prescott, Conquest, Vol. I.*

communication with the sea, every man in the army, officers as well as soldiers, put his hand to the work, Cortes himself setting them an example of activity and perseverance in labor. The Indians of Cempoala and Quiabislan lent their aid; and this petty station, the parent of so many mighty settlements, was soon in a state of defense.

While engaged in this necessary work, Cortes had several interviews with the caciques of Cempoala and Quiabislan; and availing himself of their wonder and astonishment at the new objects which they daily beheld, he gradually inspired them with such a high opinion of the Spaniards, as beings of a superior order, and irresistible in arms, that, relying on their protection, they ventured to insult the Mexican power, at the very name of which they were accustomed to tremble. Some of Montezuma's officers having appeared to levy the usual tribute, and to demand a certain number of human victims, as an expiation for their guilt in presuming to hold intercourse with those strangers whom the emperor had commanded to leave his dominions; instead of obeying the order, the caciques made them prisoners, treated them with great indignity, and as their superstition was no less barbarous than that of the Mexicans, they prepared to sacrifice them to their gods. From this last danger they were delivered by the interposition of Cortes, who manifested the utmost horror at the mention of such a deed. The two caciques having now been pushed to an act of such open rebellion, as left them no hope of safety but in attaching themselves inviolably to the Spaniards, they soon completed their union with them, by formally acknowledging themselves to be vassals of the same monarch. Their example was followed by the Totonaques, a fierce people who inhabited the mountainous part of the country. They willingly subjected themselves to the crown of Castile, and offered to accompany Cortes, with all their forces, in his march towards Mexico.

Cortes had now been above three months in New Spain; and though this period had not been distinguished by martial exploits, every moment had been employed in operations, which, though less splendid, were more important. By his address in conducting his intrigues with his own army, as well as his sagacity in carrying on his negotiations with the natives, he had already laid the foundations of his future success. But, whatever confidence he might

place in the plan which he had formed, he could not but perceive, that as his title to command was derived from a doubtful authority, he held it by a precarious tenure. The injuries which Velasquez had received, were such as would naturally prompt him to apply for redress to their common sovereign; and such a representation, he foresaw, might be given of his conduct, that he had reason to apprehend, not only that he might be degraded from his present rank, but subjected to punishment. Before he began his march, it was necessary to take the most effectual precaution against this impending danger. With this view he persuaded the magistrates of the colony at Vera Cruz to address a letter to the king, the chief object of which was to justify their own conduct in establishing a colony independent of the jurisdiction of Velasquez. In order to accomplish this, they endeavored to detract from his merit, in fitting out the two former armaments under Cordova and Grijalva, affirming that these had been equipped by the adventurers who engaged in the expeditions, and not by the governor. They contended that the sole object of Velasquez was to trade or barter with the natives, not to attempt the conquest of New Spain, or to settle a colony there. They asserted that Cortes and the officers who served under him had defrayed the greater part of the expenses of fitting out the armament. On this account, they humbly requested their sovereign to ratify what they had done in his name, and to confirm Cortes in the supreme command by his royal commission. That Charles might be induced to grant more readily what they demanded, they gave him a pompous description of the country which they had discovered; of its riches, the number of its inhabitants, their civilization and arts; they related the progress which they had already made in annexing some parts of the country situated on the sea-coast to the crown of Castile: and mentioned the schemes which they had formed, as well as the hopes which they entertained, of reducing the whole to subjection. Cortes himself wrote in a similar strain; and as he knew that the Spanish court, accustomed to the exaggerated representations of every new country by its discoverers, would give little credit to their splendid accounts of New Spain, if these were not accompanied with such a specimen of what it contained, as would excite a high idea of its opulence, he solicited his soldiers to relinquish what they might claim as their part of the treasures which had hitherto been col-

lected, in order that the whole might be sent to the king. Such was the ascendant which he had acquired over their minds, and such their own romantic expectations of future wealth, that an army of indigent and rapacious adventurers was capable of this generous effort, and offered to their sovereign the richest present that had hitherto been transmitted from the New World. Portocarrero and Montejo, the chief magistrates of the colony, were appointed to carry this present to Castile, with express orders not to touch at Cuba in their passage thither.



CHARLES V. IN HIS 31ST YEAR.
THE EMPEROR IN WHOSE EMPIRE THE SUN NEVER SET.
COPPER-ENGRAVING OF BARTEL BEHAIM'S, 1531.

While a vessel was preparing for their departure, an unexpected event occasioned a general alarm. Some soldiers and sailors, secretly attached to Velasquez, or intimidated at the prospect of the dangers unavoidable in attempting to penetrate into the heart of a great empire with such unequal force, formed the design of seizing one of the brigantines, and making their escape to Cuba, in order to give the governor such intelligence as might enable him to intercept the ship which was to carry the treasure and dispatches to Spain. This conspiracy, though formed by persons of low rank, was conducted with profound secrecy; but at the moment when every thing was ready for execution, they were betrayed by one of their associates.

Though the good fortune of Cortes interposed so seasonably on

this occasion, the detection of this conspiracy filled his mind with most disquieting apprehensions, and prompted him to execute a scheme which he had long revolved. He perceived that the spirit of disaffection still lurked among his troops; that though hitherto checked by the uniform success of his schemes, or suppressed by the hand of authority, various events might occur which would encourage and call it forth. He observed, that many of his men, weary of the fatigue of service, longed to revisit their settlements in Cuba; and that upon any appearance of extraordinary danger or any reverse of fortune, it would be impossible to restrain them from returning thither. He was sensible that his forces, already too feeble, could bear no diminution, and that a very small defection of his followers would oblige him to abandon the enterprise. After ruminating often, and with much solicitude, upon those particulars, he saw no hope of success but in cutting off all possibility of retreat, and in reducing his men to the necessity of adopting the same resolution with which he himself was animated, either to conquer or to perish. With this view, he determined to destroy his fleet; but as he durst not venture to execute such a bold resolution by his single authority, he labored to bring his soldiers to adopt his ideas with respect to the propriety of this measure. His address in accomplishing this was not inferior to the arduous occasion in which it was employed. He persuaded some, that the ships had suffered so much by having been long at sea, as to be altogether unfit for service; to others he pointed out what a seasonable reinforcement of strength they would derive from the junction of a hundred men, now unprofitably employed as sailors; and to all he represented the necessity of fixing their eyes and wishes upon what was before them, without allowing the idea of a retreat once to enter their thoughts. With universal consent the ships were drawn ashore, and after stripping them of their sails, rigging, iron works, and whatever else might be of use, they were broke in pieces. Thus, from an effort of magnanimity, to which there is nothing parallel in history, five hundred men voluntarily consented to be shut up in a hostile country, filled with powerful and unknown nations; and, having precluded every means of escape, left themselves without any resource but their own valor and perseverance.

Nothing now retarded Cortes; the alacrity of his troops and the disposition of his allies were equally favorable. All the advan-



CORTES COMMANDS THE PRIESTS TO DESIST FROM THE HORRID PRACTICE OF HUMAN VICTIMS.
AND ORDERS HIS SOLDIERS TO OVERTURN THE ALTARS AND DESTROY THE IDOLS.
DRAWING BY N. MAURIN.

tages, however, derived from the latter, though procured by much assiduity and address, were well nigh lost in a moment by an indiscreet sally of religious zeal, which on many occasions precipitated Cortes into actions inconsistent with the prudence that distinguishes his character. Though hitherto he had neither time nor opportunity to explain to the natives the errors of their own superstition, or to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith, he commanded his soldiers to overturn the altars and to destroy the idols in the chief temple of Cempoala, and in their place to erect a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. The people beheld this with astonishment and horror; the priests excited them to arms; but such was the authority of Cortes, and so great the ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired, that the commotion was appeased without bloodshed, and concord perfectly re-established.



CORTES PLANTS THE CHRISTIAN SYMBOL OF REDEMPTION ON A MEXICAN ALTAR

MARBLE GROUP BY ANTO. MOLTO Y SUCH

CHAPTER LIV.

ADVANCE INTO THE HEART OF MEXICO. SUCCESSFUL TERMINATION OF THE WAR WITH THE TLASCALANS. CONCLUDES A TREATY OF PEACE WITH THEM.



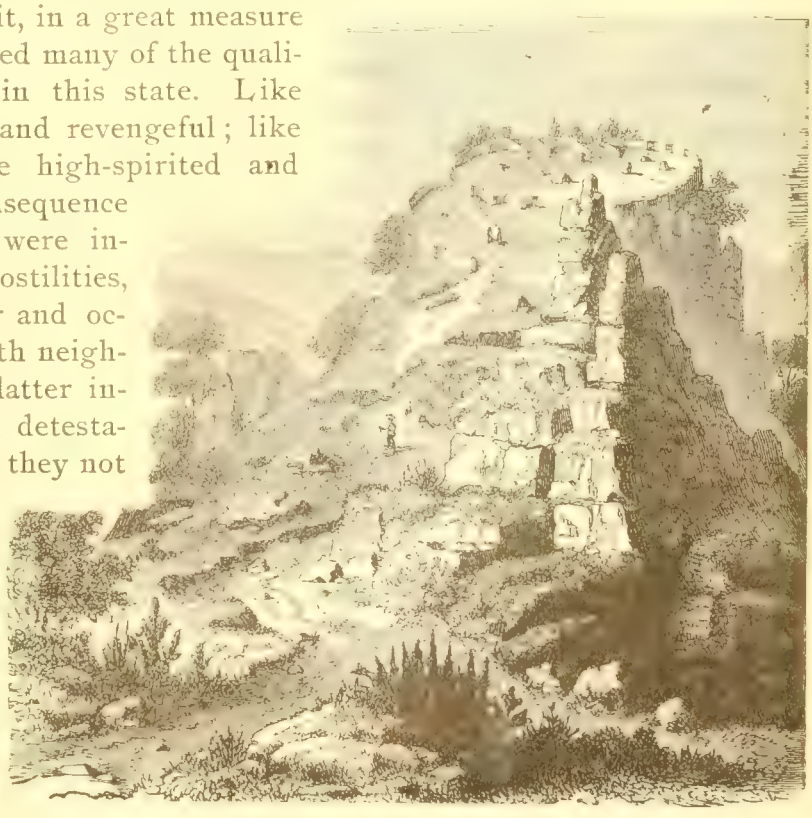
ARMOR OF CORTES IN THE ARSENAL, MADRID

CORTES began his march from Cempoala, on the 16th day of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six field-pieces. The rest of his troops, consisting chiefly of such as from age or infirmity were less fit for active service, he left as a garrison in Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante, an officer of merit, and warmly attached to his interest. The cacique of Cempoala supplied him with provisions, and with two hundred of those Indians called Tamemes, whose office, in a country where tame animals were unknown, was to carry burdens, and to perform all servile labor. They were a great relief to the Spanish soldiers, who hitherto had been obliged, not only to carry their own baggage, but to drag along the artillery by main force. He offered

likewise a considerable body of his troops, but Cortes was satisfied with four hundred; taking care, however, to choose persons of such note as might prove hostages for the fidelity of their master. Nothing memorable happened in his progress, until he arrived on the confines of Tlascala. The inhabitants of that province, a warlike people, were implacable enemies of the Mexicans, and had been united in an ancient alliance with the caciques of Cempoala. Though less civilized than the subjects of Montezuma, they were advanced in improvement far beyond the rude nations of America, inhabiting the country north of the Rio Grande. They had made considerable progress in agriculture; they dwelt in large towns; they were not strangers to some species of commerce; and in the imperfect accounts of their institutions and laws, transmitted to us by the early Spanish writers, we discern traces both of distributive justice and of criminal jurisdiction, in their interior police. But still, as the degree of their civilization was incomplete, and as they depended for subsistence not on agriculture alone, but trusted for it, in a great measure to hunting, they retained many of the qualities natural to men in this state. Like them they were fierce and revengeful; like them, too, they were high-spirited and independent. In consequence of the former, they were involved in perpetual hostilities, and had but a slender and occasional intercourse with neighboring states. The latter inspired them with such detestation of servitude, that they not only refused to stoop to a foreign yoke, and maintain an obstinate and successful contest in defense of their liberty against the superior power of the



PROFILE OF A WARRIOR, CUT IN MOTHER OF PEARL. FOUND AT TULA.)



RUINS OF A MEXICAN FORTRESS (MITLA).

Mexican empire, but they guarded with equal solicitude against domestic tyranny; and disdaining to acknowledge any master, they lived under the mild and limited jurisdiction of a council elected by their several tribes.

Cortes, though he had received information concerning the martial character of this people, flattered himself that his professions of delivering the oppressed from the tyranny of Montezuma, their inveterate enmity to the Mexicans, and the example of their ancient allies the Cempoalans, might induce the Tlascalans to grant him a friendly reception. In order to dispose them to this, four Cempoalans of great eminence were sent ambassadors, to request in his name, and in that of their cacique, that they would permit the Spaniards to pass through the territories of the republic in their way to Mexico. But instead of the favorable answer which was expected, the Tlascalans seized the ambassadors, and, without any regard to their public character, made preparations for sacrificing them to their gods. At the same time they assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders if they should attempt to make their passage good by force of arms. Various motives concurred in precipitating the Tlascalans into this resolution. A fierce people, shut up within its own narrow precincts, and little accustomed to any intercourse with foreigners, is apt to consider every stranger as an enemy, and is easily excited to arms. They concluded, from Cortes' proposal of visiting Montezuma in his capital, that, notwithstanding all his professions, he courted the friendship of a monarch whom they both hated and feared. The imprudent zeal of Cortes in violating the temples in Cempoala, filled the Tlascalans with horror; and as they were no less attached to their superstition than the other nations of New Spain, they were impatient to avenge their injured gods, and to acquire



MEXICAN ALTAR.

AFTER J. C. STEPHENS' "INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL IN CENTRAL AMERICA, CHIAPAS, AND YUCATAN."

the merit of offering up to them as victims, those impious men who had dared to profane their altars; they contemned the small number of the Spaniards, as they had not yet measured their own strength with that of those new enemies, and had no idea of the superiority which they derived from their arms and discipline.

Cortes, after waiting some days, in vain, for the return of his ambassadors, advanced [Aug. 30] into the Tlascalan territories. As the resolutions of people who delight in war are executed with no less promptitude than they are formed, he found troops in the field ready to oppose him. They attacked him with great intrepidity, and, in the first encounter, wounded some of the Spaniards, and killed two horses; a loss, in their situation, of great moment, because it was irreparable. From this specimen of their courage, Cortes saw the necessity of proceeding with caution. His army marched in close order; he chose the stations where he halted, with attention, and fortified every camp with extraordinary care. During fourteen days he was exposed to almost uninterrupted assaults, the Tlascalans advancing with numerous armies, and renewing the attack in various forms, with a degree of valor and perseverance to which the Spaniards had seen nothing parallel in the New World. The Spanish historians describe those successive battles with great pomp, and enter into a minute detail of particulars, mingling many exaggerated and incredible circumstances with such as are real and marvellous. But no power of words can render the recital of a combat interesting, where there is no equality of danger; and when the narrative closes with an account of thousands slain on the one side, while not a single person falls on the other, the most labored descriptions of the previous disposition of the troops, or of the various vicissitudes in the engagement, command no attention.

There are some circumstances, however, in this war, which are memorable, and merit notice, as they throw light upon the character both of the people of New Spain, and of their conquerors. Though the Tlascalans brought into the field such numerous armies as appear sufficient to have overwhelmed the Spaniards, they were never able to make any impression upon their small battalion. Singular as this may seem, it is not inexplicable. The Tlascalans, though addicted to war, were, like all unpolished nations, strangers to military order and discipline, and lost in a great measure the

advantage which they might have derived from their numbers, and the impetuosity of their attack, by their constant solicitude to carry off the dead and wounded. This point of honor, founded on a sentiment of tenderness natural to the human mind, and strengthened by anxiety to preserve the bodies of their countrymen from being devoured by their enemies, was universal among the people of New Spain. Attention to this pious office occupied them even, during the heat of combat, broke their union, and diminished the force of the impression which they might have made by a joint effort.



AN AZTEC TIGER KNIGHT.

COPIED FROM THE MODEL IN THE MUSEUM OF THE TROCADERO, PARIS.

The dress was made from a cotton stuff, colored in imitation of the skin of a leopard; the helmet and sword of wood; the latter having two rows of sharp pieces of itzli inserted on both sides.

Not only was their superiority in number of little avail, but the imperfection of their military weapons rendered their valor in a great measure inoffensive. After three battles, and many skirmishes and assaults, not one Spaniard was killed in the field. Arrows and spears, headed with flint or the bones of fishes, stakes hardened in the fire, and wooden swords, though destructive weapons among naked Indians, were easily turned aside by the Spanish bucklers, and could hardly penetrate the *escaupiles*, or quilted jackets, which the soldiers wore. The Tlascalans advanced boldly to the charge, and often fought hand to hand. Many of the Spaniards were wounded, though all slightly, which can not be imputed to any want of courage or strength in their enemies, but to the defect of the arms with which they assailed them.

Notwithstanding the fury with which the Tlascalans attacked the Spaniards, they seemed to have conducted their hostilities with some degree of barbarous generosity. They gave the Spaniards warning of their hostile intentions; and as they knew that their invaders wanted provisions, and imagined, perhaps, like the other Americans, that they had left their own country because it did not

afford them subsistence, they sent to their camp a large supply of poultry and maize, desiring them to eat plentifully, because they scorned to attack an enemy enfeebled by hunger, and it would be an affront to their gods to offer them famished victims, as well as disagreeable to themselves to feed on such emaciated prey.

When they were taught by the first encounter with their new enemies that it was not easy to execute this threat; when they perceived, in the subsequent engagements, that notwithstanding all the efforts of their own valor, of which they had a very high opinion, not one of the Spaniards was slain or taken, they began to conceive them to be a superior order of beings, against whom human power could not avail. In this extremity, they had recourse to their priests, requiring them to reveal the mysterious causes of such extraordinary events, and to declare what new means they should employ in order to repulse those formidable invaders. The priests, after many sacrifices and incantations, delivered this response: That these strangers were the offspring of the sun, procreated by this animating energy in the regions of the east; that, by day, while cherished with the influence of his parental beams, they were invincible; but by night, when his reviving heat was withdrawn, their vigor declined and faded like the herbs in the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men. Theories less plausible have gained credit with more enlightened nations, and have influenced their conduct In consequence of this, the Tlascalans, with the implicit confidence of men who fancy themselves to



PRIESTS OFFERING A SACRIFICE TO CUCULCAN.
STONE CARVING FROM CITY OF YUCATAN.
Many of the [illegible] were brought to the United States by [illegible] and presented by him to Mr. Pierre [illegible] of New York, named in honor of the ruined towns discovered by him after this public-spirited merchant prince.

be under the guidance of Heaven, acted in contradiction to one of their most established maxims in war, and ventured to attack the enemy, with a strong body, in the night time, in hopes of destroying them when enfeebled and surprised. But Cortes had greater vigilance and discernment than to be deceived by the rude strategems of an Indian army. The sentinels at his outposts, observing some extraordinary movement among the Tlascalans, gave the alarm. In a moment the troops were under arms, and sallying out, dispersed the party with great slaughter, without allowing it to approach the camp. The Tlascalans, convinced, by sad experience, that their priests had deluded them, and satisfied that they attempted in vain, either to deceive or to vanquish their enemies, their fierceness abated, and they began to incline seriously to peace.

They were at a loss, however, in what manner to address the strangers, what idea to form of their character, and whether to consider them as beings of a gentle or of a malevolent nature. There were circumstances in their conduct which seemed to favor each opinion. On the one hand, as the Spaniards constantly dismissed the prisoners whom they took, not only without injury, but often with presents of European toys, and renewed their offers of peace after every victory; this lenity amazed people, who, according to the exterminating system of war known in America, were accustomed to sacrifice and devour without mercy all the captives taken in battle, and disposed them to entertain favorable sentiments of the humanity of their new enemies. But, on the other hand, as Cortes had seized fifty of their countrymen who brought provisions to his camp, and, supposing them to be spies, had cut off their hands; this bloody spectacle, added to the terror occasioned by the fire arms and horses, filled them with dreadful impressions of the ferocity of their invaders. This uncertainty was apparent in the mode of addressing the Spaniards. "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here is meat, and bread, and fruit to nourish you." The peace, which both parties now desired with equal ardor, was soon concluded. The Tlascalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promised to defend their persons and possessions from injury or violence.

CHAPTER LV.

CORTES SOLICITOUS TO GAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF HIS NEW CONFEDERATES; WHICH BARELY GAINED, HE JEOPARDIZES BY HIS RELIGIOUS ZEAL. ADVANCES TO CHOLULA, WHERE HE MASSACRES 6000 INHABITANTS, AND THENCE ON TO THE CITY OF MEXICO. (1519.

THIS treaty was concluded at a seasonable juncture for the Spaniards. The fatigue of service among a small body of men, surrounded by such a multitude of enemies, was incredible. Half the army was on duty every night, and even they whose turn it was to rest, slept always upon their arms, that they might be ready to run to their posts on a moment's warning. Many of them were wounded; a good number, and among these Cortes himself, labored under the distempers prevalent in hot climates, and several had died since they set out from Vera Cruz. Notwithstanding the supplies which they received from the Tlascalans, they were often in want of provisions, and so destitute of the necessaries most requisite in dangerous service, that they had no salve to dress their wounds, but what was composed with the fat of the Indians whom they had slain. Worn out with such intolerable toil and hardships, many of the soldiers began to murmur, and, when they reflected on the multitude and boldness of their enemies, more were ready to despair. It required the utmost exertion of Cortes' authority and address to check this spirit of despondency in its progress,



I.



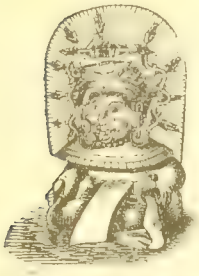
II.



III.



IV.



V.

MEXICAN GODS AND GODDESSES.

Fig. II., Chimcoatl, represented as a universal mother by wrinkles all over her face. IV., Iztacchitan, God of the ancient Palenque, the Mexican Bacchus, with drinking cup. V., center piece from column. Peculiar and not at all in correspondence with the usual Mexican physiognomy are the noses III., IV., V.

and to reanimate his followers with their wonted sense of their own superiority over the enemies with whom they had to contend. The submission of the Tlascalans, and their own triumphant entry into the capital city, where they were received with the reverence paid to beings of a superior order, banished, at once, from the minds of the Spaniards all memory of past sufferings, dispelled every anxious thought with respect to their future operations, and fully satisfied them that there was not now any power in America able to withstand their arms.

Cortes remained twenty days in Tlascala, in order to allow his troops a short interval of repose after such hard service. During that time, he was employed in transactions and inquiries of great moment with respect to his future schemes. In his daily conferences with the Tlascalan chiefs, he received information concerning every particular relative to the state of the Mexican empire, or to the qualities of its sovereign, which could be of use in regulating his conduct, whether he should be obliged to act as a friend or as an enemy. As he found that the antipathy of his new allies to the Mexican nation was no less implacable than had been represented, and perceived what benefit he might derive from the aid of such powerful confederates, he employed all his powers of insinuation in order to gain their confidence. Nor was any extraordinary exertion of these necessary. The Tlascalans, with the levity of mind natural to unpolished men, were, of their own accord, disposed to run from the extreme of hatred to that of fondness. Every thing in the appearance and conduct of their guests was to them a matter of wonder. They gazed with admiration at whatever the Spaniards did, and, fancying them to be of heavenly origin, were eager not only to comply with their demands, but to anticipate their wishes. They offered, accordingly, to accompany Cortes in his march to Mexico, with all the forces of the republic, under the command of their most experienced captains.

But, after bestowing so much pains on cementing this union, all the beneficial fruits of it were on the point of being lost by a new effusion of that intemperate religious

zeal with which Cortes was animated no less than the other adventurers of the age. They all considered themselves as instruments employed by Heaven to propagate the Christian faith, and the less they were qualified, either by their knowledge or morals, for such a function, the more eager they were to discharge it. The profound veneration of the Tlascalans for the Spaniards having encouraged Cortes to explain to some of their chiefs the doctrines of the Christian religion, and to insist that they should abandon their own superstitions, and embrace the faith of their new friends, they, according to an idea universal among barbarous nations, readily acknowledged the truth and excellence of what he taught; but contended, that the *Teules* of Tlascala were divinities no less than the God in whom the Spaniards believed; and as that Being was entitled to the homage of Europeans, so they were bound to revere the same powers which their ancestors had worshiped. Cortes continued, nevertheless, to urge his demand in a tone of authority, mingling threats with his arguments, until the Tlascalans could bear it no longer, and conjured him never to mention this again, lest the gods should avenge on their heads the guilt of having listened to such a proposition. Cortes, astonished and enraged at their obstinacy, prepared to execute by force what he could not accomplish by persuasion, and was going to overturn their altars, and cast down their idols, with the same violent hand as at Cempoala, if Father Bartholomew de Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition, had not checked his inconsiderate impetuosity. He represented the imprudence of such an attempt in a large city newly reconciled, and filled with people no less superstitious



SCULPTURE FROM THE TEMPLE OF THE CROSS, PALENQUE

PRIEST ADORING AND SACRIFICING

It is remarkable that the Mexican priests administered the rites of confession and absolution. The secrets of the confessional were held inviolable, and penances were imposed of the same kind as those enjoined by the Roman Catholic Church. — *Prescott, Conquest of Mexico*, p. 68.



VI.



VII.



VIII.



IX.



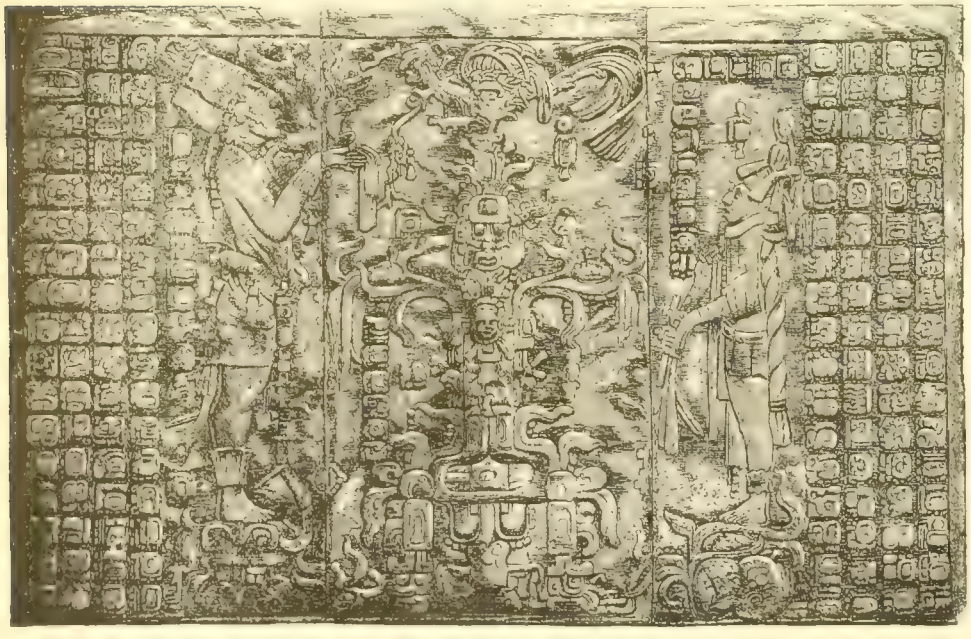
X.

MEXICAN GODS AND GODDESSES

Figs VI., VII., IX., are center pieces from columns. IX., Guatlique, the Ceres of the Mexicans. VIII. and X. are entirely covered with masks: VII. only with a nose mask. VII. and VIII. have the usual headgear, a feather panache.

than warlike; he declared, that the proceedings at Cempoala had always appeared to him precipitate and unjust; that religion was not to be propagated by the sword, or infidels to be converted by violence; that other weapons were to be employed in this ministry; patient instruction must enlighten the understanding, and pious example captivate the heart, before men could be induced to abandon error, and embrace the truth. Amidst scenes, where a narrow-minded bigotry appears in such close union with oppression and cruelty, sentiments so liberal and humane soothe the mind with unexpected pleasure; and at a time when the rights of conscience were little understood in the Christian world, and the idea of toleration unknown, one is astonished to find a Spanish monk of the sixteenth century among the first advocates against persecution, and in behalf of religious liberty. The remonstrances of an ecclesiastic, no less respectable for wisdom than virtue, had their proper weight with Cortes. He left the Tlascalans in the undisturbed exercise of their own rites, requiring only that they should desist from their horrid practice of offering human victims in sacrifice.

Cortes, as soon as his troops were fit for service resolved to continue his march towards Mexico, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasives of the Tlascalans, who represented his destruction as unavoidable, if he put himself in the power of a prince so faithless and cruel as



PRIESTS BEFORE AN ALTAR SURMOUNTED WITH A CROSS.

FROM THE TEMPLE (NO. 2) OF THE CROSS, PALENQUE.

An extraordinary coincidence with Christian rites may be traced in the priestly ceremony of naming the children. "The lips and bosom of the infant were sprinkled with water, and "the Lord was implored to permit the holy drops to wash away the sin that was given to it before the foundation of the world; so that the child might be born anew." *Sahagun. Hist. de Nueva España, lib. 6, cap. 37.*

Montezuma. As he was accompanied by six thousand Tlascalans, he had now the command of forces which resembled a regular army. They directed their course toward Cholula [Oct. 13]; Montezuma, who had at length consented to admit the Spaniards into his presence, having informed Cortes that he had given orders for his friendly reception there. Cholula was a considerable town, and, though only five leagues distant from Tlascala, was formerly an independent state, but had been lately subjected to the Mexican empire. This was considered by all the people of New Spain as a holy place, the sanctuary and chief seat of their gods, to which pilgrims resorted from every province, and a greater number of human victims were offered in its principal temple than even in that of Mexico. Montezuma seems to have invited the Spaniards thither either from some superstitious hope that the gods would not suffer this sacred mansion to be defiled, without pouring down their wrath upon those impious strangers, who ventured to insult their power in the place of its peculiar residence; or from a belief that he himself might there attempt to cut them off with more certain success, under the immediate protection of his divinities.

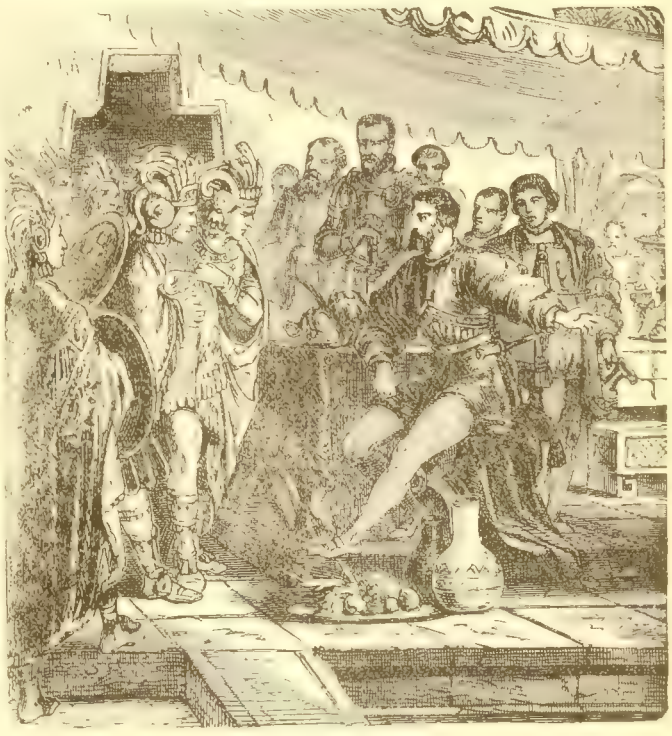


RECEPTION OF CORTES BY THE AZTEC DIGNITARIES, UPON HIS ENTRY INTO CHOLULA.

Cortes had been warned by the Tlascalans, before he set out on his march, to keep a watchful eye over the Cholulans. He himself, though received into the town with much seeming respect and cordiality, observed several circumstances in their conduct

which excited suspicion. Two of the Tlascalans, who were encamped at some distance from the town, as the Cholulans refused to admit their ancient enemies within its precincts, having found means to enter in disguise, acquainted Cortes that they observed the women and children of the principal citizens retiring in great hurry every night; and that six children had been sacrificed in the chief temple, a rite which indicated the execution of some warlike enterprise to be approaching. At the same time, Marina the interpreter received information from an Indian woman of distinction, whose confidence she had gained, that the destruction of her friends was concerted; that a body of Mexican troops lay concealed near the town; that some of the streets were barricaded, and in others, pits or deep trenches were dug, and slightly covered over, as traps into which the horses might fall; that stones or massive weapons were collected on the tops of the temples, with which to overwhelm the infantry; that the fatal hour was now at hand, and their ruin unavoidable. Cortes, alarmed at this concurring evidence, secretly arrested three of the chief priests, and extorted from them a confession, that confirmed the intelligence which he had received. As not a moment was to be lost, he instantly resolved to prevent his enemies, and to inflict on them such dreadful vengeance as might strike Montezuma and his subjects with terror. For this purpose, the Spaniards and Cempoalans were drawn up in a large court, which had been allotted for their quarters near the centre of the town; the Tlascalans had orders to advance; the magistrates and several of the chief citizens were sent for, under various pretexts, and seized. On a signal given, the troops rushed out and fell upon the multitude, destitute of leaders, and so much astonished, that the weapons dropping from their hands, they stood motionless, and incapable of defense. While the Spaniards pressed them in front, the Tlascalans attacked them in the rear. The streets were filled with bloodshed and death. The temples, which afforded a retreat to the priests and some of the leading men, were set on fire, and they perished in the flames. This scene of horror continued two days; during which, the wretched inhabitants suffered all that the destructive rage of the Spaniards, or the implacable revenge of their Indian allies, could inflict. At length the carnage ceased, after the slaughter of six thousand Cholulans, without the loss of a single Spaniard. Cortes then released the magis-

trates, and, reproaching them bitterly for their intended treachery, declared, that as justice was now appeased, he forgave the offense, but required them to recall the citizens who had fled, and re-establish order in the town. Such was the ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired over this superstitious race of men, and so deeply were they impressed with an opinion of their superior discernment, as well as power, that, in obedience to this command, the city was in a few days filled again with people, who, amidst the ruins of their sacred buildings, yielded respectful service to men whose hands were stained with the blood of their relatives and fellow-citizens.



CORTES RELEASES THE IMPRISONED CHOLULAN MAGISTRATES, AND ADMONISHES THEM TO RECALL THE FUGITIVE CITIZENS.

From Cholula, Cortes advanced directly towards Mexico [Oct. 29], which was only twenty leagues distant. In every place through which he passed, he was received as a person possessed of sufficient power to deliver the empire from the oppression under which it groaned; and the caciques or governors communicated to him all the grievances which they felt under the tyrannical government of Montezuma, with that unreserved confidence which men naturally repose in superior beings. When Cortes first observed the seeds of discontent in the remote provinces of the empire, hope dawned upon his mind; but when he now discovered such symptoms of alienation from their monarch near the seat of government, he concluded that the vital parts of the constitution were affected, and conceived the most sanguine expectations of overturning a state whose natural strength was thus divided and impaired. While those reflections encouraged the general to persist in his arduous undertaking, the soldiers were no less animated by observations more obvious to their capacity. In descending from the mountains

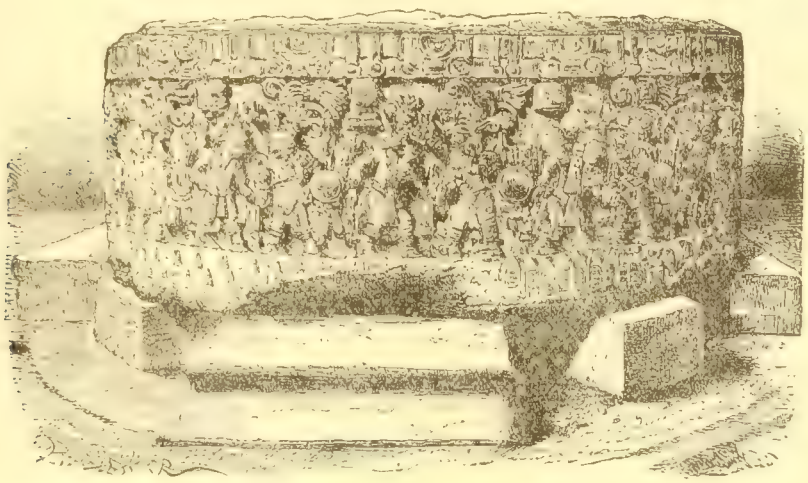
of Chalco, across which the road lay, the vast plain of Mexico opened gradually to their view. When they first beheld this prospect, one of the most striking and beautiful on the face of the earth; when they observed fertile and cultivated fields stretching further than the eye could reach; when they saw a lake resembling a sea in extent, encompassed with large towns, and discovered the capital city rising upon an island in the middle, adorned with its temples and turrets; the scene so far exceeded their imagination, that some believed the fanciful descriptions of romance were realized, and that its enchanted palaces and gilded domes were presented to their sight; others could hardly persuade themselves that this wonderful spectacle was anything more than a dream. As they advanced, their doubts were removed, but their amazement increased. They were now fully satisfied that the country was rich beyond any conception which they had formed of it, and flattered themselves that at length they should obtain an ample recompense for all their services and sufferings.



CORTES AND H S ARMY SEE THE CITY OF MEXICO SPREAD OUT BEFORE THEIR ENCHANTED VISION UPON REACHING THE HEIGHTS OF CHALCO.

Hitherto they had met with no enemy to oppose their progress, though several circumstances occurred which led them to suspect that some design was formed to surprise and cut them off. Many messengers arrived successively from Montezuma, permitting them one day to advance, requiring them on the next to retire, as his hopes or fears alternately prevailed; and so wonderful was this infatuation, which seems to be unaccountable on any supposition but that of a superstitious dread of the Spaniards, as beings of a superior nature, that Cortes was almost at the gates of the capital,

before the monarch had determined whether to receive him as a friend, or to oppose him as an enemy. But as no sign of open hostility appeared, the Spaniards, without regarding the fluctuations of Montezuma's sentiments, continued their march along the causeway which led to Mexico through the lake, with great circumspection and the strictest discipline, though without seeming to suspect the prince whom they were about to visit.



THE STONE OF THE SUN OR CALENDAR, KNOWN ALSO BY THE MEXICAN NAME OF TEMALACTL, OR TO SPANISH NAME PIEDRA DEL SOL, IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, MEXICO.

Prisoners were always to be found in the courts of the Temple, placed over a basement varying in size according to the size of the stone on which the captive, particularly if he happened to be one destined for destruction, was allowed to fight against a number of enemies in succession; but, despite the inequality of numbers, he was furnished only with a wooden sword, ornamented with feathers along the blade, whereas his enemies had weapons of obsidian, "as sharp as steel."

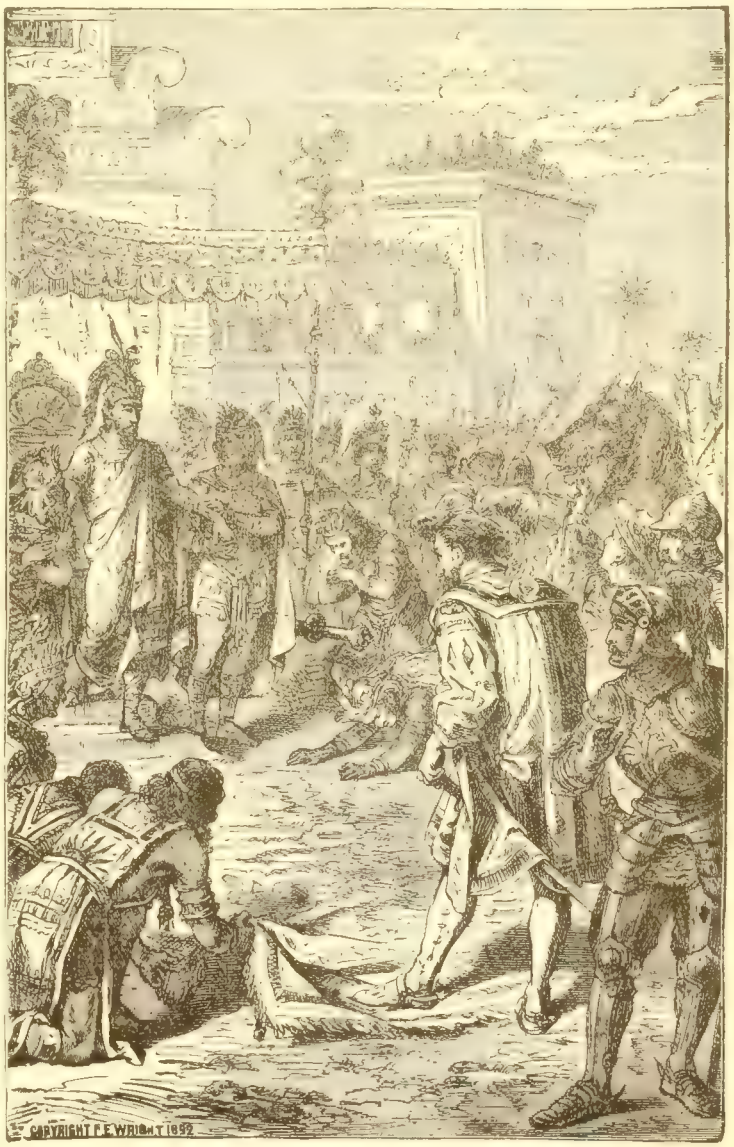
If he succeeded in defeating them all, as did occasionally happen, he was allowed to escape, but if vanquished, he was dragged to the Techcatl, or stone of sacrifice.—*Charnay, Ancient Cities.*

CHAPTER LVI.

FIRST INTERVIEW WITH MONTEZUMA. ENTRY INTO THE CITY. THE DANGEROUS SITUATION OF HIS ARMY COMPELS HIM TO ADOPT EXTREME MEASURES. MONTEZUMA SEIZED IN HIS PALACE AND CARRIED PRISONER TO THE SPANISH QUARTERS.

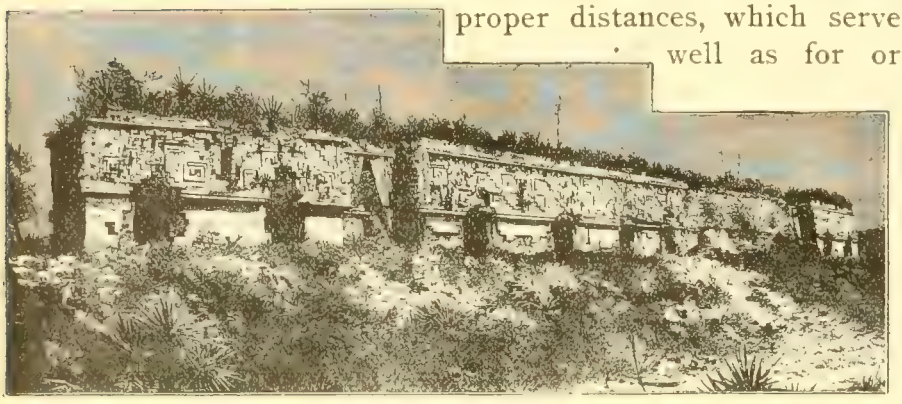
WHEN they drew near the city, about a thousand persons, who appeared to be of distinction, came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes and clad in mantles of fine cotton. Each of these in his order passed by Cortes, and saluted him according to the mode deemed most respectful and submissive in their country. They announced the approach of Montezuma himself, and soon after his harbingers came in sight. There appeared first two hundred persons in a uniform dress, with large plumes of feathers, alike in fashion, marching two and two, in deep silence, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground. These were followed by a company of higher rank, in their most showy apparel, in the midst of whom was Montezuma, in a chair or litter richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of various colors. Four of his principal favorites carried him on their shoulders, others supported a canopy of curious workmanship over his head. Before him marched three officers with rods of gold in their hands, which they lifted up on high at certain intervals, and at that signal all the people bowed their

heads, and hid their faces, as unworthy to look on so great a monarch. When he drew near, Cortes dismounted, advancing towards him with officious haste, and in a respectful posture. At the same time Montezuma alighted from his chair, and, leaning on the arms of two of his near relations, approached with a slow and stately pace, his attendants covering the streets with cotton cloths, that he might not touch the ground. Cortes accosted him with profound reverence, after the European fashion. He returned the salutation, according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand, and then kissing it. This ceremony, the customary expression of veneration from inferiors towards those who were above them in rank, appeared such amazing condescension in a proud monarch, who scarcely deigned to consider the rest of mankind as of the same species with himself, that all his subjects firmly believed those persons, before whom he humbled himself in this manner, to be something more than human. Accordingly, as they marched through the crowd, the Spaniards frequently, and with much satisfaction, heard themselves denominated *Teules*, or divinities. Nothing material passed in this first interview. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters which he had prepared for his reception, and immediately took leave of him, with a politeness not unworthy of a court more refined. "You are now," says



FIRST MEETING OF CORTES WITH THE EMPEROR MONTEZUMA, ON THE 8TH OF NOVEMBER, 1519.

he, "with your brothers, in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The place allotted to the Spaniards for their lodging was a house built by the father of Montezuma. It was surrounded by a stone wall, with towers at proper distances, which served for defense as well as for ornament, and its apartments and courts were so large as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies. The first care of Cortes was to take precautions for his security, by planting the artillery so as to command the different avenues which led to it, by appointing a large division of his troops to be always on guard, and by posting sentinels at proper stations, with injunctions to observe the same vigilant discipline as if they were within sight of an enemy's camp.

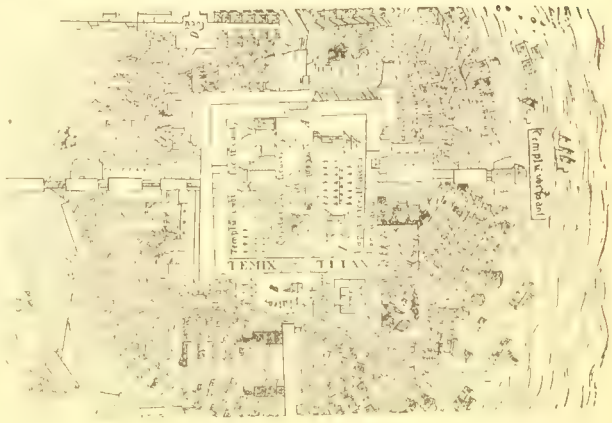


PALACE OF THE GOVERNOR AT UXMAL, YUCATAN.

The style of Aztec and Mayan architecture being very similar, and none of the former remaining, the picture of this ruin is here introduced to give the reader a more vivid idea of the large stone houses abounding in the city of Mexico. See also page 496.

In the evening, Montezuma returned to visit his guests with the same pomp as in their first interview, and brought presents of such value, not only to Cortes and to his officers, but even to the private men, as proved the liberality of the monarch to be suitable to the opulence of his kingdom. A long conference ensued, in which Cortes learned what was the opinion of Montezuma with respect to the Spaniards. It was an established tradition, he told him, among the Mexicans, that their ancestors came originally from a remote region, and conquered the provinces now subject to his dominion; that after they were settled there, the great captain who conducted this colony returned to his own country, promising, that, at some future period, his descendants should visit them, assume the government, and reform their constitution and laws; that from what he had heard and seen of Cortes and his followers, he was convinced that they were the very persons whose appearance the Mexican traditions and prophecies taught them to expect; that

accordingly he had received them, not as strangers, but as relations of the same blood and parentage, and desired that they might consider themselves as masters in his dominions, for both himself and his subjects should be ready to comply with their will, and even to prevent their wishes. Cortes made a reply in his usual style, with respect to the dignity and power of his sovereign, and his intention in sending him into that country; artfully endeavoring so to frame his discourse, that it might coincide as much as possible with the idea which Montezuma had formed concerning the origin of the Spaniards. Next morning, Cortes and some of his principal attendants were admitted to a public audience of the emperor. The three subsequent days were employed in viewing the city; the appearance of which, so far superior in the order of its buildings and the number of its inhabitants to any place the Spaniards had beheld in America, and yet so little resembling the structure of an European city, filled them with surprise and admiration.



PLAN OF THE CITY OF MEXICO SHOWING THE GREAT PLACE OF MARKET AND THE VICEREAL AND CAPITAL GARDENS

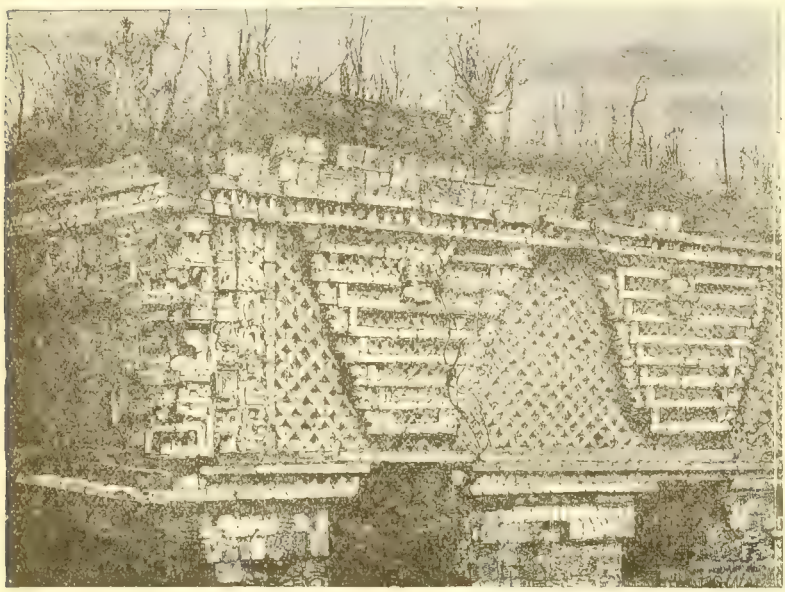
FROM THE NUREMBERG ORIGINAL OF THE LETTER OF CORTES TO CHARLES V.

Mexico, or *Tenochtitlan*, as it was anciently called by the natives, is situated in a large plain, environed by mountains of such height, that, though within the torrid zone, the temperature of its climate is mild and healthful. All the moisture which descends from the high grounds is collected in several lakes, the two largest of which, of about ninety miles in circuit, communicate with each other. The waters of the one are fresh, those of the other brackish. On the banks of the latter, and on some small islands adjoining to them, the capital of Montezuma's empire was built. The access to the city was by artificial causeways or streets formed of stones and earth, about thirty feet in breadth. As the waters of the lake during the rainy season overflowed the



THE GREAT TEOCALLI OR TEMPLE IN THE CITY OF MEXICO RESTORED AFTER GOMARA'S DESCRIPTION BY O. MOTHES.

flat country, these causeways were of considerable length. That of Tacuba, on the west, extended a mile and a half; that of Tepeaca, on the northwest, three miles; that of Cuoyacan, towards the south, six miles. On the east there was no causeway, and the city could be approached only by canoes. In each of these causeways were openings at proper intervals, through which the waters flowed, and over these beams of timber were laid, which being covered with earth, the causeway or street had everywhere a uniform appearance. As the approaches to the city were singular, its construction was remarkable. Not only the temples of their gods, but the houses belonging to the monarch, and to persons of distinction, were of such dimensions, that, in comparison with any other buildings which hitherto had been discovered in America, they might be termed magnificent. The habitations of the common people were mean, resembling the huts of other Indians. But they were all placed in a regular manner, on the banks of the canals which passed through the city, in some of its districts, or on the sides of the streets which intersected it in other quarters. In several places were large openings or squares, one of which, allotted for the great market, is said to have been so spacious, that forty or fifty thousand persons carried on traffic there. In this city, the pride of the New World, and the noblest monument of the industry and art of man, while unacquainted with the use of iron, and destitute of aid from any domestic animal, the Spaniards, who are most moderate in their computations, reckon that there were at least sixty thousand inhabitants.



DETAIL FROM THE EASTERN FACADE OF THE PALACE OF THE NUNS AT UXMAL.

Example of Maya architecture, which in the absence of an Aztec building of prominence now remaining, and to which it was closely allied, will show the richness of the decorations of the public buildings in Mexico. See also page 494

But how much soever the novelty of those objects might amuse

or astonish the Spaniards, they felt the utmost solicitude with respect to their own situation. From a concurrence of circumstances, no less unexpected, than favorable to their progress, they had been allowed to penetrate into the heart of a powerful kingdom, and were now lodged in its capital, without having once met with open opposition from its monarch. The Tlascalans, however, had earnestly dissuaded them from placing such confidence in Montezuma, as to enter a city of such a peculiar situation as Mexico, where that prince would have them at mercy, shut up as it were in a snare, from which it was impossible to escape. They assured them, that the Mexican priests had, in the name of the gods, counselled their sovereign to admit the Spaniards into the capital, that he might cut them off there at one blow with perfect security. They now perceived, too plainly, that the apprehensions of their allies were not destitute of foundation; that, by breaking the bridges placed at certain intervals on the causeways, or by destroying part of the causeways themselves, their retreat would be rendered impracticable, and they must remain cooped up in the center of a hostile city, surrounded by multitudes sufficient to overwhelm them, and without a possibility of receiving aid from their allies. Montezuma had, indeed, received them with distinguished respect. But ought they to reckon upon this as real, or to consider it as feigned? Even if it were sincere, could they promise on its continuance? Their safety depended upon the will of a monarch, in whose attachment they had no reason to confide; and an order flowing from his caprice, or a word uttered by him in passion, might decide irrevocably concerning their fate.



QUETZALCOATL OR CUCULCAN.

A terrestrial hero who became deified, after his death, as sky-god and culture hero; the representative of light, opposed to the god of darkness, Tezcatlipoca. Quetzalcoatl, though worshipped as the promoter of fertility, still held celibacy in honor, and houses of nuns were consecrated to him.

These reflections, so obvious as to occur to the meanest soldier, did not escape the vigilant sagacity of their general. Before he set out from Cholula, Cortes had received advice from Villa Rica, that Qualpopoca, one of the Mexican generals on the frontiers, having assembled an army in order to attack some of the people whom the Spaniards had encouraged to throw off the Mexican yoke, Escalante had marched out with part of the garrison to support his allies; that an engagement had ensued, in which, though the Spaniards were victorious, Escalante, with seven of his men, had been

mortally wounded, his horse killed, and one Spaniard had been surrounded by the enemy and taken alive; that the head of this unfortunate captive, after being carried in triumph to different cities, in order to convince the people that their invaders were not immortal, had been sent to Mexico. Cortes, though alarmed with this intelligence, as an indication of Montezuma's hostile intentions, had continued his march. But as soon as he entered Mexico, he became sensible, that, from an excess of confidence in the superior valor and discipline of his troops, as well as from the disadvantage of having nothing to guide him in an unknown country, but the defective intelligence which he had received from people with whom his mode of communication was very imperfect, he had pushed forward into a situation, where it was difficult to continue, and from which it was dangerous to retire. Disgrace, and perhaps ruin, was the certain consequence of attempting the latter. The success of his enterprise depended upon supporting the high opinion which the people of New Spain had formed with respect to the irresistible power of his arms. Upon the first symptom of timidity on his part, their veneration would cease, and Montezuma, whom fear alone restrained at present, would let loose upon him the whole force of his empire. At the same time, he knew that the countenance of his own sovereign was to be obtained only by a series of victories, and that nothing but the merit of extraordinary success could screen his conduct from the censure of irregularity. From all these considerations, it was necessary to maintain his station, and to extricate himself out of the difficulties in which one bold step had involved him, by venturing upon another still bolder. The situation was trying, but his mind was equal to it; and after revolving the matter with deep attention, he fixed upon a plan no less extraordinary than daring. He determined to seize Montezuma in his palace, and to carry him as a prisoner to the



MONTEZUMA'S GENERAL, QUAUHPOPOCA, ENGAGES ESCALANTE AND HIS MEN IN A SALLY.

Spanish quarters. From the superstitious veneration of the Mexicans for the person of their monarch, as well as their implicit submission to his will, he hoped, by having Montezuma in his power, to acquire the supreme direction of their affairs; or, at least, with such a sacred pledge in his hands, he made no doubt of being secure from any effort of their violence.

This he immediately proposed to his officers. The timid startled at a measure so audacious, and raised objections. The more intelligent and resolute, conscious that it was the only resource in which there appeared any prospect of safety, warmly approved of it, and brought over their companions so cordially to the same opinion, that it was agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes went to the palace, accompanied by Alvarado, Sandoval, Lugo, Velasquez de Leon, and Davila, five of his principal officers, and as many trusty soldiers. Thirty chosen men followed, not in regular order, but sauntering at some distance, as if they had no object but curiosity; small parties were posted at proper intervals, in all the streets leading from the Spanish quarters to the court; and the remainder of his troops, with the Tlascalan allies, were under arms, ready to sally out on the first alarm. Cortes and his attendants were admitted without suspicion; the Mexicans retiring, as usual, out of respect. He addressed the monarch in a tone very different from that which he had employed in former conferences, reproaching him bitterly as the author of the violent assault made upon the Spaniards by one of his officers, and demanded public reparation for the loss which they had sustained by the death of some of their com-



THE EMPEROR MONTEZUMA.

FROM THE ENGRAVING IN [illegible]



SCULPTURE FROM COPAN TO SHOW DRESS, ARMOR, AND ORNAMENTS.

A male figure at the foot of an altar, head covered with helmet, in imitation of some fanciful animal, with gold appendages; the excessively large ears are symbols of a high station, breast covered with armor, upper part of which is made of balls, and lower part of some woven stuffs; arms, legs, and neck ornamented with bands and rings.

panions, as well as for the insult offered to the great prince whose servants they were. Montezuma, confounded at this unexpected accusation, and changing color, either from consciousness of guilt, or from feeling the indignity with which he was treated, asserted his own innocence, with great earnestness, and, as a proof of it, gave orders instantly to bring Qualpopoca and his accomplices prisoners to Mexico. Cortes replied, with seeming complaisance, that a declaration so respectable left no doubt remaining in his own mind, but that something more was requisite to satisfy his followers, who would never be convinced that Montezuma did not harbor hostile intentions against them, unless, as an evidence of his confidence and attachment, he removed from his own palace, and took up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where he should be served and honored as became a great monarch. The first mention of so strange a proposal bereaved Montezuma of speech, and almost of motion. At length, indignation gave him utterance, and he haughtily answered, "That persons of his rank were not accustomed voluntarily to give up themselves as prisoners; and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront to be offered to their sovereign." Cortes, unwilling to employ force, endeavored alternately to soothe and to intimidate him. The altercation became warm; and having continued above three hours, Velasquez de Leon, an impetuous and gallant young man, exclaimed with impatience, "Why waste more time in vain? Let us either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The threatening voice and fierce gestures with which these words were uttered, struck Montezuma. The Spaniards, he was sensible, had now proceeded so far, as left him no hope that



SCULPTURE FROM COPAN TO SHOW DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.

Female figure; the short dress ornamented with a net, bordered with pearls and fringe; a girdle, similarly made, encircles her waist; a broad strip of cloth, covered with gold and pearls, falls from it to the ground; an exquisite head-dress of feathers covers the figure; the bare arms ornamented with bands, the breast covered with jewelry, reaching to the shoulders.

they would recede. His own danger was now imminent, the necessity unavoidable. He saw both, and abandoning himself to his fate, complied with their request.

His officers were called. He communicated to them his resolution. Though astonished and afflicted, they presumed not to question the will of their master, but carried him in silent pomp, all bathed in tears, to the Spanish quarters. When it was known that the strangers were conveying away the emperor, the people broke out into the wildest transports of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with immediate destruction, as the punishment justly due to their impious audacity. But as soon as Montezuma appeared, with a seeming gayety of countenance, and waved his hand, the tumult was hushed; and upon his declaring it to be of his own choice that he went to reside for some time among his new friends, the multitude, taught to revere every intimation of their sovereign's pleasure, quietly dispersed.

Thus was a powerful prince seized by a few strangers in the midst of his capital, at noonday, and carried off as a prisoner, without opposition or bloodshed. History contains nothing parallel to this event, either with respect to the temerity of the attempt, or the success of the execution; and were not all the circumstances of this extraordinary transaction authenticated by the most unquestionable evidence, they would appear so wild and extravagant, as to go far beyond the bounds of that probability which must be preserved even in fictitious narrations.



CHAPTER LVII.

INDIGNITIES HEAPED UPON MONTEZUMA. ACKNOWLEDGES HIMSELF A VASSAL OF SPAIN MEXICAN SCHEMES FOR LIBERATION.

MONTEZUMA was received in the Spanish quarters with all the ceremonious respect which Cortes had promised. He was attended by his own domestics, and served with his usual state. His principal officers had free access to him, and he carried on every function of government as if he had been at perfect liberty. The Spaniards, however, watched him with the scrupulous vigilance which was natural in guarding such an important prize, endeavoring at the same time to soothe and reconcile him to his situation, by every external demonstration of regard and attachment. But from captive princes, the hour of humiliation and suffering is never far distant. Qualpopoca, his son, and five of the principal officers who served under him, were brought prisoners to the capital [Dec. 4], in consequence of the orders which Montezuma had issued. The emperor gave them up to Cortes, that he might inquire into the nature of their crime, and determine their punishment. They were formally tried by a Spanish court-martial; and though they had acted no other part than what became loyal subjects and brave men, in obeying the orders of their lawful sovereign, and in opposing the invaders of their country, they were condemned to be burnt alive. The execution of such atrocious deeds is seldom long suspended. The unhappy victims were instantly led forth. The pile



THE EMPEROR MONTEZUMA XOCOYOTSIN SUBJECTED TO THE DEGRADATION OF HAVING FETTERS PUT UPON HIM.

HIS ATTENDANTS, SPEECHLESS WITH HORROR, FALL AT HIS FEET, BATHING THEM WITH TEARS

DRAWING BY N. MAURIN.

on which they were laid was composed of weapons collected in the royal magazine for the public defense. An innumerable multitude of Mexicans beheld, in silent astonishment, the double insult offered to the majesty of their empire, an officer of distinction committed to the flames by the authority of strangers, for having done what he owed in duty to his natural sovereign; and the arms provided by the foresight of their ancestors for avenging public wrongs, consumed before their eyes.

But these were not the most shocking indignities which the Mexicans had to bear. The Spaniards, convinced that Qualpopoca would not have ventured to attack Escalante without orders from his master, were not satisfied with inflicting vengeance on the instrument employed in committing that crime while the author of it escaped with impunity. Just before Qualpopoca was led out to suffer, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma, followed by some of his officers, and a soldier carrying a pair of fetters; and approaching the monarch with a stern countenance told him, that as the persons who were now to undergo the punishment which they merited, had charged him as the cause of the outrage committed, it was necessary that he likewise should make atonement for that guilt; then turning away abruptly, without waiting for a reply, commanded the soldier to clap the fetters on his legs. The orders were instantly executed. The disconsolate monarch, trained up with an idea that his person was sacred and inviolable, and considering this profanation of it as the prelude of immediate death, broke out into loud lamentations and complaints. His attendants, speechless with horror, fell at his feet, bathing them with their tears; and, bearing up the fetters in their hands, endeavored with officious tenderness to lighten their pressure. Nor did their grief and despondency abate, until Cortes returned from the execution, and with a cheerful countenance ordered the fetters to be taken off. As Montezuma's spirits had sunk with unmanly dejection, they now rose into indecent joy; and with an unbecoming transition, he passed at once from the anguish of despair to transports of gratitude and expressions of fondness towards his deliverer.

In those transactions, as represented by the Spanish historians, we search in vain for the qualities which distinguish other parts of Cortes's conduct. To usurp a jurisdiction which could not belong to a stranger who assumed no higher character than that of an

ambassador from a foreign prince, and, under color of it, to inflict a capital punishment on men whose conduct entitled them to esteem, appears an act of barbarous cruelty. To put the monarch of a great kingdom in irons, and, after such ignominious treatment, suddenly to release him, seems to be a display of power no less inconsiderate than wanton. According to the common relation, no account can be given either of the one action or the other, but that Cortes, intoxicated with success, and presuming on the ascendant which he had acquired over the minds of the Mexicans, thought nothing too bold for him to undertake, or too dangerous to execute. But, in one view, these procceedings, however repugnant to justice and humanity, may have flowed from that artful policy which regulated every part of Cortes' behavior towards the Mexicans. They had conceived the Spaniards to be of an order of beings superior to men. It was of the utmost consequence to cherish this illusion, and to keep up the veneration which it inspired. Cortes wished that shedding the blood of a Spaniard should be deemed the most heinous of all crimes; and nothing appeared better calculated to establish this opinion, than to condemn the first Mexicans who had ventured to commit it to a cruel death, and to oblige their monarch himself to submit to a mortifying indignity as an expiation for being accessory to a deed so atrocious.



PANEL IN THE REAR OF THE ALTAR OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN, AT TIKAL.
THE FIGURE SHOWS AN OFFICER OR DIGNITARY OF HIGH RANK.

The rigor with which Cortes punished the unhappy persons who first presumed to lay violent hands upon his followers, seems accordingly to have made all the impression that he desired. The spirit of Montezuma was not only overawed, but subdued. During six months that Cortes remained in Mexico, the monarch continued in the Spanish quarters with an appearance of as entire satisfaction and tranquillity as if he had resided there not from constraint, but

through choice. His ministers and officers attended him as usual. He took cognizance of all affairs; every order was issued in his name. The external aspect of government appearing the same, and all its ancient forms being scrupulously observed, the people were so little sensible of any change, that they obeyed the mandates of their monarch with the same submissive reverence as ever. Such was the dread which both Montezuma and his subjects had of the Spaniards, or such the veneration in which they held them, that no attempt was made to deliver their sovereign from confinement; and though Cortes, relying on this ascendant which he had acquired over their minds, permitted him not only to visit his temples, but to make hunting excursions beyond the lake, a guard of a few Spaniards carried with it such a terror as to intimidate the multitude, and secure the captive monarch.

Thus, by the fortunate temerity of Cortes in seizing Montezuma, the Spaniards at once secured to themselves more extensive authority in the Mexican Empire than it was possible to have acquired in a long course of time by open force; and they exercised more absolute sway in the name of another, than they could have done in their own. The arts of polished nations, in subjecting such as are less improved, have been nearly the same in every period. The system of screening a foreign usurpation, under the sanction of authority derived from the natural rulers of a country, the device of employing the magistrates and forms already established as instruments to introduce a new dominion, of which we are apt to boast as sublime refinements in policy peculiar to the present age, were inventions of a more early period, and had been tried with success in the West, long before they were practiced in the East.

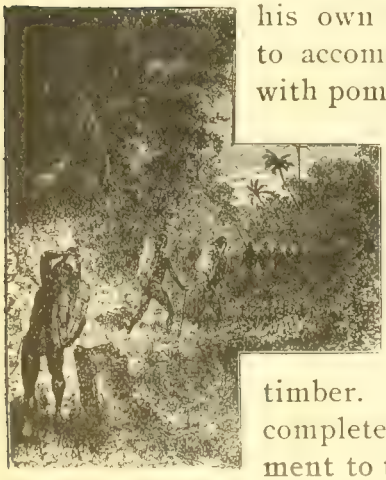
Cortes availed himself to the utmost of the powers which he possessed by being able to act in the name of Montezuma. He sent some Spaniards, whom he judged best qualified for such commissions, into different parts of the empire, accompanied by persons of distinction, whom Montezuma appointed to attend them, both as guides and protectors. They visited most of the provinces, viewed their soil and productions, surveyed with particular care the



THE VOLCANOS POPOCATEPETL AND ZTACCIHUATL, FROM WHERE THE [illegible] R THE R GUNPOWDER.

districts which yielded gold or silver, pitched upon several places as proper stations for future colonies, and endeavored to prepare the minds of the people for submitting to the Spanish yoke. While they were thus employed, Cortes, in the name and by the authority of Montezuma, degraded some of the principal officers in the empire, whose abilities or independent spirit excited his jealousy, and substituted in their place persons less capable or more obsequious.

One thing still was wanting to complete his security. He wished to have such command of the lake as might ensure a retreat, if, either from levity or disgust, the Mexicans should take arms against him, and break down the bridges or causeways. This, too, his own address, and the facility of Montezuma, enabled him to accomplish. Having frequently entertained his prisoner with pompous accounts of the European marine and art of navigation, he awakened his curiosity to see those moving palaces which made their way through the water without oars. Under pretext of gratifying this desire, Cortes persuaded Montezuma to appoint some of his subjects to fetch part of the naval stores which the Spaniards had deposited at Vera Cruz to Mexico, and to employ others in cutting down and preparing timber. With their assistance, the Spanish carpenters soon completed two brigantines, which afforded a frivolous amusement to the monarch, and were considered by Cortes as a certain resource if he should be obliged to retire.



MEXICAN TAMANES OR PORTERS.

Encouraged by so many instances of the monarch's tame submission to his will, Cortes ventured to put it to a proof still more trying. He urged Montezuma to acknowledge himself a vassal of the king of Castile, to hold his crown of him as superior, and to subject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. With this requisition, the last and most humbling that can be made to one possessed of sovereign authority, Montezuma was so obsequious as to comply. He called together the chief men of his empire, and in a solemn harangue, reminding them of the traditions and prophecies which led them to expect the arrival of a people sprung from the same stock with themselves, in order to take possession of the supreme power, he declared his belief that the Spaniards were this promised race; that therefore he recognized the right of

their monarch to govern the Mexican empire; that he would lay his crown at his feet, and obey him as a tributary. While uttering these words, Montezuma discovered how deeply he was affected in making such a sacrifice. Tears and groans frequently interrupted his discourse. Overawed and broken as his spirit was, it still retained such a sense of dignity, as to feel that pang which pierces the heart of princes when constrained to resign independent power. The first mention of such a resolution struck the assembly dumb with astonishment. This was followed by a sudden murmur of sorrow, mingled with indignation, which indicated some violent irruption of rage to be near at hand. This Cortes foresaw, and seasonably interposed to prevent it by declaring that his master had no intention to deprive Montezuma of the royal dignity, or to make any innovation upon the constitution and laws of the Mexican empire. This assurance, added to their dread of the Spanish power, and to the authority of their monarch's example, extorted a reluctant consent from the assembly. The act of submission and homage was executed with all the formalities which the Spaniards were pleased to prescribe.



CORTES DECLARES BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY BY AN HERALD THAT HIS MASTER DOES NOT INTEND TO DEPRIVE MONTEZUMA OF HIS DIGNITIES.

Montezuma, at the desire of Cortes, accompanied this profession of fealty and homage with a magnificent present to his new sovereign; and, after his example, his subjects brought in very liberal contributions. The

Spaniards now collected all the treasures which had been either voluntarily bestowed upon them at different times by Montezuma, or had been extorted from his people under various pretexts; and having melted the gold and silver, the value of these, without including jewels and ornaments of various kinds, which were preserved on account of their curious workmanship, amounted to six hundred thousand *pesos*. The soldiers were impatient to have it divided, and Cortes complied with their desire. A fifth of the whole was first set apart as the tax due the king. Another fifth was allotted to Cortes as commander in chief. The sums advanced by Velasquez, by Cortes, and by some of the officers, towards defraying the expense of fitting out the armament, were then deducted. The remainder was divided among the army, including the garrison of Vera Cruz, in proportion to their different ranks. After so many defalcations, the share of a private man did not exceed a hundred pesos. This sum fell so far below their sanguine expectations, that some soldiers rejected it with scorn, and others murmured so loudly at this cruel disappointment of their hopes, that it required all the address of Cortes, and no small exertion of his liberality, to appease them. The complaints of the army were not altogether destitute of foundation. As the crown had contributed nothing towards the equipment or success of the armament, it was not without regret that the soldiers beheld it sweep away so great a proportion of the treasure purchased by their blood and toil. What fell to the share of the general appeared, according to the ideas of wealth in the sixteenth century, an enormous sum. Some of Cortes' favorites had secretly appropriated to their own use several ornaments of gold, which neither paid the royal fifth, nor were brought into account as part of the common stock. It was, however, so manifestly the interest of Cortes, at this period, to make a large remittance to the king, that it is highly probable those concealments were not of great consequence.

The total sum amassed by the Spaniards bears no proportion to the ideas which might be formed, either by reflecting on the descriptions given by historians of the ancient splendor of Mexico, or by considering the productions of its mines in modern times. But among the ancient Mexicans, gold and silver were not the standards by which the worth of other commodities was estimated;

and destitute of the artificial value derived from this circumstance, were no further in request than as they furnished materials for ornaments and trinkets. These were either consecrated to the gods in their temples, or were worn as marks of distinction by their princes and some of their most eminent chiefs. As the consumption of the precious metal was inconsiderable, the demand for them was not such as to put either the ingenuity or industry of the Mexicans on the stretch, in order to augment their store. They were altogether unacquainted with the art of working the rich mines with which their country abounded. What gold they had was gathered in the beds of rivers, native, and ripened into a pure metallic state. The utmost effort of their labor in search of it was to wash the earth carried down by torrents from the mountains, and to pick out the grains of gold which subsided; and even this simple operation, according to the report of the persons whom Cortes appointed to survey the provinces where there was a prospect of finding mines, they performed very unskillfully. From all those causes, the whole mass of gold in possession of the Mexicans was not great. As silver is rarely found pure, and the Mexican art was too rude to conduct the process for refining it in a proper manner, the quantity of this metal was still less considerable. Thus, though the Spaniards had exerted all the power which they possessed in Mexico, and often with indecent rapacity, in order to gratify their predominant passion, and though Montezuma had fondly exhausted his treasures, in hopes of satiating their thirst for gold, the product of both, which probably included a great part of the bullion in the empire, did not rise in value above what has been mentioned.

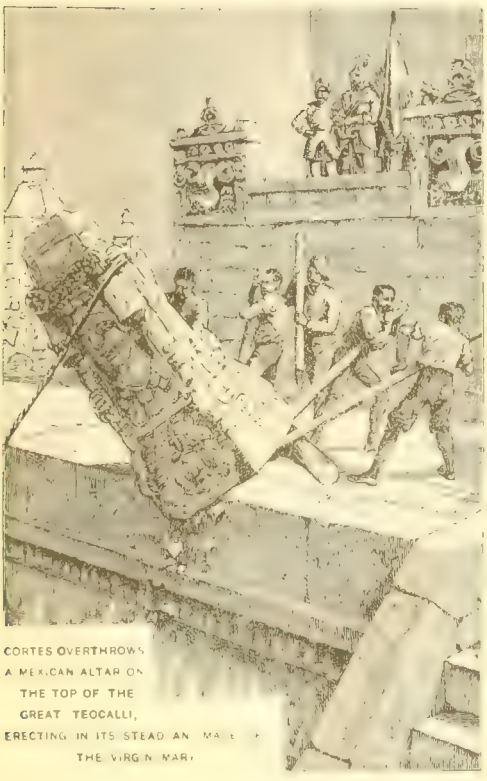
But however pliant Montezuma might be in other matters, with respect to one point he was inflexible. Though Cortes often



PRIESTS, WITH QUETZALCOATL'S EMBLEM IN HAND, OFFICIATING BEFORE AN ALTAR.
SCULPTURED LINTEL FROM LORILLARD, YUCATAN.

The Aztecs recognized the existence of a supreme Creator, and Lord of the universe. They addressed him, in their prayers, "as the God by whom we live," "omnipresent, that knoweth all thoughts, and giveth all gifts," "without whom man is as nothing," "invisible, incorporeal, one God, of perfect perfection and purity," "under whose wings we find repose and sure defense." These sublime attributes infer no inadequate conception of the true God. But the idea of unity—of a being, with whom volition is action, who has no need of inferior ministers to execute his purposes—was too simple or too vast, for their understandings, and they sought relief, as usual, in a plurality of deities, who presided over the elements, the changes of the seasons, and the various occupations of man.—*Prescott, Conquest, Vol. I.*

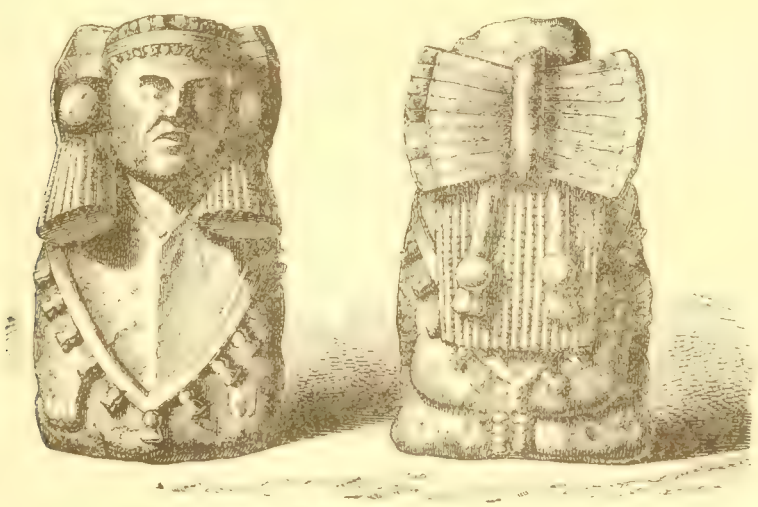
urged him, with the importunate zeal of a missionary, to renounce his false gods, and to embrace the Christian faith, he always rejected the proposition with horror. Superstition, among the Mexicans, was formed into such a regular and complete system, that its institutions naturally took fast hold of the mind; and while the rude tribes in other parts of America were easily induced to relinquish a few notions and rites, so loose and arbitrary as hardly to merit the name of a public religion, the Mexicans adhered tenaciously to their mode of worship, which, however barbarous, was accompanied with such order and solemnity as to render it an object of the highest veneration. Cortes, finding all his attempts ineffectual to shake the constancy of Montezuma, was so much enraged at his obstinacy, that in a transport of zeal he led out his soldiers to throw down the idols in the grand temple by force. But the priests taking arms in defense of their altars, and the people crowding with great ardor to support them, Cortes' prudence overruled his zeal, and induced him to desist from his rash attempt, after dislodging the idols from one of the shrines, and placing in their stead an image of the Virgin Mary.



CORTES OVERTHROWS A MEXICAN ALTAR ON THE TOP OF THE GREAT TEOCALLI, ERECTING IN ITS STEAD AN IMAGE OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

From that moment the Mexicans, who had permitted the imprisonment of their sovereign, and suffered the exactions of strangers without a struggle, began to meditate how they might expel or destroy the Spaniards, and thought themselves called upon to avenge their insulted deities. The priests and leading men held frequent consultations with Montezuma for this purpose. But as it might prove fatal to the captive monarch to attempt either the one or the other by violence, he was willing to try gentle means. Having called Cortes into his presence, he observed, that now, as all the purposes of his embassy were fully accomplished, the gods had declared their will, and the people signified their desire, that he and his followers should instantly depart out of the empire. With this he required them to comply, or unavoidable

destruction would fall suddenly on their heads. The tenor of this unexpected requisition, as well as the determined tone in which it was uttered, left Cortes no room to doubt, that it was the result of some deep scheme concerted between Montezuma and his subjects. He quickly perceived that he might derive more advantage from a seeming compliance with the monarch's inclination, than from an ill-timed attempt to change or to oppose it; and replied, with great composure, that he had already begun to prepare for returning to his own country; but as he had destroyed the vessels in which he arrived, some time was requisite for building other ships. This appeared reasonable. A number of Mexicans were sent to Vera Cruz to cut down timber, and some Spanish carpenters were appointed to superintend the work. Cortes flattered himself that, during this interval, he might either find means to avert the threatened danger, or receive such reinforcements as would enable him to despise it.



FRONT AND REAR VIEW OF BUST OF A PRIESTESS FOUND AT PALENQUE.

CHAPTER LVIII.

CORTES RECEIVES NEWS OF THE ARRIVAL OF NARVAEZ SENT AT THE HEAD OF A NEW ARMAMENT FITTED OUT BY VELASQUEZ. ATTEMPTS NEGOTIATIONS WITH HIM, WHICH FAILING, HE MARCHES AGAINST, AND UTTERLY ROUTES HIM. THE EFFECTS OF THIS VICTORY.



SANDOVAL.
THE GOVERNOR OF VERA CRUZ

ALMOST nine months were elapsed since Portocarrero and Montejo had sailed with his despatches to Spain; and he daily expected their return with a confirmation of his authority from the king. Without this, his condition was insecure and precarious; and after all the great things which he had done, it might be his doom to bear the name and suffer the punishment of a traitor. Rapid and extensive as his progress had been, he could not hope to complete the reduction of a great empire with so small a body of men, which by this time, diseases of various kinds considerably thinned; nor could he apply for recruits to the Spanish settlements in the islands, until he received the royal approbation of his proceedings.

While he remained in this cruel situation, anxious about what was past, uncertain with respect to the future, and, by the late

declaration of Montezuma, oppressed with a new addition of cares, a Mexican courier arrived with an account of some ships having appeared on the coast. Cortes, with fond credulity, imagining that his messengers were returned from Spain, and that the completion of all his wishes and hopes was at hand, imparted the glad tidings to his companions, who received them with transports of mutual congratulation. Their joy was not of long continuance. A courier from Sandoval, whom Cortes had appointed to succeed Escalante in command at Vera Cruz, brought certain information that the armament was fitted out by Velasquez, governor of Cuba, and, instead of bringing the aid which they expected, threatened them with immediate destruction.

The motives which prompted Velasquez to this violent measure are obvious. From the circumstances of Cortes' departure, it was impossible not to suspect his intention of throwing off all dependence upon him. His neglecting to transmit any account of his operations to Cuba, strengthened this suspicion, which was at last confirmed beyond doubt, by the indiscretion of the officers whom Cortes sent to Spain. They, from some motive which is not clearly explained by the contemporary historians, touched at the island of Cuba, contrary to the peremptory orders of their general. By this means Velasquez not only learned that Cortes and his followers, after formally renouncing all connection with him, had established an independent colony in New Spain, and were soliciting the king to confirm their proceedings by his authority; but he obtained particular information concerning the opulence of the country, the valuable presents which Cortes had received, and the inviting prospects of success that opened to his view. Every passion which can agitate an ambitious mind; shame, at having been so grossly overreached; indignation, at being betrayed by the man whom he had selected as the object of his favor and confidence; grief, for having wasted his fortune to aggrandize an enemy; and despair of recovering so fair an opportunity of establishing his fame and extending his power, now raged in the bosom of Velasquez. All these, with united force, excited him to make an extraordinary effort in order to be avenged on the author of his wrongs, and to wrest from him his usurped authority and conquests. Nor did he want the appearance of a good title to justify such an attempt. The agent whom he sent to Spain with an account of

Grijalva's voyage, had met with a most favorable reception; and from the specimens which he produced, such high expectations were formed concerning the opulence of New Spain, that Velasquez was authorized to prosecute the discovery of the country, and appointed governor of it during life, with more extensive power and privileges than had been granted to any adventurer from the time of Columbus. Elated by this distinguishing mark of favor, and warranted to consider Cortes not only as intruding upon his jurisdiction, but as disobedient to the royal mandate, he determined to vindicate his own rights, and the honor of his sovereign, by force of arms. His ardor in carrying on his preparations was such as might have been expected from the violence of the passions with which he was animated; and in a short time an armament was completed, consisting of eighteen ships, which had on board fourscore horsemen, eight hundred foot soldiers, of which eighty were musketeers, and a hundred and twenty crossbow-men, together with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. As Velasquez's experience of the fatal consequence of committing to another what he ought to have executed himself, had not rendered him more enterprising, he vested the command of this formidable body, which, in the infancy of the Spanish power in America, merits the appellation of an army, in Pamphilo de Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, to send them prisoners to him, and then to complete the discovery and conquest of the country in his name.

After a prosperous voyage, Narvaez landed his men without opposition near St. Juan de Ulloa [April]. Three soldiers, whom Cortes had sent to search for mines in that district, immediately joined him. By this accident, he not only received information concerning the progress and situation of Cortes, but, as these soldiers had made some progress in the knowledge of the Mexican language, he acquired interpreters, by whose means he was enabled to hold some intercourse with the people of the country. But, according to the low cunning of deserters, they framed their intelligence with more attention to what they thought would be agreeable, than to what they knew to be true; and represented the situation of Cortes to be so desperate, and the disaffection of his followers to be so general, as increased the natural confidence and presumption of Narvaez. His first operation, however, might

have taught him not to rely on their partial accounts. Having sent to summon the governor of Vera Cruz to surrender, Guevara, a priest whom he employed in that service, made the requisition with such insolence, that Sandoval, an officer of high spirit, and zealously attached to Cortes, instead of complying with his demands, seized him and his attendants, and sent them in chains to Mexico.

Cortes received them not like enemies, but as friends, and, condemning the severity of Sandoval, set them immediately at liberty. By this well-timed clemency, seconded by caresses and presents, he gained their confidence, and drew from them such particulars concerning the force and intentions of Narvaez, as gave him a view of the impending danger in its full extent. He had not to contend now with half-naked Indians, no match for him in war, and still more inferior in the arts of policy, but to take the field against an army in courage and martial discipline equal to his own, in number far superior, acting under the sanction of royal authority, and commanded by an officer of known bravery. He was informed that Narvaez, more solicitous to gratify the resentment of Velasquez than attentive to the honor or interest of his country, had begun his intercourse with the natives, by representing him and his followers as fugitives and outlaws, guilty of rebellion against their own sovereign, and of injustice in invading the Mexican empire; and had declared that his chief object in visiting the country was to punish the Spaniards who had committed these crimes, and to rescue the Mexicans from oppression. He soon perceived that the same unfavorable representations of his character and actions had been conveyed to Montezuma, and that Narvaez had found means to assure him, that as the conduct of those who kept him under restraint was highly displeasing to the king his master, he had it in charge not only to rescue an injured monarch from confinement, but to reinstate him in the possession of his ancient power and independence. Animated with this prospect of being set free from subjection to strangers, the Mexicans in several provinces began openly to revolt from Cortes, and to regard Narvaez as a deliverer no less able than willing to save them. Montezuma himself kept up a secret intercourse with the new commander, and seemed to court him as a person superior in power and dignity to those Spaniards whom he had hitherto revered as the first of men.

Such were the various aspects of danger and difficulty which presented themselves to the view of Cortes. No situation can be conceived more trying to the capacity and firmness of a general, or where the choice of the plan which ought to be adopted was more difficult. If he should wait the approach of Narvaez in Mexico, destruction seemed to be unavoidable; for, while the Spaniards pressed him from without, the inhabitants, whose turbulent spirit he could hardly restrain with all his authority and attention, would eagerly lay hold on such a favorable opportunity of avenging all their wrongs. If he should abandon the capital, set the captive monarch at liberty, and march out to meet the enemy, he must at once forego the fruits of all his toils and victories, and relinquish advantages which could not be recovered without extraordinary efforts and infinite danger. If, instead of employing force, he should have recourse to conciliating measures, and attempt an accommodation with Narvaez; the natural haughtiness of that officer, augmented by consciousness of his present superiority, forbade him to cherish any sanguine hope of success. After revolving every scheme with deep attention, Cortes fixed upon that which in execution was most hazardous, but, if successful, would prove most beneficial to himself and to his country; and with the decisive intrepidity suited to desperate situations, determined to make one bold effort for victory under every disadvantage, rather than sacrifice his own conquests and the Spanish interests in Mexico.

But though he foresaw that the contest must be terminated finally by arms, it would have been not only indecent but criminal to have marched against his countrymen, without attempting to adjust matters by an amicable negotiation. In this service he employed Olmedo, his chaplain, to whose character the function was well suited, and who possessed, besides, such prudence and address as qualified him to carry on the secret intrigues in which Cortes placed his chief confidence. Narvaez rejected with scorn every scheme of accommodation that Olmedo proposed, and was with difficulty restrained from laying violent hands on him and his attendants. He met, however, with a more favorable reception among the followers of Narvaez, to many of whom he delivered letters, either from Cortes or his officers, their ancient friends and companions. Cortes artfully accompanied these with presents of rings, chains of gold, and other trinkets of value, which inspired

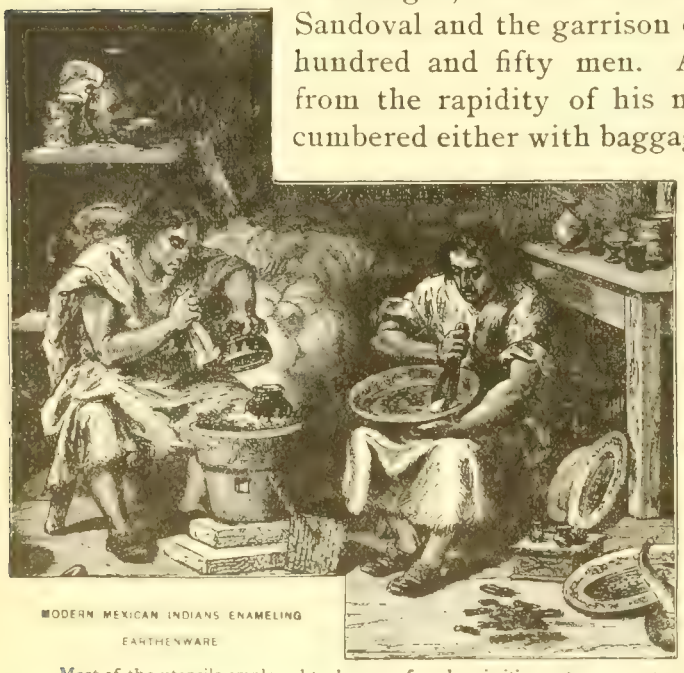
those needy adventurers with high ideas of the wealth that he had acquired, and with envy of their good fortune who were engaged in his service. Some, from hopes of becoming sharers in those rich spoils, declared for an immediate accommodation with Cortes. Others, from public spirit, labored to prevent a civil war, which, whatever party should prevail, must shake, and perhaps subvert, the Spanish power in a country where it was so imperfectly established. Narvaez disregarded both, and by a public proclamation denounced Cortes and his adherents as rebels and enemies to their country. Cortes, it is probable, was not much surprised at the untractable arrogance of Narvaez; and after having given such a proof of his own pacific disposition as might justify his recourse to other means, he determined to advance towards an enemy whom he had labored in vain to appease.

He left a hundred and fifty men in the capital [May], under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, an officer of distinguished courage, for whom the Mexicans had conceived a singular degree of respect. To the custody of this slender garrison he committed a great city, with all the wealth he had amassed, and, what was of still greater importance, the person of the imprisoned monarch. His utmost art was employed in concealing from Montezuma the real cause of his march. He labored to persuade him, that the strangers who had lately arrived were his friends and fellow-subjects; and that, after a short interview with them, they would depart together, and return to their own country. The captive prince, unable to com-



CORTES MARCHES OUT OF MEXICO TO GIVE BATTLE TO THE ARMY OF NARVAEZ

prehend the designs of the Spaniards, or to reconcile what he now heard with the declarations of Narvaez, and afraid to discover any symptom of suspicion or distrust of Cortes, promised to remain quietly in the Spanish quarters, and to cultivate the same friendship with Alvarado which he had uniformly maintained with him. Cortes, with seeming confidence in this promise, but relying principally upon the injunctions which he had given Alvarado to guard his prisoner with the most scrupulous vigilance, set out from Mexico.



MODERN MEXICAN INDIANS ENAMELING EARTHENWARE

Most of the utensils employed to-day are of such primitive nature as yet, that a fair picture of an Aztec goldsmith shop of the time of the conquest, is produced upon the beholder of these patient toilers.

His strength, even after it was reinforced by the junction of Sandoval and the garrison of Vera Cruz, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. As he hoped for success chiefly from the rapidity of his motions, his troops were not encumbered either with baggage or artillery. But as he dreaded extremely the impression which the enemy might make with their cavalry, he had provided against this danger with the foresight and sagacity which distinguish a great commander. Having observed that the Indians in the province of Chinantla used spears of extraordinary length and force, he armed his soldiers with these, and accustomed them to that deep and compact arrangement which the use of this formidable weapon, the best perhaps that ever was invented for defense, enabled them to assume.

With this small but firm battalion, Cortes advanced towards Cempoala, of which Narvaez had taken possession. During his march, he made repeated attempts towards some accommodation with his opponent. But Narvaez requiring that Cortes and his followers should instantly recognize his title to be governor of New Spain, in virtue of the powers which he derived from Velasquez; and Cortes refusing to submit to any authority which was not founded on a commission from the emperor himself, under whose immediate protection he and his adherents had placed their

infant colony; all these attempts proved fruitless. The intercourse, however, which this occasioned between the two parties, proved of no small advantage to Cortes, as it afforded him an opportunity of gaining some of Narvaez's officers by liberal presents, of softening others by a semblance of moderation, and of dazzling all by the appearance of wealth among his troops, most of his soldiers having converted their share of the Mexican gold into chains, bracelets, and other ornaments, which they displayed with military ostentation. Narvaez and a little junto of his creatures excepted, all the army leaned towards an accommodation with their countrymen. This discovery of their inclination irritated his violent temper almost to madness. In a transport of rage, he set a price upon the head of Cortes, and of his principal officers; and having learned that he was now advanced within a league of Cempoala with his small body of men, he considered this an insult which merited immediate chastisement, and marched out with all his troops to offer him battle.

But Cortes was a leader of greater abilities and experience than, on equal ground, to fight an enemy so far superior in number, and so much better appointed. Having taken his station on the opposite bank of the river de Canoas, where he knew that he could not be attacked, he beheld the approach of the enemy without concern, and disregarded this vain bravado. It was then the beginning of the wet season, and the rain had poured down, during a great part of the day, with a violence peculiar to the torrid zone. The followers of Narvaez, unaccustomed to the hardships of military service, murmured so much at being thus fruitlessly exposed, that, from their unsoldier-like impatience, as well as his own contempt of his adversary, their general permitted them to retire to Cempoala. The very circumstance which induced them to quit the field, encouraged Cortes to form a scheme, by which he hoped at once to terminate the war. He observed that his hardy veterans, though standing under the torrents which continued to fall, without a single tent, or any shelter whatever to cover them, were so far from repining at hardships which were become familiar to them, that they were still fresh and alert for service. He foresaw that the enemy would naturally give themselves up to repose after their fatigue, and that, judging of the conduct of others by their own effeminacy, they would deem themselves perfectly secure at a sea-

son so unfit for action. He resolved, therefore, to fall upon them in the dead of night, when the surprise and terror of this unexpected attack might more than compensate the inferiority of his numbers. His soldiers, sensible that no resource remained but in some desperate effort of courage, approved of the measure with such warmth, that Cortes, in a military oration which he addressed to them before they began their march, was more solicitous to temper than to inflame their ardor. He divided them into three parties. At the head of the first he placed Sandoval; intrusting this gallant officer with the most dangerous and important service, that of seizing the enemy's artillery, which was planted before the principal tower of the temple, where Narvaez had fixed his headquarters. Christoval de Olid commanded the second, with orders to assault the tower, and lay hold on the general. Cortes himself conducted the third and smallest division, which was to act as a body of reserve, and to support the other two as there should be occasion. Having passed the river de Canoas, which was much swelled with the rains, not without difficulty, the water reaching almost to their chins, they advanced in profound silence, without beat of drum, or sound of any warlike instrument; each man armed with his sword, his dagger, and his Chinantlan spear.



CORTES PASSING THE SWOLLEN RIVER OF DE CANOAS UNDER GREAT DIFFICULTY.

Narvaez, remiss in proportion to his security, had posted only two sentinels to watch the motions of an enemy whom he had such good cause to dread. One of these was seized by the advanced guard of Cortes' troops; the other made his escape, and, hurrying to the town with all the precipitation of fear and zeal, gave such timely notice of the enemy's approach, that there was full leisure to have prepared for their reception. But, through the arrogance and infatuation of Narvaez, this important interval was lost. He imputed this alarm to the cowardice of the sentinel, and treated with derision the idea of being attacked by forces so unequal to his own. The shouts of Cortes' soldiers, rushing on to the assault, convinced him, at last, that the danger which he despised was real.



CORTES OFFERS TO TAKE THE VANQUISHED TROOPS OF NARVAEZ INTO HIS SERVICE,
AS PARTNERS IN HIS FORTUNE, AND ON EQUAL TERMS WITH HIS OWN SOLDIERS.
DRAWING BY N. MAURIN.

The rapidity with which they advanced was such, that only one cannon could be fired before Sandoval's party closed with the enemy, drove them from their guns, and began to force their way up the steps of the tower. Narvaez, no less brave in action than presumptuous in conduct, armed himself in haste, and by his voice and example animated his men to the combat. Olid advanced to sustain his companions: and Cortes himself rushing to the front, conducted and added new vigor to the attack. The compact order in which this small body pressed on, and the impenetrable front which they presented with their long spears, bore down all opposition before it. They had now reached the gate, and were struggling to burst it open, when a soldier having set fire to the reeds with which the tower was covered, compelled Narvaez to sally out. In the first encounter he was wounded in the eye with a spear, and, falling to the ground, was dragged down the steps, and in a moment clapped in fetters. The cry of victory resounded among the troops of Cortes. Those who had sallied out with their leader now maintained the conflict feebly, and began to surrender. Among the remainder of his soldiers, stationed in two smaller towers of the temple, terror and confusion prevailed. The darkness was so great, that they could not distinguish between their friends and foes. Their own artillery was pointed against them. Wherever they turned their eyes, they beheld lights gleaming through the obscurity of the night, which, though proceeding only from a variety of shining insects, that abound in moist and sultry climates, their affrighted imaginations represented as numerous bands of musketeers advancing with kindled matches to the attack. After a short resistance, the soldiers compelled their officers to capitulate, and before morning all laid down their arms, and submitted quietly to their conquerors.



THE CAPITULATION OF NARVAEZ'S ARMY.

This complete victory proved more acceptable, as it was gained almost without bloodshed, only two soldiers being killed on the side of Cortes, and two officers, with fifteen private men of the adverse faction. Cortes treated the vanquished not like enemies, but as countrymen and friends, and offered either to send them back directly to Cuba, or to take them into his service, as partners in his fortune,

on equal terms with his own soldiers. This latter proposition, seconded by a seasonable distribution of some presents from Cortes, and liberal promises of more, opened prospects so agreeable to the romantic expectations which had invited them to engage in this service, that all, a few partisans of Narvaez excepted, closed with it, and vied with each other in professions of fidelity and attachment to a general whose recent success had given them such a striking proof of his abilities for command. Thus, by a series of events no less fortunate than uncommon, Cortes not only escaped from perdition, which seemed inevitable, but, when he had least reason to expect it, was placed at the head of a thousand Spaniards, ready to follow wherever he should lead them. Whoever reflects upon the facility with which this victory was obtained, or considers with what sudden and unanimous transition the followers of Narvaez ranged themselves under the standard of his rival, will be apt to ascribe both events as much to the intrigues as to the arms of Cortes, and cannot but suspect that the ruin of Narvaez was occasioned no less by the treachery of his own followers, than by the valor of the enemy.



A MUSKETEER OF THE XVI. CENTURY

CHAPTER LIX.

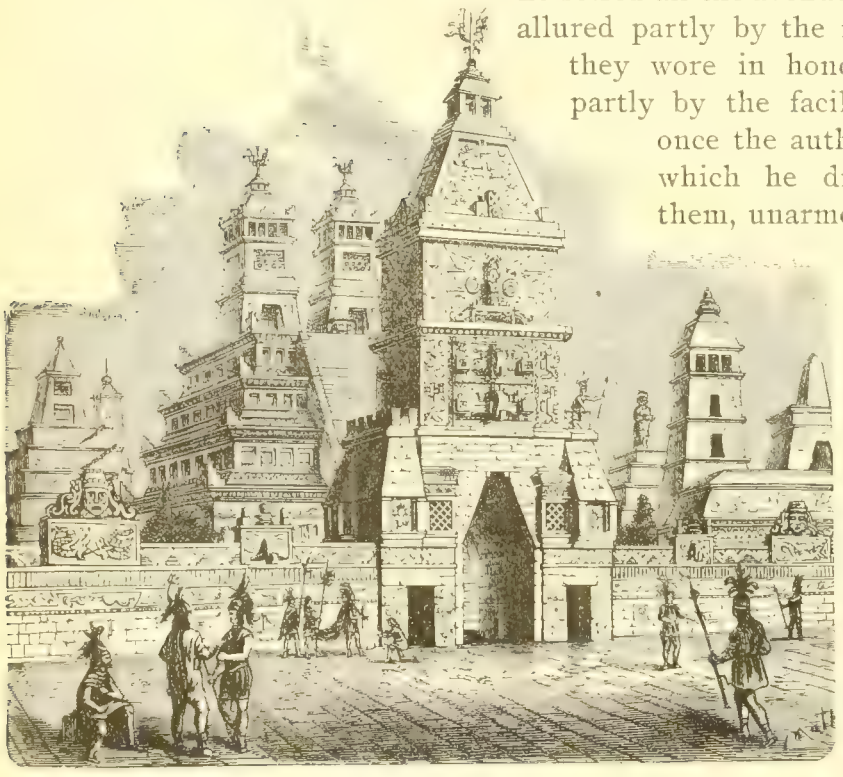
IMPOLITIC MEASURES OF ALVARADO PRODUCE A CRISIS IN THE CITY OF MEXICO. RETURN OF CORTES, WHO FINDS HIMSELF BESIEGED IN HIS OWN QUARTERS SHORTLY AFTERWARDS. DEATH OF MONTEZUMA, AND HORRIBLE BUTCHERY OF THE SPANIARDS DURING THEIR RETREAT FROM THE CITY. THE "NOCHE TRISTE."



ALVARADO.

BUT, in one point, the prudent conduct and good fortune of Cortes were equally conspicuous. If, by the rapidity of his operations after he began his march, he had not brought matters to such a speedy issue, even this decisive victory would have come too late to have saved his companions whom he left in Mexico. A few days after the discomfiture of Narvaez, a courier arrived with an account that the Mexicans had taken arms, and, having seized and destroyed the two brigantines which Cortes had built in order to secure the command of the lake, and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, had killed several of them, and wounded more, had reduced to ashes their magazine of provisions, and carried on hostilities with such fury, that though Alvarado and his men defended themselves with undaunted resolution, they must either be soon cut off by famine, or sink under the multitude of their enemies. This revolt was excited by motives which rendered it still more alarming. On the departure of Cortes for Cempoala, the Mexicans flattered themselves, that the long-expected opportunity of restoring their sovereign to liberty, and of vindicating their country from the odious dominion of strangers, was at length arrived; that while the forces of their oppressors were divided, and

the arms of one party turned against the other, they might triumph with greater facility over both. Consultations were held, and schemes formed with this intention. The Spaniards in Mexico, conscious of their own feebleness, suspected and dreaded those machinations. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, possessed neither that extent of capacity, nor dignity of manners, by which Cortes had acquired such an ascendant over the minds of the Mexicans, as never allowed them to form a just estimate of his weakness or their own strength. Alvarado knew no mode of supporting his authority but force. Instead of employing address to disconcert the plans or to soothe the spirits of the Mexicans, he waited the return of one of their solemn festivals. When the principal persons in the empire were dancing, according to custom, in the court of the great temple, he seized all the avenues which led to it; and, allured partly by the rich ornaments which they wore in honor of their gods, and partly by the facility of cutting off at once the authors of that conspiracy which he dreaded, he fell upon them, unarmed and unsuspicious of any danger, and massacred a great number, none escaping but such as made their way over the battlements of the temple. An action so cruel and treacherous filled not only the city, but the whole empire, with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardless of the safety of their monarch, whose life was at the mercy of the Spaniards, or of their own danger in assaulting an enemy who had been so long the object of their terror, they committed all those acts of violence of which Cortes received an account.

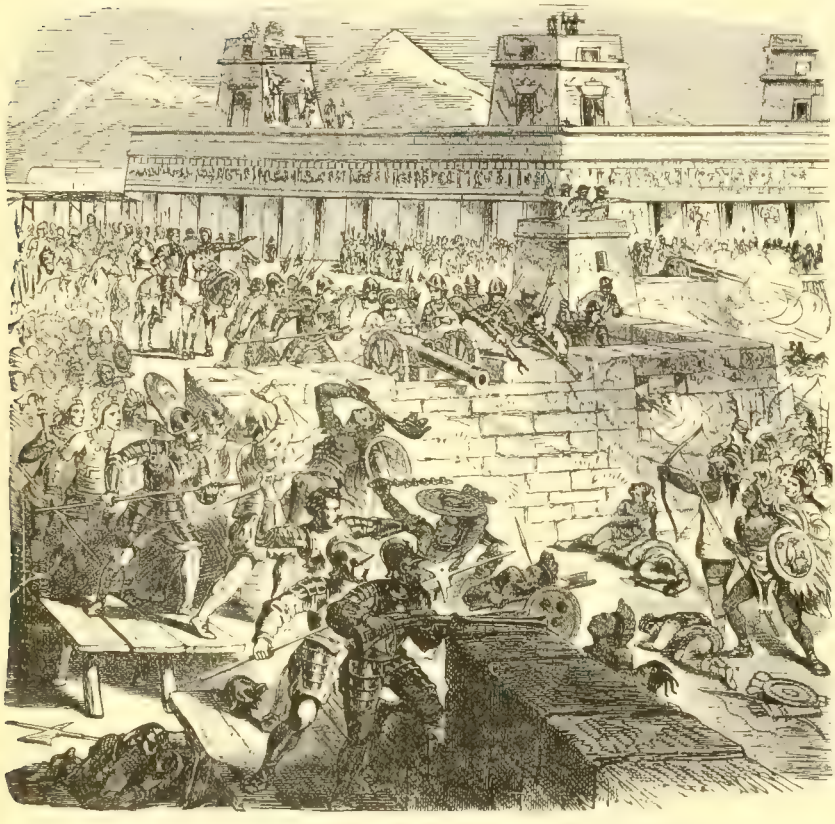


SURROUNDING WALL OF THE GREAT TEOCALLI AND TEMPLE, SHOWING THE GREAT ENTRY-GATE.
RESTORATION AFTER MOTHES

To him the danger appeared so imminent, as to admit neither of deliberation nor delay. He set out instantly with all his forces, and returned from Cempoala with no less rapidity than he had advanced thither. At Tlascala he was joined by two thousand chosen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories, he found that disaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deserted the towns through which he passed; no person of note appearing to meet him with the usual respect; no provision was made for the subsistence of his troops; and though he was permitted to advance without opposition, the solitude and silence which reigned in every place, and the horror with which the people avoided all intercourse with him, discovered a deep-rooted antipathy that excited the most just alarm. But implacable as the enmity of the Mexicans was, they were so unacquainted with the science of war, that they knew not how to take the proper measures, either for their own safety or the destruction of the Spaniards. Uninstructed by their former error in admitting a formidable enemy into their capital, instead of breaking down the causeways and bridges, by which they might have inclosed Alvarado and his party, and have effectually stopped the career of Cortes, they again suffered him to march into the city without molestation, and to take quiet possession of his ancient station.

The transports of joy with which Alvarado and his soldiers received their companions can not be expressed. Both parties were so much elated, the one with their seasonable deliverance, and the other with the great exploits which they had achieved, that this intoxication of success seems to have reached Cortes himself; and he behaved on this occasion neither with his usual sagacity nor attention. He not only neglected to visit Montezuma, but imbittered the insult by expressions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people. The forces of which he had now the command, appeared to him so irresistible, that he might assume a higher tone, and lay aside the mask of moderation, under which he had hitherto concealed his designs. Some Mexicans, who understood the Spanish language, heard the contemptuous words which Cortes uttered, and, reporting them to their countrymen, kindled their rage anew. They were now convinced that the intentions of the general were equally bloody with those of Alvarado, and that his original purpose in visiting their country had not

been, as he pretended, to court the alliance of their sovereign, but to attempt the conquest of his dominions. They resumed their arms with the additional fury which this discovery inspired, attacked a considerable body of Spaniards who were marching towards the great square in which the public market was held, and compelled them to retire with some loss. Emboldened by this success, and delighted to find that their oppressors were not invincible, they advanced next day with extraordinary martial pomp to assault the Spaniards in their quarters. Their number was formidable, and their undaunted courage still more so. Though the artillery pointed against their numerous battalions, crowded together in narrow streets, swept off multitudes at every discharge; though every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with mortal effect upon their naked bodies, the impetuosity of the assault did not abate. Fresh men rushed forward to occupy the places of the slain, and, meeting with the same fate, were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager for vengeance. The utmost efforts of Cortes' abilities and experience, seconded by the disciplined valor of his troops, were hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications that surrounded the post where the Spaniards were stationed, into which the enemy were more than once on the point of forcing their way.



THE SPANIARDS BESIEGED IN THEIR OWN QUARTERS BY THE INFURIATED MEXICANS.

Cortes beheld with wonder the implacable ferocity of a people who seemed at first to submit tamely to the yoke, and had contin-

ued so long passive under it. The soldiers of Narvaez, who fondly imagined that they followed Cortes to share in the spoils of a conquered empire, were astonished to find that they were involved in a dangerous war with an enemy whose vigor was still unbroken, and loudly execrated their own weakness, in giving such easy credit to the delusive promises of their new leader. But surprise and complaints were of no avail. Some immediate and extraordinary effort was requisite to extricate themselves out of their present situation. As soon as the approach of evening induced the Mexicans to retire, in compliance with their national custom of ceasing from hostilities with the setting sun, Cortes began to prepare for a sally, next day, with such a considerable force, as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to listen to terms of accommodation.

He conducted in person the troops destined for this important service. Every invention known in the European art of war, as well as every precaution suggested by his long acquaintance with the Indian mode of fighting, were employed to ensure success. But he found an enemy prepared and determined to oppose him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly augmented by fresh troops, which poured in continually from the country, and their animosity was in no degree abated. They were led by their nobles, inflamed by the exhortations of their priests, and fought in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods, and in presence of their wives and children. Notwithstanding their numbers, and enthusiastic contempt of danger and death, wherever the Spaniards could close with them, the superiority of their discipline and arms obliged the Mexicans to give way. But in narrow streets, and where many of the bridges of communication were broken down, the Spaniards could seldom come to a fair rencounter with the enemy, and, as they advanced, were exposed to showers of arrows and stones from the tops of the houses. After a day of incessant exertion, though vast numbers of the Mexicans fell, and part of the city was burnt, the Spaniards, weary with the slaughter, and harassed by multitudes which successively relieved each other, were obliged at length to retire, with the mortification of having accomplished nothing so decisive as to compensate the unusual calamity of having twelve soldiers killed, and above sixty wounded. Another sally, made with greater force, was not more effectual, and in it the general himself was wounded in the hand.

Cortes now perceived, too late, the fatal error into which he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans, and was satisfied that he could neither maintain his present station in the center of a hostile city, nor retire from it without the most imminent danger. One resource still remained, to try what effect the interposition of Montezuma might have to soothe or overawe his subjects. When the Mexicans approached next morning to renew the assault, that unfortunate prince, at the mercy of the Spaniards, and reduced to the sad necessity of becoming the instrument of his own disgrace, and of the slavery of his people, advanced to the battlements in his royal robes, and with all the pomp in which he used to appear on solemn occasions. At sight of their sovereign, whom they had long been accustomed to honor, and almost to revere as a god, the weapons dropped from their hands, every tongue was silent, all bowed their heads, and many prostrated themselves on the ground. Montezuma addressed them with every argument that could mitigate their rage, or persuade them to cease from hostilities. When he ended his discourse, a sullen murmur of disapprobation ran through the ranks; to this succeeded reproaches and threats; and the fury of the multitude rising in a moment above every restraint of decency or respect, flights of arrows and



MONTEZUMA MORTALLY WOUNDED ON THE BATTLEMENTS OF THE SPANISH QUARTERS, WHILE ATTEMPTING TO RALLY HIS SUBJECTS

volleys of stones poured in so violently upon the ramparts, that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to cover Montezuma with their bucklers, had time to lift them in his defence, two arrows wounded the unhappy monarch, and the blow of a stone on his temple struck him to the ground. On seeing him fall, the Mexicans were so much astonished, that with a transition not uncommon in popular tumults, they passed in a moment from one extreme to the other, remorse succeeded to insult, and they fled with horror, as if the vengeance of heaven were pursuing the crime which they had committed. The Spaniards, without molestation, carried Montezuma to his apartments, and Cortes hastened thither to console him under his misfortune. But the unhappy monarch now perceived how low he was sunk; and, the haughty spirit, which seemed to have been so long extinct, returning, he scorned to survive this last humiliation, and to protract an ignominious life, not only as the prisoner and tool of his enemies, but as the object of contempt or detestation among his subjects. In a transport of rage he tore the bandages from his wounds, and refused, with such obstinacy, to take any nourishment, that he soon ended his wretched days, rejecting with disdain all the solicitations of the Spaniards to embrace the Christian faith.

Upon the death of Montezuma, Cortes, having lost all hope of bringing the Mexicans to an accommodation, saw no prospect of safety but in attempting a retreat, and began to prepare for it. But a sudden motion of the Mexicans engaged him in new conflicts. They took possession of a high tower in the great temple which overlooked the Spanish quarters, and placing there a garrison of their principal warriors, not a Spaniard could stir without being exposed to their missile weapons. From this post it was necessary to dislodge them at any risk; and Juan de Escobar, with a numerous detachment of chosen soldiers, was ordered to make the attack. But Escobar, though a gallant officer, and at the head of troops accustomed to conquer, and who now fought under the eyes of their countrymen, was thrice repulsed. Cortes, sensible that not only the reputation but the safety of his army depended on the success of this assault, ordered a buckler to be tied to his arm, as he could not manage it with his wounded hand, and rushed with his drawn sword into the thickest of the combatants. Encouraged by the presence of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge with

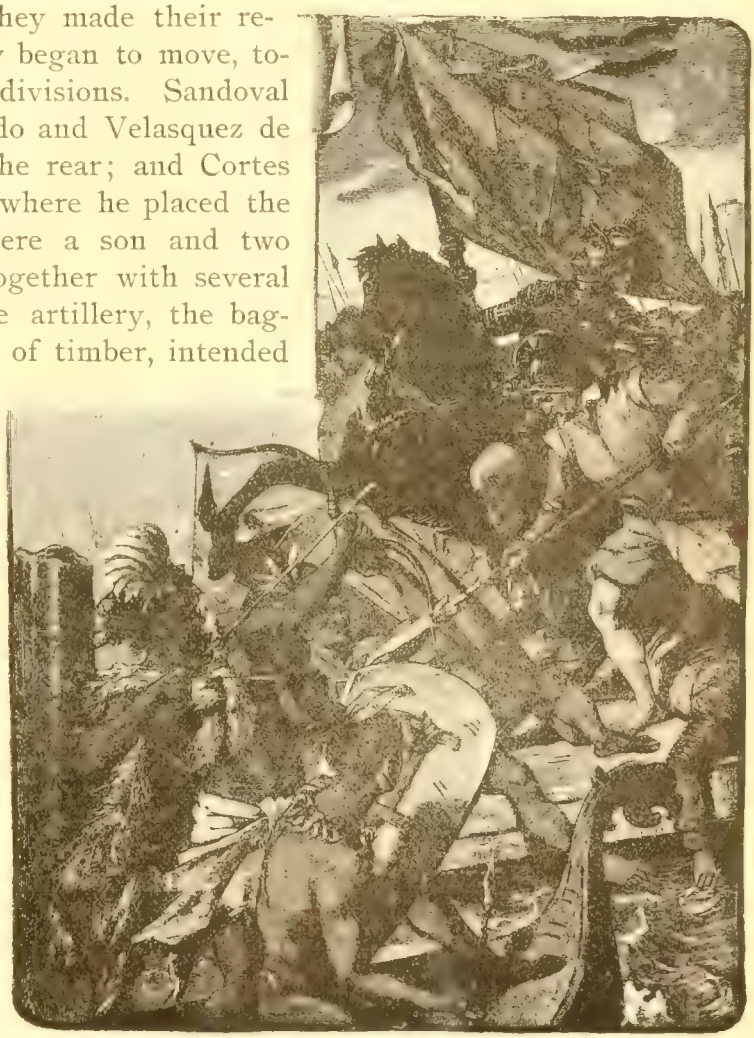
such vigor, that they gradually forced their way up the steps, and drove the Mexicans to the platform at the top of the tower. There a dreadful carnage began; when two young Mexicans of high rank, observing Cortes as he animated his soldiers by his voice and example, resolved to sacrifice their own lives in order to cut off the author of all the calamities which desolated their country. They approached him in a suppliant posture, as if they had intended to lay down their arms, and seizing him in a moment, hurried him towards the battlements, over which they threw themselves headlong, in hopes of dragging him along to be dashed in pieces by the same fall. But Cortes, by his strength and agility, broke loose from their grasp, and the gallant youths perished in this generous though unsuccessful attempt to save their country. As soon as the Spaniards became masters of the tower, they set fire to it, and, without farther molestation, continued the preparations for their retreat.



CORTES IN IMMINENT DANGER OF HIS OWN LIFE SAVED BY HIS STRENGTH AND ABILITY

This became the more necessary, as the Mexicans were so much astonished at the last effort of the Spanish valor, that they began to change their whole system of hostility, and, instead of incessant attacks, endeavored, by barricading the streets and breaking down

the causeways, to cut off the communication of the Spaniards with the continent, and thus to starve an enemy whom they could not subdue. The first point to be determined by Cortes and his followers, was, whether they should march out openly in the face of day, when they could discern every danger, and see how to regulate their own motions, as well as how to resist the assaults of the enemy; or, whether they should endeavor to retire secretly in the night? The latter was preferred, partly from hopes that their national superstition would restrain the Mexicans from venturing to attack them in the night, and partly from their fond belief in the predictions of a private soldier, who, having acquired universal credit by a smattering of learning, and his pretensions to astrology, boldly assured his countrymen of success, if they made their retreat in this manner. They began to move, towards midnight, in three divisions. Sandoval led the van; Pedro Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon had the conduct of the rear; and Cortes commanded in the center, where he placed the prisoners, among whom were a son and two daughters of Montezuma, together with several Mexicans of distinction, the artillery, the baggage, and a portable bridge of timber, intended to be laid over the breaches in the causeway. They marched in profound silence along the causeway which led to Tacuba, because it was shorter than any of the rest, and, lying most remote from the road towards Tlascala and the sea-coast, had been left more entire by the Mexicans. They reached the first breach in it without molestation, hoping that their retreat was undiscovered.



But the Mexicans, unper-

THE "NOCHE TRISTE." THE SORROWFUL NIGHT.

ceived, had not only watched all their motions with attention, but had made proper dispositions for a most formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridge in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horses and artillery along it, they were suddenly alarmed with a tremendous sound of warlike instruments, and a general shout from an innumerable multitude of enemies; the lake was covered with canoes; flights of arrows and showers of stones poured in upon them from every quarter; the Mexicans rushing forward to the charge with fearless impetuosity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged for all their wrongs. Unfortunately the wooden bridge, by the weight of the artillery, was wedged so fast into the stones and mud, that it was impossible to remove it. Dismayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the second breach. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every side; and though they defended themselves with their usual courage, yet, crowded together as they were on a narrow causeway, their discipline and military skill were of little avail, nor did the obscurity of the night permit them to derive great advantage from their fire-arms, or the superiority of their other weapons. All Mexico was now in arms; and so eager were the people on the destruction of their oppressors, that they who were not near enough to annoy them in person, impatient of the delay, pressed forward with such ardor as drove on their countrymen in the front with irresistible violence. Fresh warriors instantly filled the place of such as fell. The Spaniards, weary with slaughter, and unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confusion was universal; horse and foot, officers and soldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all fought, and many fell, they could hardly distinguish from what hand the blow came.

Cortes, with about a hundred foot-soldiers and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway, the bodies of the dead serving to fill up the chasms, and reached the mainland. Having formed them as soon as they arrived, he returned with such as were yet capable of service to assist his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them, by his presence and example, to persevere in the efforts requisite to effect it. He met with part of his soldiers, who had broke through the enemy, but found many more

overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake; and heard the pitious lamentations of others, whom the Mexicans, having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war. Before day, all who had escaped assembled at Tacuba. But when the morning dawned, and discovered to the view of Cortes, his shattered battalion, reduced to less than half its number, the survivors dejected, and most of them covered with wounds, the thoughts of what they had suffered, and the remembrance of so many faithful friends and gallant followers who had fallen in that night of sorrow, pierced his soul with such anguish, that while he was forming their ranks, and issuing some necessary orders, the soldiers observed the tears trickling from his eyes, and remarked, with much satisfaction, that while attentive to the duties of a general, he was not insensible to the feelings of a man.

In this fatal retreat many officers of distinction perished, and among these Velasquez de Leon, who having forsaken the party of his kinsman, the governor of Cuba, to follow the fortunes of his companions, was, on that account, as well as for his superior merit, respected by them as the second person in the army. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were lost; the greater part of the horses, and above two thousand Tlascalans, were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure which they had amassed was saved. This, which had always been their chief object, proved a great cause of their calamity; for many of the soldiers having so overloaded themselves with bars of gold as rendered them unfit for action, and retarded their flight, fell ignominiously, the victims of their own inconsiderate avarice. Amidst so many disasters, it was some consolation to find that Aguilar and Marina, whose function as interpreters was of such essential importance, had made their escape.

CHAPTER LX.

RETREAT AND BATTLE OF OTUMBA RECEPTION OF THE SPANIARDS IN TLASCALA. MUTINOUS SPIRIT OF THE TROOPS AND MEANS EMPLOYED BY CORTES TO REVIVE THEIR CONFIDENCE STRENGTHENED BY SEVERAL REINFORCEMENTS, HE AGAIN MARCHES AGAINST THE CITY OF MEXICO (1520.)

THE first care of Cortes was to find some shelter for his wearied troops; for, as the Mexicans infested them on every side, and the people of Tacuba began to take arms, he could not continue in his present station. He directed his march towards the rising ground, and, having fortunately discovered a temple situated on an eminence, took possession of it. There he found not only the shelter for which he wished, but, what was no less wanted, some provisions to refresh his men; and though the enemy did not intermit their attacks throughout the day, they were with less difficulty prevented from making any impression. During this time Cortes was engaged in deep consultation with his officers, concerning the route which they ought to take in their retreat. They were now on the west side of the lake. Tlascala, the only place where they could hope for a friendly reception, lay about sixty-four miles to the east of Mexico; so that they were obliged to go round the north end of the lake before they could fall into the road



THE "NOCHE TRISTE" TREE AT POPOTLAN.
PLACE WHERE CORTES FOUND SHELTER AFTER HIS DISASTROUS RETREAT.

which led thither. A Tlascalan soldier undertook to be their guide, and conducted them through a country in some places marshy, in others mountainous, in all ill cultivated and thinly peopled. They marched for six days with little respite, and under continual alarms, numerous bodies of the Mexicans hovering around them, sometimes harassing them at a distance with their missile weapons, and sometimes attacking them closely in front, in rear, in flank, with great boldness, as they now knew that they were not invincible. Nor were the fatigue and danger of those incessant conflicts the worst evils to which they were exposed. As the barren country through which they passed afforded hardly any provisions, they were reduced to feed on berries, roots, and the stalks of green maize; and at the very time that famine was depressing their spirits and wasting their strength, their situation required the most vigorous and unremitting exertions of courage and activity. Amidst those complicated distresses, one circumstance supported and animated the Spaniards. Their commander sustained this sad reverse of fortune with unshaken magnanimity. His presence of mind never forsook him; his sagacity foresaw every event, and his vigilance provided for it. He was foremost in every danger, and endured every hardship with cheerfulness. The difficulties with which he was surrounded seemed to call forth new talents; and his soldiers, though despairing themselves, continued to follow him with increasing confidence in his abilities.

On the sixth day they arrived near to Otumba, not far from the road between Mexico and Tlascala. Early next morning they began to advance towards it, flying parties of the enemy still hanging on the rear; and, amidst the insults with which they accompanied their hostilities, Marina remarked that they often exclaimed with exultation, "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet the vengeance due to your crimes." The meaning of this threat the Spaniards did not comprehend, until they reached the summit of an eminence before them. There a spacious valley opened to their view, covered with a vast army extending as far as the eye could reach. The Mexicans, while with one body of their troops they harassed the Spaniards in their retreat, had assembled their principal force on the other side of the lake; and marching along the road which led directly to Tlascala, posted it in the plain of Otumba, through which they knew Cortes must pass. At the

sight of this incredible multitude, which they could survey at once from the rising ground, the Spanish were astonished, and even the boldest began to despair. But Cortes, without allowing leisure for their fears to acquire strength by reflection, after warning them briefly that no alternative now remained but to conquer or to die, led them instantly to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with unusual fortitude. Such, however, was the superiority of the Spanish discipline and arms, that the impression of this small body was irresistible; and whichever way its force was directed, it penetrated and dispersed the most numerous battalions. But while these gave way in one quarter, new combatants advanced from another, and the Spaniards, though successful in every attack, were ready to sink under those repeated efforts, without seeing any end of their toil, or any hope of victory. At that time, Cortes observed the great standard of the empire, which was carried before the Mexican general, advancing; and fortunately recollecting to have heard, that on the fate of it depended the event of every battle, he assembled a few of his bravest officers, whose horses were still capable of service, and, placing himself at their head, pushed forward towards the standard with an impetuosity which bore down every thing before it. A chosen body of nobles, who guarded the standard, made some resistance, but were soon broken. Cortes, with a stroke of his sword, wounded the Mexican General, and threw him to the ground. One of the Spanish officers, alighting, put an end to his life, and laid hold of the imperial standard. The moment that their leader fell, and the standard, towards which all directed their eyes, disappeared, a universal panic struck the Mexicans; and, as if the bond which held them together had been dissolved, every ensign was lowered, each soldier threw away his weapons, and all fled with precipitation to the mountains. The Spaniards, unable to pursue them far, returned to collect the spoils of the field, which were so valuable as to be some compensation for the wealth which they had lost in Mexico; for in the enemy's army were most of their principal warriors dressed out in their richest ornaments, as if they had



THATEL... OF CORTES AT THE BATTLE OF OTUMBA.

been marching to assured victory. Next day [July 8], to their great joy, they entered the Tlascalan territories.

But, amidst their satisfaction in having got beyond the precincts of a hostile country, they could not look forward without solicitude, as they were still uncertain what reception they might meet with from allies, to whom they returned in a condition very different from that in which they had lately set out from their dominions. Happily for them, the enmity of the Tlascalans to the Mexican name was so inveterate, their desire to avenge the death of their countrymen so vehement, and the ascendant which Cortes had acquired over the chiefs of the republic so complete, that, far from entertaining a thought of taking any advantage of the distressed situation in which they beheld the Spaniards, they received them with a tenderness and cordiality which quickly dissipated all their suspicions.

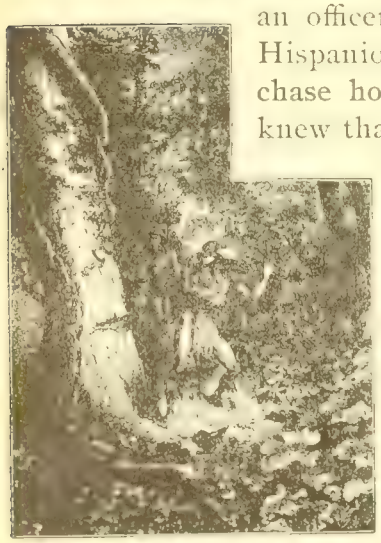


MEXICAN SOLDIERS WAYLAY THE TREASURE-LADEN SPANIARDS . . . THE MOUNTAINS, AND UTTERLY ANNIHILATE THEM.

Some interval of tranquillity and indulgence was now absolutely necessary; not only that the Spaniards might give attention to the cure of their wounds, which had been too long neglected, but in order to recruit their strength, exhausted by such a long succession of fatigue and hardships. During this, Cortes learned that he and his companions were not the only Spaniards who had felt the effects of the Mexican enmity. A considerable detachment which was marching from Cempoala towards the capital, had been cut off by the people of Tepeaca. A smaller party, returning from Tlascala to Vera Cruz, with the share of the Mexican gold allotted to the garrison, had been surprised and destroyed in the mountains. At a juncture when the life of every Spaniard was of importance, such losses were deeply felt. The schemes which Cortes was meditating rendered them peculiarly afflictive to him. While his enemies, and even many of his own followers, considered the disasters

which had befallen him as fatal to the progress of his arms, and imagined that nothing now remained but speedily to abandon a country which he had invaded with unequal force, his mind, as eminent for perseverance as for enterprise, was still bent on accomplishing his original purpose, of subjecting the Mexican empire to the crown of Castile. Severe and unexpected as the check was which he had received, it did not appear to him as a sufficient reason for relinquishing the conquests which he had already made, or against resuming his operations with better hopes of success. The colony at Vera Cruz was not only safe, but had remained unmolested. The people of Cempoala and the adjacent districts had discovered no symptoms of defection. The Tlascalans continued faithful to their alliance. On their martial spirit, easily roused to arms, and inflamed with implacable hatred of the Mexicans, Cortes depended for powerful aid. He had still the command of a body of Spaniards, equal in number to that with which he had opened his way into the centre of the empire, and had taken possession of the capital; so that with the benefit of greater experience, as well as more perfect knowledge of the country, he did not despair of quickly recovering all that he had been deprived of by untoward events.

Full of this idea, he courted the Tlascalan chiefs with such attention, and distributed among them so liberally the rich spoils of Otumba, that he was secure of obtaining whatever he should require of the republic. He drew a small supply of ammunition and two or three field-pieces from his stores at Vera Cruz. He despatched an officer of confidence with four ships of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers, and to purchase horses, gunpowder, and other military stores. As he knew that it would be vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico, unless he could secure the command of the lake, he gave orders to prepare in the mountains of Tlascala, materials for building twelve brigantines, so as they might be carried thither in pieces ready to be put together, and launched when he stood in need of their service.



TLASCALANS CUTTING DOWN TIMBER FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BRIGANTINES.

But while, with provident attention, he was taking those necessary steps towards the execution of his measures, an obstacle arose in a quarter

where it was least expected, but most formidable. The spirit of discontent and mutiny broke out in his own army. Many of Narvaez's followers were planters rather than soldiers, and had accompanied him to New Spain with sanguine hopes of obtaining settlements, but with little inclination to engage in the hardships and dangers of war. As the same motives had induced them to enter into their new engagements with Cortes, they no sooner became acquainted with the nature of the service, than they bitterly repented of their choice. Such of them as had the good fortune to survive the perilous adventures in which their own imprudence had involved them, happy in having made their escape, trembled at the thoughts of being exposed a second time to similar calamities. As soon as they discovered the intention of Cortes, they began secretly to murmur and cabal, and, waxing gradually more audacious, they, in a body, offered a remonstrance to their general against the imprudence of attacking a powerful empire with his shattered forces, and formally required him to lead them back directly to Cuba. Though Cortes, long practiced in the arts of command, employed arguments, entreaties, and presents to convince or soothe them; though his own soldiers, animated with the spirit of their leader, warmly seconded his endeavors; he found their fears too violent and deep-rooted to be removed, and the utmost he could effect was to prevail with them to defer their departure for some time, on a promise that he would, at a more proper juncture, dismiss such as should desire it.

That the malecontents might have no leisure to brood over the causes of their disaffection, he resolved instantly to call forth his troops into action. He proposed to chastise the people of Tepeaca for the outrage which they had committed; and as the detachment which they had cut off happened to be composed mostly of soldiers who had served under Narvaez, their companions, from the desire of vengeance, engaged the more willingly in this war. He took the command in person [August] accompanied by a numerous body of Tlascalans, and in the space of a few weeks, after various encounters, with great slaughter of the Tepeacans, reduced that province to subjection. During several months, while he waited for the supplies of men and ammunition which he expected, and was carrying on his preparations for constructing the brigantines, he kept his troops constantly employed in various expeditions against the

adjacent provinces, all of which were conducted with a uniform tenor of success. By these, his men became again accustomed to victory, and resumed their wonted sense of superiority; the Mexican power was weakened; the Tlascalan warriors acquired the habit of acting in conjunction with the Spaniards; and the chiefs of the republic delighted to see their country enriched with the spoils of all the people around them; and, astonished every day with fresh discoveries of the irresistible prowess of their allies, declined no effort requisite to support them.



THE SPANIARDS, ASSISTED BY THEIR TLASCALAN ALLIES, REDUCE THE TEPEACANS TO SUBJECTION.

All those preparatory arrangements, however, though the most prudent and efficacious which the situation of Cortes allowed him to make, would have been of little avail without a reinforcement of Spanish soldiers. Of this he was so deeply sensible, that it was the chief object of his thoughts and wishes; and yet his only prospect of obtaining it from the return of the officer whom he had sent to the isles to solicit aid, was both distant and uncertain. But what neither his own sagacity nor power could have procured, he owed to a series of fortunate and unforeseen incidents. The governor of Cuba, to whom the success of Narvaez appeared an event of infallible certainty, having sent two small ships after him with new instructions, and a supply of men and military stores, the officer whom Cortes had appointed to command on the coast, artfully decoyed them into the harbor of Vera Cruz, seized the vessels, and easily persuaded the soldiers to follow the standard of a more able leader than him whom they were destined to join. Soon after, three ships of more considerable force came into the harbor separately. These belonged to an armament fitted out by Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, who, being possessed with the rage of discovery and conquest which animated every Spaniard settled in America, had long aimed at intruding into some district of New Spain, and dividing



THE GARRISON OF VERA CRUZ SIGHT THE VESSELS SENT BY THE GOVERNOR OF CUBA IN AID OF NARVAEZ, AND DECOY THEM INTO THE HARBOR.

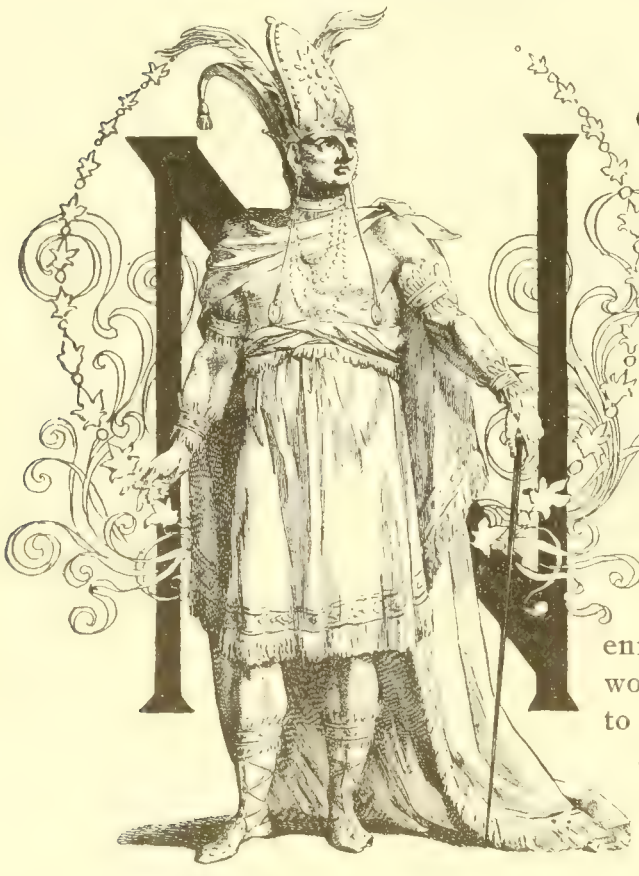
with Cortes the glory and gain of annexing that empire to the crown of Castile. They unadvisedly made their attempt on the northern provinces, where the country was poor, and the people fierce and warlike; and after a cruel succession of disasters, famine compelled them to venture into Vera Cruz, and cast themselves upon the mercy of their countrymen [Oct. 28]. Their fidelity was not proof against the splendid hopes and promises which had seduced other adventurers; and, as if the spirit of revolt had been contagious in New Spain, they likewise abandoned the master whom they were bound to serve, and enlisted under Cortes. Nor was it America alone that furnished such unexpected aid; a ship arrived from Spain, freighted by some private merchants with military stores, in hopes of a profitable market in a country, the fame of whose opulence began to spread over Europe. Cortes eagerly purchased a cargo which to him was invaluable, and the crew, following the general example, joined him at Tlascala.

From those various quarters, the army of Cortes was augmented with a hundred and eighty men, and twenty horses, a reinforcement too inconsiderable to produce any consequence which would have entitled it to have been mentioned in the history of other parts of the globe. But in that of America, where great revolutions were brought about by causes which seemed to bear no proportion to their effects, such small events rise into importance, because they were sufficient to decide with respect to the fate of kingdoms. Nor is it the least remarkable instance of the singular felicity conspicuous in many passages of Cortes' story, that the two persons chiefly instrumental in furnishing him with those seasonable supplies, should be an avowed enemy who aimed at his destruction, and an envious rival who wished to supplant him.

The first effect of the junction with his new followers was to enable him to dismiss such of Narvaez's soldiers as remained with reluctance in his service. After their departure, he still mustered five hundred and fifty infantry, of which fourscore were armed with muskets or crossbows, forty horsemen, and a train of nine field-pieces. At the head of these, accompanied by ten thousand Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, Cortes began his march towards Mexico, on the 28th of December, six months after his disastrous retreat from that city.

CHAPTER LXI.

PREPARATIONS OF THE MEXICANS FOR THEIR DEFENSE. CORTES' SLOW AND CAUTIOUS OPERATIONS IN INVESTING THE CITY. LAUNCH OF THE BRIGANTINES. GUATEMOTZIN'S HEROIC DEFENSE OF THE PALLADIUM OF THE EMPIRE.



GUATEMOTZIN, THE LEONIDAS OF MEXICO.*

NOR did he advance to attack an enemy unprepared to receive him. Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, had instantly raised his brother Quetlavaca to the throne. His avowed and inveterate enmity to the Spaniards would have been sufficient to gain their suffrages, although he had been less distinguished for courage and capacity. He had an immediate opportunity of showing that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting in person those fierce attacks which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital;

* The Spartan Leonidas defended the pass of Thermopylæ with 300 of his countrymen, against the legions of Persia under Xerxes, only one making his escape. He, upon reaching Sparta, *was disowned by his mother for this piece of cowardice.*

as soon as their retreat afforded him any respite from action, he took measures for preventing their return to Mexico, with prudence equal to the spirit which he had displayed in driving them out of it. As from the vicinity of Tlascala, he could not be unacquainted with the motions and intentions of Cortes, he observed the storm that was gathering, and began early to provide against it. He repaired what the Spaniards had ruined in the city, and strengthened it with such new fortifications as the skill of his subjects was capable of erecting. Besides filling his magazines with the usual weapons of war, he gave directions to make long spears headed with the swords and daggers taken from the Spaniards, in order to annoy the cavalry. He summoned the people in every province of the empire to take arms against their oppressors, and, as an encouragement to exert themselves with vigor, he promised them exemption from all the taxes which his predecessors had imposed. But what he labored with the greatest earnestness, was, to deprive the Spaniards of the advantages which they derived from the friendship of the Tlascalans, by endeavoring to persuade that people to renounce all connection with men who were not only avowed enemies of the gods whom they worshiped, but who would not fail to subject them at last to the same yoke, which they were now inconsiderately lending their aid to impose upon others. These representations, no less striking than well-founded, were urged so forcibly by his ambassadors, that it required all the address of Cortes to prevent their making a dangerous impression.

But while Quetlavaca was arranging his plan of defense, with a degree of foresight uncommon in an American, his days were cut short by the small-pox. This distemper, which raged at that time in New Spain with fatal malignity, was unknown in that quarter of the globe, until it was introduced by the Europeans, and may be reckoned among the greatest calamities brought upon them by their invaders. In his stead the Mexicans raised to the throne Guatemotzin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, a young man of such high reputation for abilities and valor, that, in this dangerous crisis, his countymen, with one voice, called him to the supreme command.

As soon as Cortes entered the enemy's territories, he discovered various preparations to obstruct his progress. But his troops forced their way with little difficulty, and took possession of Tez-

cuco, the second city of the empire, situated on the banks of the lake about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he determined to establish his headquarters, as the most proper station for launching his brigantines, as well as for making his approaches to the capital. In order to render his residence there more secure, he deposed the cacique, or chief, who was at the head of that community, under pretext of some defect in his title, and substituted in his place a person whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir of that dignity. Attached to him by this benefit, the new cacique and his adherents served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity.



CORTES AND HIS ALLIES TAKE THE CITY OF TEZCUCO BY STORM.

As the preparations for constructing the brigantines advanced slowly under the unskillful hands of soldiers and Indians, whom Cortes was obliged to employ in assisting three or four carpenters who happened fortunately to be in his service; and as he had not yet received the reinforcements which he expected from Hispaniola, he was not in a condition to turn his arms directly against the capital. To have attacked, at this period, a city so populous, so well prepared for defense, and in a situation of such peculiar strength, must have exposed his troops to inevitable destruction. Three months elapsed before the materials for the brigantines were finished, and before he heard any thing with respect to the success of the officer whom he had sent to Hispaniola. This, however, was not a season of inaction to Cortes. He attacked successively several of the towns situated around the lake; and though all the

Mexican power was exerted to obstruct his operations, he either compelled them to submit to the Spanish crown, or reduced them to ruins. The inhabitants of other towns he endeavored to conciliate by more gentle means; and though he could not hold any intercourse with them but by the intervention of interpreters, yet, under all the disadvantages of that tedious and imperfect mode of communication, he had acquired such thorough knowledge of the state of the country, as well as of the dispositions of the people, that he conducted his negotiations and intrigues with astonishing dexterity and success. Most of the cities adjacent to Mexico were originally the capitals of small independent states; and some of them having been but lately annexed to the Mexican empire, still retained the remembrance of their ancient liberty, and bore with impatience the rigorous yoke of their new masters. Cortes, having early observed symptoms of their disaffection, availed himself of this knowledge to gain their confidence and friendship. By offering with confidence to deliver them from the odious dominion of the Mexicans, and by liberal promises of more indulgent treatment, if they would unite with him against their oppressors, he prevailed on the people of several considerable districts, not only to acknowledge the King of Castile as their sovereign, but to supply the Spanish camp with provisions, and to strengthen his army with auxiliary troops. Guatemotzin, on the first appearance of defection among his subjects, exerted himself with vigor to prevent or to punish their revolt; but, in spite of his efforts, the spirit continued to spread. The Spaniards gradually acquired new allies, and with deep concern he beheld Cortes arming against his empire those very bands which ought to have been active in its defense, and ready to advance against the capital at the head of a numerous body of his own subjects.

While, by those various methods, Cortes was gradually circumscribing the Mexican power in such a manner that his prospect of overturning it seemed neither to be uncertain nor remote, all his schemes were well-nigh defeated by a conspiracy no less unexpected than dangerous. The soldiers of Narvaez had never united perfectly with the original companions of Cortes, nor did they enter into his measures with the same cordial zeal. Upon every occasion that required any extraordinary effort of courage or of patience, their spirits were apt to sink; and now, on a near view of what

they had to encounter, in attempting to reduce a city so inaccessible as Mexico, and defended by a numerous army, the resolution even of those among them who had adhered to Cortes when he was deserted by their associates, began to fail. Their fears led them to presumptuous and unsoldier-like discussions concerning the propriety of their general's measures, and the improbability of their success. From these they proceeded to censure and invectives, and at last began to deliberate how they might provide for their own safety, of which they deemed their commander to be totally negligent. Antonio Villefaña, a private soldier, but bold, intriguing, and strongly attached to Velasquez, artfully fomented this growing spirit of disaffection. His quarters became the rendezvous of the malcontents, where, after many consultations, they could discover no method of checking Cortes in his career, but by assassinating him and his most considerable officers, and conferring the command upon some person who would relinquish his wild plans, and adopt measures more consistent with the general security. Despair inspired them with courage. The hour for perpetrating the crime, the persons whom they destined as victims, the officers to succeed them in command, were all named; and the conspirators signed an association, by which they bound themselves with most solemn oaths to mutual fidelity. But on the evening before the appointed day, one of Cortes' ancient followers, who had been seduced into the conspiracy, touched with compunction at the imminent danger of a man whom he had long been accustomed to revere, or struck with horror at his own treachery, went privately to his general, and revealed to him all that he knew. Cortes, though deeply alarmed, discerned at once what conduct was proper in a situation so critical. He repaired instantly to Villefaña's quarters, accompanied by some of his most trusty officers. The astonishment and confusion of the man at this unexpected visit anticipated the confession of his guilt. Cortes, while his attendants seized the traitor, snatched from his bosom a paper containing the association signed by the conspirators. Impatient to know how far the defection extended, he retired to read it, and found there names which filled him with surprise and sorrow. But, aware how dangerous a strict scrutiny might prove at such a juncture, he confined his judicial inquiries to Villefaña alone. As the proofs of his guilt were manifest, he was condemned after a short trial, and next morning he was seen hanging before

the door of the house in which he had lodged. Cortes called his troops together, and having explained to them the atrocious purpose of the conspirators, as well as the justice of the punishment inflicted on Villefaña, he added, with an appearance of satisfaction, that he was entirely ignorant with respect to all the circumstances of this dark transaction, as the traitor, when arrested, had suddenly torn and swallowed a paper, which probably contained an account of it, and under the severest tortures possessed such constancy as to conceal the names of his accomplices. This artful declaration restored tranquillity to many a breast that was throbbing, while he spoke, with consciousness of guilt and dread of detection; and by this prudent moderation, Cortes had the advantage of having discovered, and of being able to observe such of his followers as were disaffected; while they, flattering themselves that their past crime was unknown, endeavored to avert any suspicion of it, by redoubling their activity and zeal in his service.



EXECUTION OF VILLEFANA IN THE PRESENCE OF SOME OF HIS FELLOW-CONSPIRATORS.

Cortes did not allow them leisure to ruminate on what had happened; and as the most effectual means of preventing the return of a mutinous spirit, he determined to call forth his troops immediately to action. Fortunately, a proper occasion for this occurred without his seeming to court it. He received intelligence that the materials for building the brigantines were at length completely finished, and waited only for a body of Spaniards to conduct them to Tezcuco. The command of this convoy, consisting of two hundred foot soldiers, fifteen horsemen, and two field-pieces, he gave to Sandoval, who, by the vigilance, activity, and courage which he manifested on every occasion, was growing daily in his confidence, and in the estimation of his fellow-soldiers. The service was no less singular than important; the beams, the planks, the masts, the cordage, the sails, the iron-work, and all the infinite variety of articles requisite for the construction of thirteen brigan-es, were to be carried sixty miles over land, through a mountain-country, by people who were unacquainted with the ministry lomestic animals, or the aid of machines to facilitate any work

of labor. The Tlascalans furnished eight thousand *Tamenes*, an inferior order of men destined for servile tasks, to carry the materials on their shoulders, and appointed fifteen thousand warriors to accompany and defend them. Sandoval made the disposition for their progress with great propriety, placing the *Tamenes* in the centre, one body of warriors in the front, another in the rear, with considerable parties to cover the flanks. To each of these he joined some Spaniards, not only to assist them in danger, but to accustom them to regularity and subordination. A body so numerous, and so much encumbered, advanced leisurely but in excellent order; and in some places, where it was confined by the woods or mountains, the line of march extended above six miles. Parties of Mexicans frequently appeared hovering around them on the high grounds; but perceiving no prospect of success in attacking an enemy continually on his guard, and prepared to receive them, they did not venture to molest him; and Sandoval had the glory of conducting safely to Tezcuco, a convoy on which all the future operations of his countrymen depended.



A MODERN MEXICAN PORTER, OR TAMENE

This was followed by another event of no less moment. Four ships arrived at Vera Cruz from Hispaniola, with two hundred soldiers, eighty horses, two battering cannon, and a considerable supply of ammunition and arms. Elevated with observing that all his preparatory schemes, either for recruiting his own army, or impairing the force of the enemy, had now produced their full effect, Cortes, impatient to begin the siege in form, hastened the launching of the brigantines. To facilitate this, he had employed a vast number of Indians for two months, in deepening the small rivulet which runs by Tezcuco into the lake, and in forming it into a canal near two miles in length; and though the Mexicans, aware of his intentions, as well as of the danger which threatened them, endeavored frequently to interrupt the laborers, or to burn the brigantines, the work was at last completed. On the 28th of April, all the Spanish troops, together with the auxiliary Indians, were dra up on the banks of the canal; and with extraordinary military po rendered more solemn by the celebration of the most sacred r of religion, the brigantines were launched. As they fell down canal in order, Father Olmedo blessed them, and gave each its na

Every eye followed them with wonder and hope, until they entered the lake, when they hoisted their sails, and bore away before the wind. A general shout of joy was raised; all admiring that bold inventive genius, which, by means so extraordinary that their success almost exceeded belief, had acquired the command of a fleet, without the aid of which Mexico would have continued to set the Spanish power and arms at defiance.

Cortes determined to attack the city from three different quarters; from Tepeaca on the north side of the lake, from Tacuba on the west, and from Cuyocan towards the south. Those towns were situated on the principal causeways which led to the capital, and intended for their defense. He appointed Sandoval to command in the first, Pedro de Alvarado in the second, and Christoval de Olid in the third; allotting to each a numerous body of Indian auxiliaries, together with an equal division of Spaniards, who, by the junction of the troops from Hispaniola, amounted now to eighty-six horsemen, and eight hundred and eighteen foot soldiers; of whom one hundred and eighteen were armed with muskets or crossbows. The train of artillery consisted of three battering cannon, and fifteen field-pieces. He reserved for himself, as the station of greatest importance and danger, the conduct of the brigantines, each armed with one of his small cannon, and manned with twenty-five Spaniards.

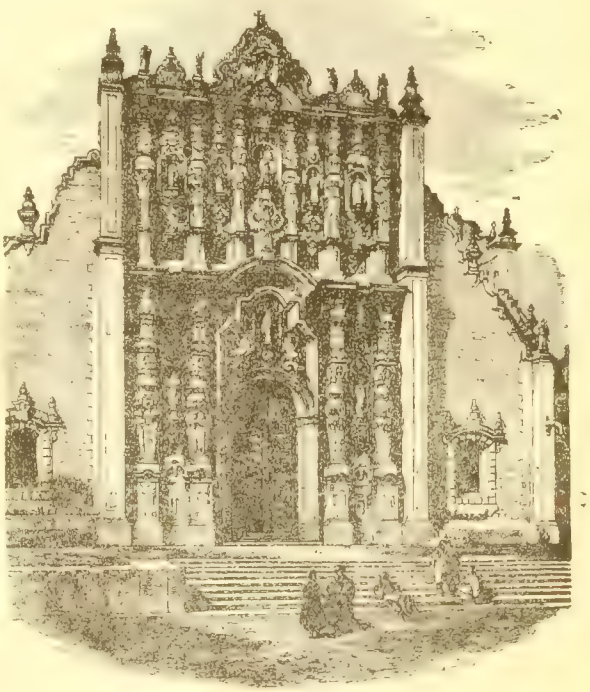
As Alvarado and Olid proceeded towards the posts assigned them [May 10], they broke down the aqueducts which the ingenuity of the Mexicans had erected for conveying water into the capital, and, by the distress to which this reduced the inhabitants, gave a beginning to the calamities which they were destined to suffer. Alvarado and Olid found the towns of which they were ordered to take possession deserted by their inhabitants, who had fled for safety to the capital, where Guatemotzin had collected the chief force of his empire, as there alone he could hope to make a successful stand against the formidable enemies who were approaching to assault him.

The first effort of the Mexicans was to destroy the fleet of brigantines, the fatal effects of whose operations they foresaw and dreaded. Though the brigantines, after all the labor and merit of Cortes in forming them, were of inconsiderable bulk, rudely constructed, and manned chiefly with landsmen hardly possessed of

skill enough to conduct them, they must have been objects of terror to a people unacquainted with any navigation but that of their lake, and possessed of no vessel larger than a canoe. Necessity, however, urged Guatemotzin to hazard the attack; and hoping to supply by numbers what he wanted in force, he assembled such a multitude of canoes as covered the face of the lake. They rowed on boldly to the charge, while the brigantines, retarded by a dead calm, could scarcely advance to meet them. But as the enemy drew near, a breeze suddenly sprung up; in a moment the sails were spread, the brigantines, with the utmost ease, broke through their feeble opponents, overset many canoes, and dissipated the whole armament with such slaughter, as convinced the Mexicans, that the progress of the Europeans in knowledge and arts rendered their superiority greater on this new element than they had hitherto found it by land.

From that time Cortes remained master of the lake, and the brigantines not only preserved a communication between the Spaniards in their different stations, though at considerable distance from each other, but were employed to cover the causeways on each side, and keep off the canoes, when they attempted to annoy the troops as they advanced towards the city. Cortes formed the brigantines in three divisions, appointing one to cover each of the stations from which an attack was to be carried on against the city; with orders to second the operations of the officer who commanded there. From all the three stations he pushed on the attack against the city with equal vigor; but in a manner so very different from the conduct of sieges in regular war, that he himself seemed afraid it would appear no less improper than singular to persons unacquainted with his situation. Each morning his troops assaulted the barricades which the enemy had erected on the causeways, forced their way over the trenches which they had dug, and through the canals where the bridges were broken down, and endeavored to penetrate into the heart of the city, in hopes of obtaining some decisive advantage which might force the enemy to surrender, and terminate the war at once; but when the obstinate valor of the Mexicans rendered the effort of the day ineffectual, the Spaniards retired in the evening to their former quarters. Thus their toil and danger were, in some measure, continually renewed; the Mexicans repairing in the night what the Spaniards had destroyed through the day,

and recovering the posts from which they had driven them. But necessity prescribed this slow and untoward mode of operation. The number of his troops were so small, that Cortes durst not, with a handful of men, attempt to make a lodgment in a city where he might be surrounded and annoyed by such a multitude of enemies. The remembrance of what he had already suffered by the ill-judged confidence with which he had ventured into such a dangerous situation, was still fresh in his mind. The Spaniards, exhausted with fatigue, were unable to guard the various posts which they daily gained; and though their camp was filled with Indian auxiliaries, they durst not devolve this charge upon them, because they were so little accustomed to discipline, that no confidence could be placed in their vigilance. Besides this, Cortes was extremely solicitous to preserve the city as much as possible from being destroyed, both because he destined it to be the capital of his conquests, and wished that it might remain as a monument of his glory. From all these considerations, he adhered obstinately, for a month after the siege was opened, to the system which he had adopted. The Mexicans, in their own defense, displayed valor which was hardly inferior to that with which the Spaniards attacked them. On land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict succeeded to another. Several Spaniards were killed, more wounded, and all were ready to sink under the toils of unremitting service, which were rendered more intolerable by the injuries of the season, the periodical rains being now set in with their usual violence.



THE SAGRARIO, ADJOINING THE CATHEDRAL OF MEXICO.
BUILT ON THE RUINS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE.

Astonished and disconcerted with the length and difficulties of the siege, Cortes determined to make one great effort to get possession of the city, before he relinquished the plan which he had hitherto followed, and had recourse to any other mode of attack. With this view, he sent instructions to Alvarado and Sandoval to



THE HOUSE OF CORTES IN MEXICO (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)
THE HOUSE WAS BUILT BY INDIAN LABOR UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF A SPANIARD.

advance with their divisions to a general assault, and took the command in person [July 3] of that posted on the causeway of Cuyocan. Animated by his presence, and the expectation of some decisive event, the Spaniards pushed forward with irresistible impetuosity. They broke through one barricade after another, forced their way over the ditches and canals, and, having entered the city, gained ground incessantly, in spite of the multitude and ferocity of their opponents. Cortes, though delighted with the rapidity of his progress, did not forget that he might still find it necessary to retreat; and, in order to secure it, appointed Julian de Alderete, a captain of chief note in the troops which he had received from Hispaniola, to fill up the canals and gaps in the causeway as the main body advanced. That officer, deeming it inglorious to be thus employed, while his companions were in the heat of action and the career of victory, neglected the important charge committed to him, and hurried on, inconsiderately, to mingle with the combatants. The Mexicans, whose military attention and skill were daily improving, no sooner observed this than they carried an account of it to their monarch.



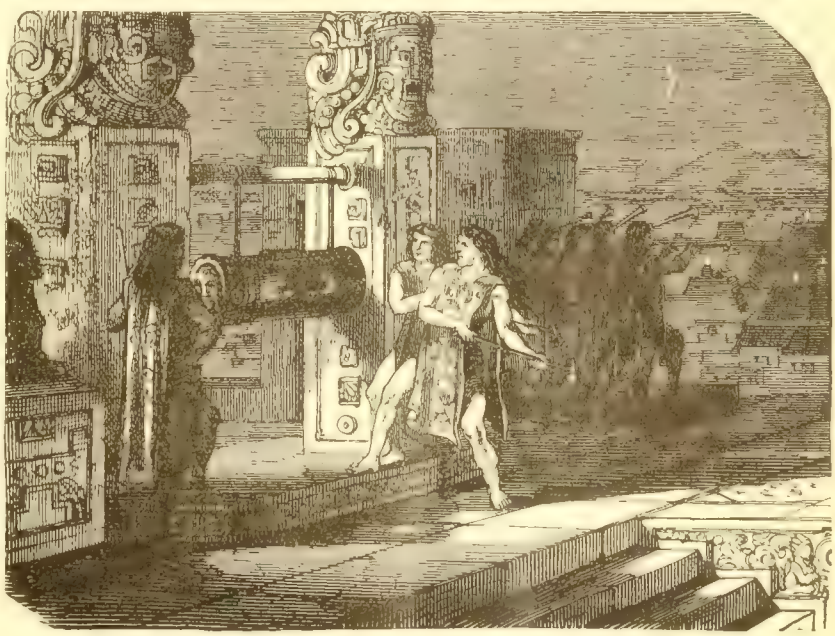
THE SPANIARDS FORCING THEIR WAY OVER CITIES AND CANALS INTO THE BELEAGUERED CITY

Guatemotzin instantly discerned the consequence of the error which

the Spaniards had committed, and, with admirable presence of mind, prepared to take advantage of it. He commanded the troops posted in the front to slacken their efforts, in order to allure the Spaniards to push forward, while he despatched a large body of chosen warriors through different streets, some by land, and others by water, towards the great breach in the causeway which had been left open. On a signal which he gave, the priests in the principal temple struck the great drum consecrated to the god of war. No sooner did the Mexicans hear its doleful solemn sound, calculated to inspire them with contempt of death and enthusiastic ardor, than they rushed upon the enemy with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to resist men urged on no less by religious fury than hope of success, began to retreat, at first leisurely, and with a good countenance; but as the enemy pressed on, and their own impatience to escape increased, the terror and confusion became so general, that when they arrived at the gap in the causeway, Spaniards and Tlascalans, horsemen and infantry, plunged in promiscuously, while the Mexicans rushed upon them fiercely from every side, their light canoes carrying them through shoals which the brigantines could not approach. In vain did Cortes attempt to stop and rally his flying troops; fear rendered them regardless of his entreaties or commands. Finding all his endeavors to renew the combat fruitless, his next care was to save some of those who had thrown themselves into the water; but while thus employed, with more attention to their situation than to his own, six Mexican captains suddenly laid hold of him, and were hurrying him off in triumph; and though two of his officers rescued him at the expense of their own lives, he



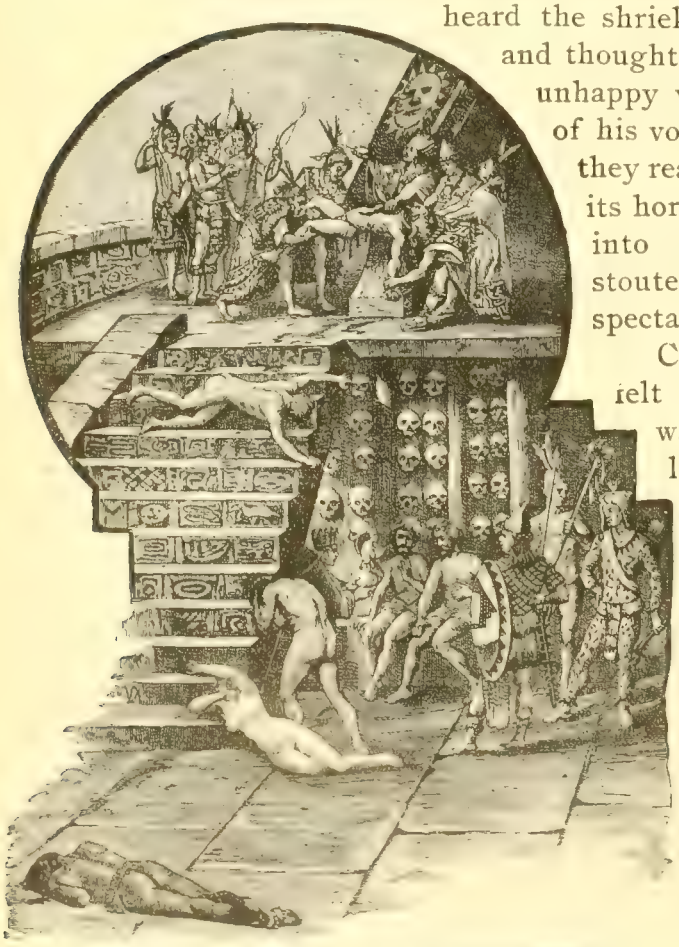
THE GOD OF WAR. HUITZILOPOCHTLI, OR VITZILIPUTZLI.



THE PRIESTS ON THE TOP OF THE GREAT TEOCALLI SOUNDING THE DRUM MADE OF SNAKE SKIN, AND CONSECRATED TO THE GOD OF WAR.

received several dangerous wounds before he could break loose. Above sixty Spaniards perished in the rout; and what rendered the disaster more afflicting, forty of these fell alive into the hands of an enemy never known to show mercy to a captive.

The approach of night, though it delivered the dejected Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, ushered, in what was hardly less grievous, the noise of their barbarous triumph, and of the horrid festival with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illuminated; the great temple shone with such peculiar splendor, that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy in hastening the preparations for the death of the prisoners. Through the gloom, they fancied that they discerned their companions by the whiteness of their skins, as they were stript naked, and compelled to dance before the image of the god to whom they were to be offered. They heard the shrieks of those who were sacrificed, and thought that they could distinguish each unhappy victim, by the well-known sound of his voice. Imagination added to what they really saw or heard, and augmented its horror. The most unfeeling melted into tears of compassion, and the stoutest heart trembled at the dreadful spectacle which they beheld.



SACRIFICE OF FORTY SPANIARDS AND HUNDREDS OF TLASCALANS, CAPTURED BY GUATEMOTZIN DURING THE ASSAULT UPON THE CITY.

Cortes, who, besides all that he felt in common with his soldiers, was oppressed with the additional load of anxious reflections natural to a general on such an unexpected calamity, could not, like them, relieve his mind by giving vent to its anguish. He was obliged to assume an air of tranquillity, in order to revive the spirit and hopes of his followers. The juncture, indeed, required an extraordinary exertion of fortitude. The Mexicans, elated with their victory,

sallied out next morning to attack him in his quarters. But they did not rely on the efforts of their own arms alone. They sent the heads of the Spaniards whom they had sacrificed, to the leading men in the adjacent provinces, and assured them that the god of war, appeased by the blood of their invaders, which had been shed so plentifully on his altars, had declared with an audible voice, that in eight days' time those hated enemies should be finally destroyed, and peace and prosperity re-established in the empire.



HUITZILOPOCHTLI, OR VITZLIPUTZLI, THE GOD OF WAR. FROM A SCULPTURE FOUND NEAR MITLA.

A prediction uttered with such confidence, and in terms so void of ambiguity, gained universal credit among a people prone to superstition. The zeal of the provinces, which had already declared against the Spaniards, augmented; and several, which had hitherto remained inactive, took arms, with enthusiastic ardor, to execute the decree of the gods. The Indian auxiliaries who had joined Cortes, accustomed to venerate the same deities with the Mexicans, and to receive the responses of their priests with the same implicit faith, abandoned the Spaniards as a race of men devoted to certain destruction. Even the fidelity of the Tlascalans was shaken, and the Spanish troops were left almost alone in their stations. Cortes, finding that he attempted in vain to dispel the superstitious fears of his confederates by argument, took advantage, from the imprudence of those who had framed the prophecy, in fixing its accomplishment so near at hand, to give a striking demonstration of its falsity. He suspended all military operations during the period marked out by the oracle. Under cover of the brigantines, which kept the enemy at a distance, his troops lay in safety, and the fatal term expired without any disaster.





STATUE OF THE GOD TLALOC, OF TLASCALA. MUSEUM OF MEXICO.
(SEE PAGES 456, 497, AND 511.)

CHAPTER LXII.

CORTES REGAINS THE FRIENDSHIP OF HIS INDIAN ALLIES, AND ADOPTS A NEW SYSTEM OF ATTACK.

MANY of his allies, ashamed of their own credulity, returned to their station. Other tribes, judging that the gods, who had now deceived the Mexicans, had decreed finally to withdraw their protection from them, joined his standard; and such was the levity of a simple people, moved by every slight impression, that, in a short time after such a general defection of his confederates, Cortes saw himself, if we may believe his own account, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand Indians. Even with such a numerous army, he found it necessary to adopt a new and more wary system of operation. Instead of renewing his attempts to become master of the city at once, by such bold but dangerous efforts of valor as he had already tried, he made his advances gradually, and with every possible precaution against exposing his men to any calamity similar to that which they still bewailed. As the Spaniards pushed forward, the Indians regularly repaired the causeways behind them. As soon as they got possession of any part of the town, the houses were instantly leveled with the ground. Day by day, the Mexicans, forced to retire as their enemies gained ground, were hemmed in within more narrow limits. Guatemotzin, though unable to stop the career of the enemy, continued to defend his capital with obstinate resolution, and disputed every inch of ground. The Spaniards not only varied their mode of attack, but, by orders of Cortes, changed the weapons with which they

fought. They were again armed with the long Chinantlan spears which they had employed with such success against Narvaez; and, by the firm array in which this enabled them to range themselves, they repelled, with little danger, the loose assault of the Mexicans; incredible numbers of them fell in the conflicts which they renewed every day. While war wasted without, famine began to consume them within the city. The Spanish brigantines, having the entire command of the lake, rendered it almost impossible to convey to the besieged any supply of provisions by water. The immense number of his Indian auxiliaries enabled Cortes to shut up the avenues to the city by land. The stores which Guatemotzin had laid up were exhausted by the multitudes which had crowded into the capital to defend their sovereign and the temples of their gods. Not only the people, but persons of the highest rank, felt the utmost distress of famine. What they suffered, brought on infectious and mortal distempers, the last calamity that visits besieged cities, and filled up the measure of their woes.

But, under the pressure of so many and such various evils, the spirit of Guatemotzin remained firm and un-



THE HEROIC GUATEMOTZIN DEFENDS THE PALLADIUM OF HIS COUNTRY WITH OBSTINATE RESOLUTION, DISPUTING EVERY INCH OF GROUND.

subdued. He rejected, with scorn, every overture of peace from Cortes; and, disdaining the idea of submitting to the oppressors of his country, determined not to survive its ruin. The Spaniards continued their progress. At length all the three divisions penetrated into the great square in the centre of the city, and made a secure lodgment there [July 27]. Three-fourths of the city were now reduced and laid in ruins. The remaining quarter was so closely pressed, that it could not long withstand assailants, who attacked it from their new station with superior advantage, and more assured expectation of success. The Mexican nobles, solicitous to save the life of a monarch whom they revered, prevailed on Guatemotzin to retire from a place where resistance was now vain, that he might rouse the more distant provinces of the empire to arms, and maintain there a more successful struggle with the public enemy. In order to facilitate the execution of this measure, they endeavored to amuse Cortes with overtures of submission, that, while his attention was employed in adjusting the articles of pacification, Guatemotzin might escape unperceived. But they made this attempt upon a leader of greater sagacity and discernment than to be deceived by their arts. Cortes, suspecting their intention, and aware of what moment it was to defeat it, appointed Sandoval, the officer on whose vigilance he could most perfectly rely, to take the command of the brigantines, with strict injunctions to watch every motion of the enemy. Sandoval, attentive to the charge, observing some large canoes crowded with people rowing across the lake with extraordinary rapidity, instantly gave the signal to chase. Garcia Holguin, who commanded the swiftest-sailing brigantine, soon overtook them, and was preparing to fire on the foremost canoe, which seemed to carry some person whom all the rest followed and obeyed. At once, the rowers dropped their oars, and all on board, throwing down their arms, conjured him with cries and tears to forbear, as the emperor was there. Holguin eagerly seized his prize; and Guatemotzin, with a dignified composure, gave himself up into his hands, requesting only that no insult might be offered to the empress or his children. When conducted to Cortes, he appeared neither with the sullen fierceness of a barbarian, nor with the dejection of a supplicant. "I have done," said he, addressing himself to the Spanish general, "what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last



GUATEMOTZIN, UNABLE TO STOP THE CAREER OF THE ENEMY,

AND DISDAINING THE IDEA OF SUBMITTING TO THE OPPRESSORS OF HIS COUNTRY, DETERMINES NOT TO SURVIVE ITS RUIN.

Drawing by C. Colin.

extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," laying his hand on one which Cortes wore, "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of use."

As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased; and Cortes took possession of that small part of the capital which yet remained undestroyed [Aug. 13]. Thus terminated the siege of Mexico, the most memorable event in the conquest of America. It continued seventy-five days, hardly one of which passed without some extraordinary effort of one party in the attack, or of the other in the defense of a city, on the fate of which both knew that the fortune of the empire depended. As the struggle here was more obstinate, it was likewise more equal, than any between the inhabitants of the Old and New Worlds. The great abilities of Guatemotzin, the number of his troops, the peculiar situation of his capital, so far counterbalanced the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and discipline, that they must have relinquished the enterprise if they had trusted for success to themselves alone. But Mexico was overturned by the jealousy of neighbors who dreaded its power, and by the revolt of subjects impatient to shake off its yoke. By their effectual aid, Cortes was enabled to accomplish what, without such support, he would hardly have ventured to attempt. How much soever this account of the reduction of Mexico may detract, on the one hand, from the marvelous relations of some Spanish writers, by ascribing that to simple and obvious causes which they attribute to the romantic valor of their countrymen, it adds, on the other, to the merit and abilities of Cortes, who, under every disadvantage, acquired such an ascendency over unknown nations, as to render them instruments towards carrying his schemes into execution.



GUATEMOTZIN REQUESTS CORTES TO END HIS OWN USELESS LIFE WITH HIS POIGNARD

A procession of the whole army was formed, with Father Olmedo at its head. The soiled and tattered banners of Castile, which had waved over many a field of battle, now threw their shadows on the peaceful array of the soldiery, as they slowly moved

along, rehearsing the litany, and displaying the image of the Virgin and the blessed symbol of man's redemption. The reverend father pronounced a discourse, in which he briefly reminded the troops of their great cause for thankfulness to Providence for conducting them safe through their long and perilous pilgrimage; and, dwelling on the responsibility incurred by their present position, he besought them not to abuse the rights of conquest, but to treat the unfortunate Indians with humanity. The sacrament was then administered to the commander-in-chief and the principal cavaliers, and the services concluded with a solemn thanksgiving to the God of battles, who had enabled them to carry the banner of the Cross triumphant over this barbaric empire.



FATHER OLMEDO CELEBRATES MASS AMIDST THE RUINS OF GUATEMOTZIN'S CAPITAL

The exultation of the Spaniards, on accomplishing this arduous enterprise, was at first excessive. But this was quickly damped by the cruel disappointment of those sanguine hopes, which had animated them amidst so many hardships and dangers. Instead of the inexhaustible wealth which they expected from becoming masters of Montezuma's treasures, and the ornaments of so many temples, their rapaciousness could only collect an inconsiderable booty amidst ruin and desolation. Guatemotzin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered what

remained of the riches amassed by his ancestors to be thrown into the lake. The Indian auxiliaries, while the Spaniards were engaged in a conflict with the enemy, had carried off the most valuable part of the spoil. The sum to be divided among the conquerors was so small, that many of them disdained to accept of the pittance which fell to their share, and all murmured and exclaimed; some against Cortes and his confidants, whom they suspected of having secretly appropriated to their own use a large portion of the riches which should have been brought into the common stock; others, against Guatemotzin, whom they accused of obstinacy in refusing to discover the place where he had hidden his treasure.

Arguments, entreaties, and promises were employed in order to soothe them, but with so little effect, that Cortes, from solicitude to check this growing spirit of discontent, gave way to a deed which stains the glory of all his great actions. Without regarding the former dignity of Guatemotzin, or feeling any reverence for those virtues which he had displayed, he subjected the unhappy monarch, together with his chief favorite, to torture, in order to force from them a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed he had concealed. Guatemotzin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict, with the invincible fortitude of an American warrior. His fellow-sufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguish, turned a dejected eye towards his master, which seemed to implore his permission to reveal all that he knew. But the high-spirited prince, darting on him a look of authority mingled with scorn, checked his weakness by asking, "Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?" Overawed by the reproach, the favorite persevered in his dutiful silence, and expired. Cortes, ashamed of a scene so horrid, rescued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and prolonged a life reserved for new indignities and sufferings.



GUATEMOTZIN AND HIS FAVORITE OFFICER PUT TO TORTURE.
"AM I NOW REPOSING ON A BED OF FLOWERS?"

The fate of the capital, as both parties had foreseen, decided that of the empire. The provinces submitted one after another to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards marching through them without interruption, penetrated in

different quarters to the great Southern Ocean, which, according to the ideas of Columbus, they imagined would open a short as well as easy passage to the East Indies, and secure to the crown of Castile all the envied wealth of those fertile regions; and the active mind of Cortes began already to form schemes for attempting this important discovery.

He did not know, that during the progress of his victorious arms in Mexico, the very scheme, of which he began to form some idea, had been undertaken and accomplished. As this is one of the most splendid events in the history of the Spanish discoveries, and has been productive of effects peculiarly interesting to those extensive provinces which Cortes had now subjected to the crown of Castile, the account of its rise and progress merits a particular detail.



FERNÃO DE MAGALHÃES

GENERALLY KNOWN BY THE NAME OF FERDINAND MAGELLAN. REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF COPPER ENGRAVING BY FERD. SELMA.

Ferdinand Magalhães, or Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman of honorable birth, having served several years in the East Indies, with distinguished valor, under the famous Albuquerque, demanded the recompense

which he thought due to his services, with the boldness natural to a high-spirited soldier. But as his general would not grant his suit, and he expected greater justice from his sovereign, whom he knew to be a good judge and a generous rewarder of merit, he quitted India abruptly, and returned to Lisbon. In order to induce Emanuel to listen more favorably to his claim, he not only stated his past services, but offered to add to them by conducting his countrymen to the Molucca or Spice Islands, by holding a westerly course; which he contended would be both shorter and less hazardous than that which the Portuguese now followed by the Cape of Good Hope, through the immense extent of the Eastern Ocean. This was the original and favorite project of Columbus, and Magellan founded his hopes of success on the ideas of that great navigator, confirmed by many observations, the result of his own naval experience, as well as that of his countrymen in their intercourse with the East. But though the Portuguese monarchs had the merit of having first awakened and encouraged the spirit of discovery in that age, it was their destiny, in the course of a few years, to reject two grand schemes for this purpose, the execution of which would have been attended with a great accession of glory to themselves, and of power to their kingdom. In consequence of some ill-founded prejudice against Magellan, or of some dark intrigue which contemporary historians have not explained, Emanuel would neither bestow the recompense which he claimed, nor approve of the scheme which he proposed, and dismissed him with a disdainful coldness intolerable to a man conscious of what he deserved, and animated with the sanguine hopes of success peculiar to those who are capable of forming or of conducting new and great undertakings. In a transport of resentment, Magellan formally renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful master, and fled to the court of Castile, where he expected that his talents would be more justly estimated. He endeavored to recommend himself by offering to execute, under the patronage of Spain, that scheme which he had laid before the court of Portugal, the accomplishment of which, he knew, would wound the monarch against whom he was exasperated in the most tender part. In order to establish the justness of his theory, he produced the same arguments which he had employed at Lisbon; acknowledging, at the same time, that the undertaking was both arduous and expensive, as it

could not be attempted but with a squadron of considerable force, and victualled for at least two years. Fortunately, he applied to a minister who was not apt to be deterred, either by the boldness of a design, or the expense of carrying it into execution. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the affairs of Spain, discerning at once, what an increase of wealth and glory would accrue to his country by the success of Magellan's proposal, listened to it with a most favorable ear. Charles V., on his arrival in his Spanish dominions, entered into the measure with no less ardor, and orders were issued for equipping a proper squadron at the public charge, of which the command was given to Magellan, whom the king honored with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain-General.

On the 10th of August, 1519, Magellan sailed from Seville with five ships, which, according to the ideas of the age, were deemed to be of considerable force, though the burden of the largest did not exceed one hundred and twenty tons. The crews of the whole amounted to two hundred and thirty-four men, among whom were some of the most skillful pilots in Spain, and several Portuguese sailors, in whose experience, as more extensive, Magellan placed still greater confidence. After touching at the Canaries, he stood directly south towards the equinoctial line along the coast of America, but was so long retarded by tedious calms, and spent so much time in searching every bay and inlet for that communication with the Southern Ocean which he wished to discover, that he did not reach the river De la Plata till the 12th of January [1520]. That spacious opening, through which its vast body of waters pour into the Atlantic, allured him to enter; but, after sailing up it for some days, he concluded, from the shallowness of the stream and the freshness of the water, that the wished-for strait was not situated there, and continued his course towards the south. On the 31st of March he arrived in the Port of St. Julian, about forty-eight degrees south of the line, where he resolved to winter. In this uncomfortable station he lost one of his squadron; and the Spaniards suffered so much from the excessive rigor of the climate, that the crews of three of his ships, headed by their officers, rose in open mutiny, and insisted on relinquishing the visionary project of a desperate adventurer, and returning directly to Spain. This dangerous insurrection Magellan suppressed, by an effort of courage no less prompt than intrepid, and inflicted

exemplary punishment on the ringleaders. With the remainder of his followers, overawed but not reconciled to his scheme, he continued his voyage towards the south, and at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, notwithstanding the murmurs and remonstrances of the people under his command. After sailing twenty days in that winding, dangerous channel, to which he gave his own name, and where one of his ships deserted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to



THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN. (From a Photograph.)

his view, and with tears of joy he returned thanks to Heaven for having thus far crowned his endeavors with success.

But he was still at a greater distance than he imagined from the object of his wishes. He sailed during three months and twenty days, in a uniform direction towards the north-west, without discovering land. In this voyage, the longest that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, he suffered incredible distress. His stock of provisions was almost exhausted, the water became putrid, the men were reduced to the shortest allowance with which it was possible

to sustain life, and the scurvy, the most dreadful of all the maladies with which seafaring people are afflicted, began to spread among the crew. One circumstance alone afforded them some consolation; they enjoyed an uninterrupted course of fair weather, with such favorable winds, that Magellan bestowed on that ocean the name of *Pacific*, which it still retains. When reduced to such extremity that they must have sunk under their sufferings, they fell in with a cluster of small but fertile islands [March 6], which afforded them refreshments in such abundance, that their health was soon re-established. From these isles, which he called *de los Ladrones*, he proceeded on his voyage, and soon made a more important discovery of the islands now known by the name of the *Philippines*. In one of these he got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of troops well armed; and while he fought at the head of his men with his usual valor, he fell [April 26] by the hands of those barbarians, together with several of his principal officers.



THE DEATH OF MAGELLAN ON THE ISLAND OF MACTAN.

The expedition was prosecuted under other commanders. After visiting many of the smaller isles scattered in the eastern part of the Indian ocean, they touched at the great island of Borneo [Nov. 8], and at length landed in Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the astonishment of the Portuguese, who could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a westerly course, had arrived at that sequestered seat of their most valuable commerce,

which they themselves had discovered by sailing in an opposite direction. There, and in the adjacent isles, the Spaniards found a people, acquainted with the benefits of extensive trade, and willing to open an intercourse with a new nation. They took in a cargo of the precious spices, which are the distinguished production of these islands; and with that, as well as with specimens of the rich commodities yielded by the other countries which they had visited, the *Victory*, which, of the two ships that remained of the squadron, was most fit for a long voyage, set sail for Europe [Jan. 1522], under the command of Juan Sebastian del Cano. He followed the course of the Portuguese, by the Cape of Good Hope, and after many disasters and sufferings he arrived at St. Lucar on the 7th of September, 1522, having sailed round the globe in the space of three years and twenty-eight days.

Though an untimely fate deprived Magellan of the satisfaction of accomplishing this great undertaking, his contemporaries, just to his memory and talents, ascribed to him not only the honor of having formed the plan, but of having surmounted almost every obstacle to the completion of it; and, in the present age, his name is still ranked among the highest in the roll of eminent and successful navigators. The naval glory of Spain now eclipsed that of every other nation; and by a singular felicity she had the merit, in the course of a few years, of discovering a new continent almost as large as that part of the earth which was formerly known, and of ascertaining by experience the form and extent of the whole terraqueous globe.

The Spaniards were not satisfied with the glory of having first encompassed the earth; they expected to derive great commercial advantages from this new and boldest effort of their maritime skill. The men of science among them contended, that the Spice Islands, and several of the richest countries in the East, were so situated as to belong of right to the crown of Castile, in consequence of the partitions made by Alexander VI. The merchants, without attending to this discussion, engaged eagerly in that lucrative and alluring commerce, which was now open to them. The Portuguese, alarmed at the intrusion of such formidable rivals, remonstrated and negotiated in Europe, while in Asia they obstructed the trade of the Spaniards by force of arms. Charles V., not sufficiently instructed with respect to the importance of this valuable branch of

commerce, or distracted by the multiplicity of his schemes and operations, did not afford his subjects proper protection. At last, the low state of his finances, exhausted by the efforts of his arms in every part of Europe, together with the dread of adding a new war with Portugal to those in which he was already engaged, induced him to make over his claim of the Moluccas to the Portuguese for three hundred and fifty thousand ducats. He reserved, however, to the crown of Castile the right of reviving its pretensions on repayment of that sum; but other objects engrossed his attention and that of his successors; and Spain was finally excluded from a branch of commerce in which it was engaging with sanguine expectations of profit.

Though the trade with the Moluccas was relinquished, the voyage of Magellan was followed by commercial effects of great moment to Spain. Philip II., in the year 1564, reduced those islands which he discovered in the Eastern ocean to subjection, and established settlements there; between which and the kingdom of New Spain a regular intercourse, the nature of which shall be explained in its proper place, is still carried on. I return now to the transactions in New Spain.



NATIVES OF THE LADRONE ISLANDS.

The enlarging of the ear lobe is accomplished by the insertion, from time to time of wooden plugs, varying in diameter, until the desired size is attained.

CHAPTER LXIII.

AN ORDER TO SUPERSEDE CORTES, WHICH HE ELUDES, ARRIVES FROM SPAIN. HE DESPATCHES DEPUTIES, WHO SUCCEED IN HAVING HIM APPOINTED CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND GOVERNOR OF NEW SPAIN. INSURRECTION OF THE MEXICANS. POVERTY OF THE CONQUERORS. CORTES RETURNS TO SPAIN, FORMS NEW SCHEMES OF DISCOVERY. HIS DEATH.

AT the time that Cortes was acquiring such extensive territories for his native country, and preparing the way for future conquests, it was his singular fate not only to be destitute of any commission or authority from the sovereign whom he was serving with such successful zeal, but to be regarded as an undutiful and seditious subject. By the influence of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, his conduct in assuming the government of New Spain was declared to be an irregular usurpation, in contempt of the royal authority; and Christoval de Tapia received a commission, empowering him to supersede Cortes, to seize his person, to confiscate his effects, to make a strict scrutiny into his proceedings, and to transmit the result of all the inquiries carried on in New Spain to the Council of the Indies, of which the Bishop of Burgos was president. A few weeks after the reduction of Mexico, Tapia landed at Vera Cruz with the royal mandate to strip its conqueror of his power, and treat him as a criminal. But Fonseca had chosen a very improper instrument to wreak his vengeance on Cortes. Tapia had

neither the reputation nor the talents that suited the high command to which he was appointed. Cortes, while he publicly expressed the most respectful veneration for the emperor's authority, secretly took measures to defeat the effect of his commission; and having involved Tapia and his followers in a multiplicity of negotiations and conferences, in which he sometimes had recourse to threats, but more frequently employed bribes and promises, he at length prevailed on that weak man to abandon a province which he was unworthy of governing.

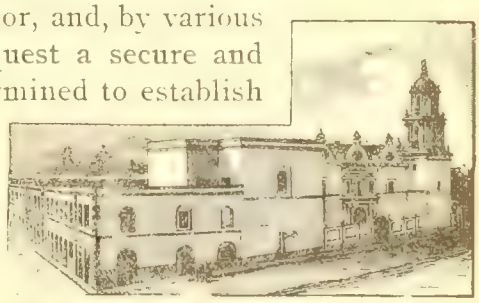
But, notwithstanding the fortunate dexterity with which he had eluded this danger, Cortes was so sensible of the precarious tenure by which he held his power, that he despatched deputies to Spain [May 15], with a pompous account of the success of his arms, with further specimens of the productions of the country, and with rich presents to the emperor, as the earnest of future contributions from his new conquests; requesting, in recompense for all his services, the approbation of his proceedings, and that he might be intrusted with the government of those dominions, which his conduct and the valor of his followers had added to the crown of Castile. The juncture in which his deputies reached the court was favorable. The internal commotions in Spain, which had disquieted the beginning of Charles' reign, were just appeased. The ministers had leisure to turn their attention towards foreign affairs. The account of Cortes' victories filled his countrymen with admiration. The extent and value of his conquests became the object of vast and interesting hopes. Whatever stain he might have contracted, by the irregularity of the steps which he took in order to attain power, was so fully effaced by the splendor and merit of the great actions which this had enabled him to perform, that every heart revolted at the thought of inflicting any censure on a man, whose services entitled him to the highest marks of distinction. The public voice declared warmly in favor of his pretensions; and Charles, arriving in Spain



CHARLES V. (AFTER TITIAN.)

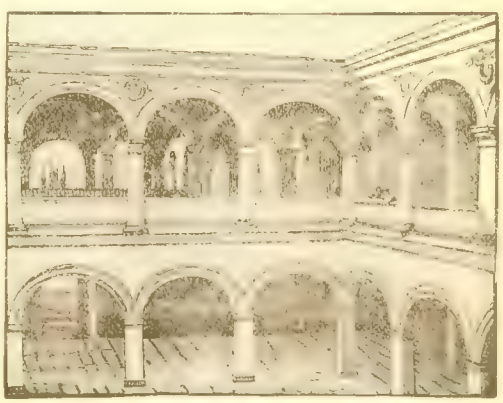
about this time, adopted the sentiments of his subjects with a youthful ardor. Notwithstanding the claims of Velasquez, and the partial representations of the Bishop of Burgos, the emperor appointed Cortes captain-general and governor of New Spain, judging that no person was so capable of maintaining the royal authority, or of establishing good order, both among his Spanish and Indian subjects, as the victorious leader whom the former had long been accustomed to obey, and the latter had been taught to fear and to respect.

Even before his jurisdiction received this legal sanction, Cortes ventured to exercise all the powers of a governor, and, by various arrangements, endeavored to render his conquest a secure and beneficial acquisition to his country. He determined to establish the seat of government in its ancient station, and to raise Mexico again from its ruins; and having conceived high ideas concerning the future grandeur of the state of which he was laying the foundation, he began to rebuild its capital on a plan which hath gradually formed one of the most magnificent cities in the New World. At the same time, he employed skillful persons to search for mines, in different parts of the country, and opened some which were found to be richer than any which the Spaniards had hitherto discovered in America. He despatched his principal officers into the remote provinces, and encouraged them to settle there, not only by bestowing upon them large tracts of land, but by granting them the same dominion over the Indians, and the same right to their service, which the Spaniards had assumed in the islands.



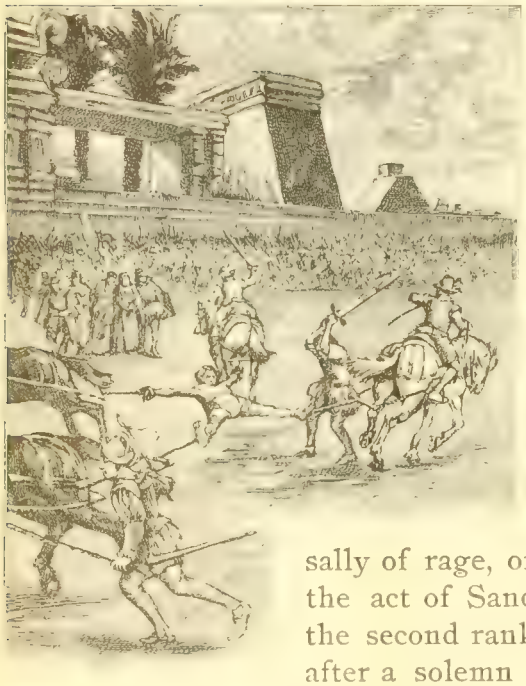
CHURCH AND HOSPITAL OF JESUS IN MEXICO, FOUNDED BY CORTES.

It was not, however, without difficulty that the Mexican empire could be entirely reduced into the form of a Spanish colony. Enraged and rendered desperate by oppression, the natives often forgot the superiority of their enemies, and ran to arms in defense of their liberties. In every contest, however, the European valor and discipline prevailed. But, fatally for the honor of their country, the Spaniards sullied the glory redounding from these repeated victories by their mode of treating the vanquished people. After



GALLERIES AND PATIOS OF THE HOSPITAL OF JESUS

taking Guatemotzin, and becoming masters of his capital, they supposed that the king of Castile entered on possession of all the rights of the captive monarch, and affected to consider every effort of the Mexicans to assert their own independence, as the rebellion of vassals against their sovereign, or the mutiny of slaves against their master. Under the sanction of those ill-founded maxims, they violated every right that should be held sacred between hostile nations. After each insurrection, they reduced the common people, in the provinces which they subdued, to the most humiliating of all conditions, that of personal servitude. Their chiefs, supposed to be more criminal, were punished with greater severity, and put to death in the most ignominious or the most excruciating mode that the insolence or the cruelty of their conquerors could devise. In almost every district of the Mexican empire, the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood, and with deeds so atrocious as disgrace the enterprising valor that conducted them to success. In the country of Panuco, sixty caciques or leaders, and four hundred nobles, were burned at one time. Nor was this shocking barbarity perpetrated in any sudden sally of rage, or by a commander of inferior note. It was the act of Sandoval, an officer whose name is entitled to the second rank in the annals of New Spain, and executed after a solemn consultation with Cortes; and to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled, and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies. It seems hardly possible to exceed in horror this dreadful example of severity; but it was followed by another, which affected the Mexicans still more sensibly, as it gave them a most feeling proof of their own degradation, and of the small regard which their haughty masters retained for the ancient dignity and splendor of their state. On a slight suspicion, confirmed by very imperfect evidence, that Guatemotzin had formed a scheme to shake off the yoke, and to excite his former subjects to take arms, Cortes, without the form-



IGNOMINIOUS AND EXCRUCIATING TORTURE OF A MEXICAN CACIQUE

ality of a trial, ordered the unhappy monarch, together with the caciques of Tezcuco and Tacuba, the two persons of greatest eminence in the empire, to be hanged; and the Mexicans, with astonishment and horror, beheld this disgraceful punishment inflicted upon persons, to whom they were accustomed to look up with reverence, hardly inferior to that which they paid to the gods themselves. The example of Cortes and his principal officers encouraged and justified persons of subordinate rank to venture upon committing greater excesses. Nuño de Guzman, in particular, stained an illustrious name by deeds of peculiar enormity and rigor, in various expeditions which he conducted.

One circumstance, however, saved the Mexicans from further consumption, perhaps from one as complete as that which had depopulated the islands. The first conquerors did not attempt to search for the precious metals in the bowels of the earth. They were neither sufficiently wealthy to carry on the expensive works, which are requisite for opening those deep recesses where nature has concealed the veins of gold and silver, nor sufficiently skillful to perform the ingenious operations by which those precious metals are separated from their respective ores. They were satisfied with the more simple method, practiced by the Indians, of washing the earth carried down rivers and torrents from the mountains, and collecting the grains of native metal deposited there. The rich mines of New Spain, which have poured forth their treasures with such profusion on every quarter of the globe, were not discovered for several years after the conquest. By that time [1552, etc.], a more orderly government and police were introduced into the colony; experience, derived from former errors, had suggested many useful and humane regulations for the protection and preservation of the Indians; and though it then became necessary to increase the number of those employed in the mines, and they were engaged in a species of labor more per-



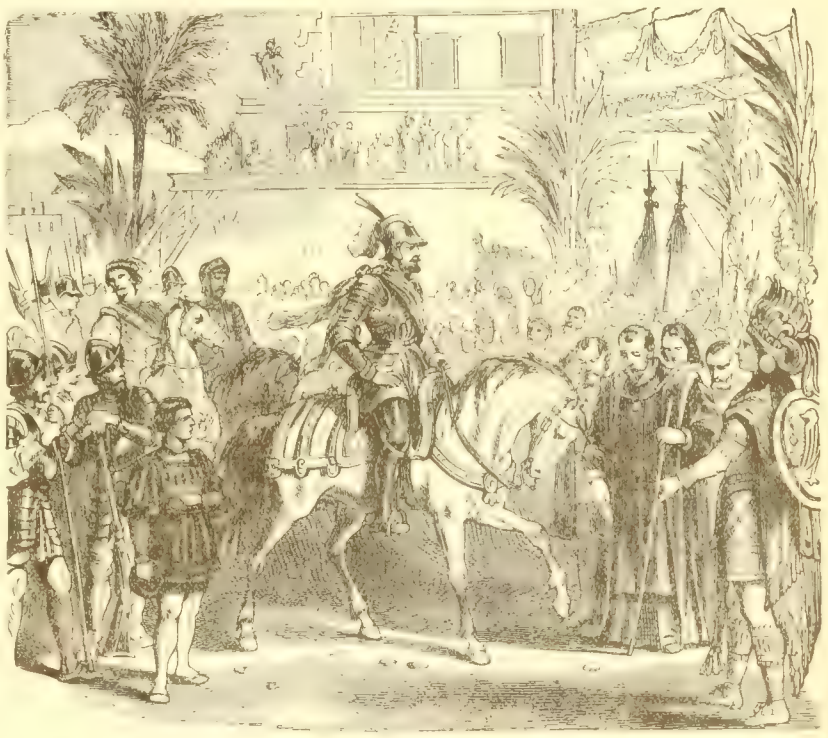
STATUE OF GUATEMOTZIN, MEXICO.

nicious to the human constitution, they suffered less hardship or diminution than from the ill-judged, but less extensive, schemes of the first conquerors.

While it was the lot of the Indians to suffer, their new masters seemed not to have derived any considerable wealth from their ill-conducted researches. According to the usual fate of first settlers in new colonies, it was their lot to encounter danger and to struggle with difficulties; the fruits of their victories and toils were reserved for times of tranquillity, and reaped by successors of greater industry, but of inferior merit. The early historians of America abound with accounts of the sufferings and of the poverty of its conquerors. In New Spain, their condition was rendered more grievous by a peculiar arrangement. When Charles V. advanced Cortes to the government of that country, he, at the same time, appointed certain commissioners to receive and administer the royal revenue there, with independent jurisdiction. These men, chosen from inferior stations in various departments of public business at Madrid, were so much elevated with their promotion, that they thought they were called to act a part of the first consequence. But, being accustomed to the minute formalities of office, and having contracted the narrow ideas suited to the sphere in which they had hitherto moved, they were astonished, on arriving in Mexico [1524], at the high authority which Cortes exercised, and could not conceive that the mode of administration, in a country recently subdued and settled, must be different from what took place in one where tranquillity and regular government had been long established. In their letters, they represented Cortes as an ambitious tyrant, who, having usurped a jurisdiction superior to law, aspired at independence, and, by his exorbitant wealth and extensive influence, might accomplish those disloyal schemes which he apparently meditated. These insinuations made such deep impression upon the Spanish ministers, most of whom had been formed to business under the jealous and rigid administration of Ferdinand, that, unmindful of all Cortes' past services, and regardless of what he was then suffering in conducting that extraordinary expedition, in which he advanced from the Lake of Mexico to the western extremity of Honduras, they infused the same suspicions into the mind of their master, and prevailed on him to order a solemn inquest to be made into his conduct [1525], with powers to the licentiate Ponce

de Leon, intrusted with that commission, to seize his person, if he should find that expedient, and send him prisoner to Spain.

The sudden death of Ponce de Leon, a few days after his arrival in New Spain, prevented the execution of this commission. But as the object of his appointment was known, the mind of Cortes was deeply wounded with his unexpected return for services which far exceeded whatever any subject of Spain had rendered to his sovereign. He endeavored, however, to maintain his station, and to recover the confidence of the court. But every person in office, who had arrived from Spain since the conquest, was a spy upon his conduct, and with malicious ingenuity gave an unfavorable representation of all his actions. The apprehensions of Charles and his ministers increased. A new commission of inquiry was issued [1528], with more extensive powers, and various precautions were taken in order to prevent or to punish him, if he should be so presumptuous as to attempt what was inconsistent with the fidelity of a subject. Cortes beheld the approaching crisis of his fortune with all the violent emotions natural to a haughty mind, conscious of high desert, and receiving unworthy treatment. But though some of his desperate followers urged him to assert his own rights against his ungrateful country, and, with a bold hand, to seize that power which the courtiers meanly accused him of coveting, he retained such self-command, or was actuated with such sentiments of loyalty, as to reject their dangerous counsels, and to choose the



ABJECT HOMAGE PAID TO CORTES BY THE MEXICAN MAGISTRATES UPON HIS SUDDEN RETURN FROM THE EXPEDITION TO HONDURAS.

only course in which he could secure his own dignity, without departing from his duty. He resolved not to expose himself to the ignominy of a trial, in that country which had been the scene of his triumphs; but, without waiting for the arrival of his judges, to repair directly to Castile, and commit himself and his cause to the justice and generosity of his sovereign.

Cortes appeared in his native country with the splendor that suited the conqueror of a mighty kingdom. He brought with him a great part of his wealth, many jewels and ornaments of great value, several curious productions of the country, and was attended by some Mexicans of the first rank, as well as by the most considerable of his own officers. His arrival in Spain removed at once every suspicion and fear that had been entertained with respect to his intentions. The emperor, having now nothing to apprehend from the designs of Cortes, received him like a person whom consciousness of his own innocence had brought into the presence of his master, and who was entitled, by the eminence of his services, to the highest marks of distinction and respect. The order of St. Jago, the title of Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, the grant of an ample territory in New Spain, were successively bestowed upon him; and as his manners were correct



ENTRY OF CORTES INTO TOLEDO, SURROUNDED WITH THE POMP AND SPLENDOR SUITED THE CONQUEROR

and elegant, although he had passed the greater part of his life among rough adventurers, the emperor admitted him to the same familiar intercourse with himself, that was enjoyed by noblemen of the first rank.

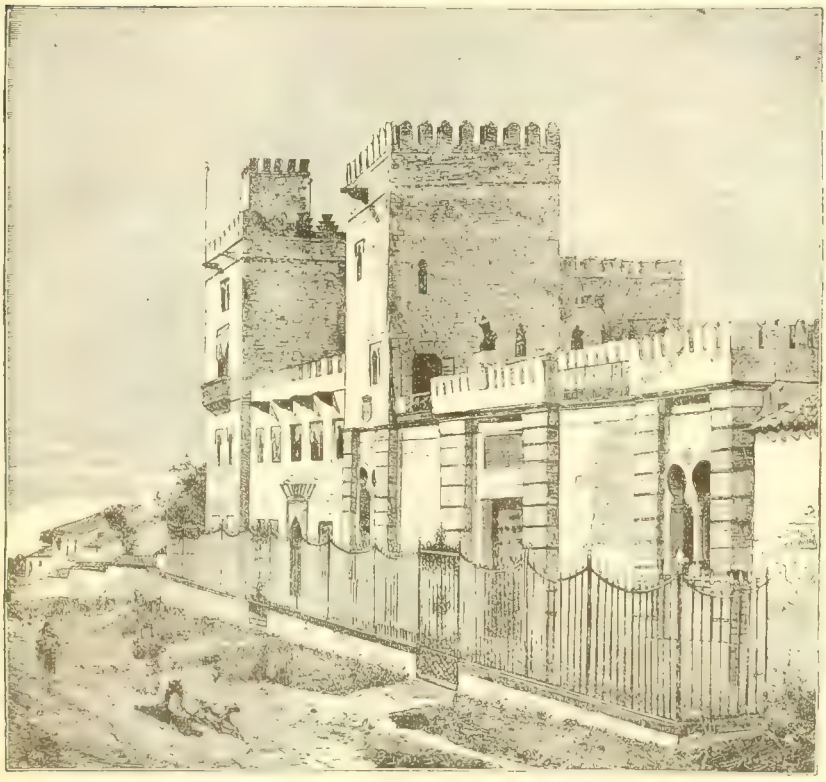


COAT OF ARMS GRANTED CORTES BY CHARLES V.
MOTTO: "THE JUDGMENT OF GOD REACHED THEM, AND HIS COURAGE HAS STRENGTHENED MY ARM."

But, amidst those external proofs of regard, symptoms of remaining distrust appeared. Though Cortes earnestly solicited to be reinstated in the government of New Spain, Charles, too sagacious to commit such an important charge to a man whom he had once suspected, peremptorily refused to invest him again with powers which he might find it impossible to control. Cortes, though dignified with new titles, returned to Mexico [1530], with diminished authority. The military department, with powers to attempt new discoveries, was left in his hands; but the supreme direction of civil affairs was placed in a board called 'The Audience of New Spain.' At a subsequent period, when, upon the increase of the colony, the exertion of authority more united and extensive became necessary, Antonio de Mendoza, a nobleman of high rank, was sent hither as Viceroy, to take the government into his hands.

This division of power in New Spain proved, as was unavoidable, the source of perpetual dissension, which embittered the life of Cortes, and thwarted all his schemes. As he had now no opportunity to display his active talents but in attempting new discoveries, he formed various schemes for that purpose, all of which bear impressions of a genius that delighted in what was bold and splendid. He early entertained an idea, that, either by steering through the Gulf of Florida along the east coast of North America, some strait would be found that communicated with the western ocean; or that, by examining the isthmus of Darien, some passage would be discovered between the North and South Seas. But having been disappointed in his expectations with respect to both, he now confined his views to such voyages of discovery as he could make from the ports of New Spain to the South Sea. There he fitted out successively several small squadrons, which either perished in the attempt, or returned without making any discovery of moment. Cortes, weary of intrusting the conduct of his opera-

tions to others, took the command of a new armament in person [1536]; and, after enduring incredible hardships, and encountering dangers of every species, he discovered the large peninsula of California, and surveyed the greater part of the gulf which separates it from New Spain. The discovery of a country of such extent would have reflected credit on a common adventurer; but it could add little new honor to the name of Cortes, and was far from satisfying the sanguine expectations which he had formed. Disgusted with ill success, to which he had not been accustomed, and weary of contesting with adversaries to whom he considered it as a disgrace to be opposed, he once more sought for redress in his native country [1540].



CASA, IN SEVILLE, WHERE CORTES DIED

But his reception there was very different from that which gratitude, and even decency, ought to have secured for him. The merit of his ancient exploits was already, in a great measure, forgotten or eclipsed by the fame of recent and more valuable conquests in another quarter of America. No service of moment was now expected from a man of declining years, and who began to be unfortunate. The emperor behaved to him with cold civility; his ministers treated him sometimes with neglect, sometimes with insolence. His grievances received no redress; his claims were urged without effect; and after several years spent in fruitless application to ministers and judges, an occupation the most irksome and mortifying to a man of high spirit, who had moved in a sphere where

he was more accustomed to command [illegible] licit, Cortes ended his days on the 2d of December, 1547, in the sixty-second year of his age.

His funeral obsequies were celebrated with due solemnity by a long train of Andalusian nobles, and of the citizens of Seville, and his body was transported to the chapel of the monastery, San Isidro, in that city, where it was laid in the family vault of the Duke of Medina Sidonia. In the year 1562, it was removed, by order of his son, Don Martin (natural son of Doña Marina), to New Spain, not, as directed by his will, to Cojohuacan, but to the monastery of St. Francis, in Tezcuco, where it was laid by the side of a daughter, and of his mother, Doña Catalina Pizarro. In 1629, the remains of Cortes were again removed; and on the death of Don Pedro, fourth marquess of the Valley, it was decided by the authorities of Mexico to transfer them to the church of St. Francis, in that capital.

Yet his bones were not permitted to rest here undisturbed; and in 1794 they were removed to the Hospital of Jesus of Nazareth. It was a more fitting place, since it was the same institution, which, under the name of "Our Lady of the Conception," had been founded and endowed by Cortes, and which, with a fate not too frequent in similar charities, has been administered to this day on the noble principles of its foundation. The mouldering relics of the warrior, now deposited in a crystal coffin secured by bars and plates of silver, were laid in the chapel, and over them was raised a simple monument, displaying the arms of the family, and surmounted by a bust of the Conqueror, executed in bronze by Tolsa, a sculptor worthy of the best period of the arts.

Unfortunately for Mexico, the tale does not stop here. In 1823, the patriot mob of the capital, in their zeal to commemorate the era of the national independence, and their detestation of the "old Spaniards," prepared to break open the tomb which held the ashes of Cortes, and to scatter them to the winds! The authorities declined to interfere on the occasion; but the friends of the family, as is commonly reported, entered the vault by night, and, secretly removing the relics, prevented the commission of a sacrilege, which must have left a stain, not easy to be effaced, on the scutcheon of the fair city of Mexico.



MONUMENT ERECTED TO CORTES IN THE HOSPITAL OF JESUS, MEXICO

The fate of Cortés was the same with that of all the persons who distinguished themselves in the discovery or conquests of the New World. Envied by his contemporaries, and ill requited by the court which he served, he has been admired and celebrated by succeeding ages. Which has formed the most just estimate of his character, an impartial consideration of his actions must determine.



CAPTIVE FASTENED TO THE TEMALACATL FIGHTING A GLADIATOR, BOTH ARMED WITH SERRATED ITZTLI SWORDS.

Book III.



FRANCISCO PIZARRO,

CONQUEROR OF PERU.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN THE PALACE OF THE VICEROYS AT LIMA.

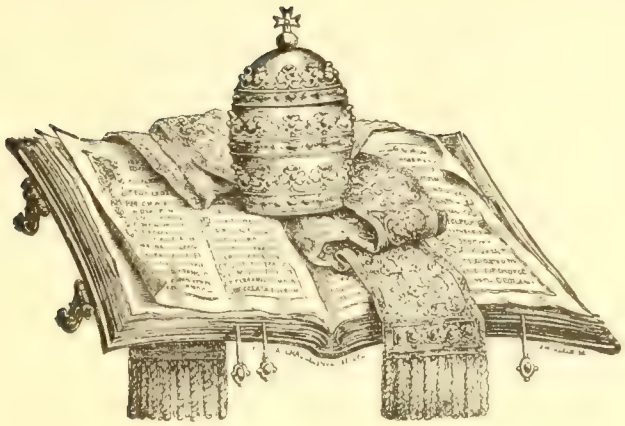


PEDRO DE LA GASCA,

VICEROY OF PERU.

FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE SACRISTY OF THE SANTA MARIA MAGDALENA AT VALLADOLID.


THE CONQUEST OF PERU
BY
WM. ROBERTSON
D.D. F.R.S.
PIZARRO
&
ALMAGRO
ANNO DOMINI



CHAPTER LXIV.

SETTLEMENTS ON THE ISTHMUS OF DARIEN BY OJEDA AND NICUESA. ELECTION OF VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA. BALBOA DISCOVERS THE SOUTH SEA. RECEIVES INFORMATION CONCERNING A MORE OPULENT COUNTRY. DISSENSIONS BETWEEN PEDRARIAS AND BALBOA END IN THE PUBLIC EXECUTION OF A MAN UNIVERSALLY BELOVED.

THOUGH it was about ten years since Columbus had discovered the main land of America, the Spaniards had hitherto made no settlement in any part of it. What had been so long neglected was now seriously attempted, and with considerable vigor. This scheme took its rise from Alonzo de Ojeda, who had already made two voyages as a discoverer, by which he acquired considerable reputation, but no wealth. But his character for intrepidity and conduct easily procured him associates, who advanced the money requisite to defray the charges of the expedition. About the same time, Diego de Nicuesa, who had acquired a large fortune in Hispaniola, formed a similar design. Ferdinand encouraged both; and though he refused to advance the smallest sum, was extremely liberal of titles

and patents. He erected two governments on the continent, one extending from Cape de Vela to the gulf of Darien, and the other from that to Cape Gracias a Dios. The former was given to Ojeda, the latter to Nicuesa. Ojeda fitted out a ship and two brigantines, with three hundred men; Nicuesa, six vessels, with seven hundred and eighty men. They sailed about the same time from St. Domingo for their respective governments. In order to give their title to those countries some appearance of validity, several of the most eminent divines and lawyers in Spain were employed to prescribe the mode in which they should take possession of them. They instructed those invaders, as soon as they landed on the continent, to declare to the natives the principal articles of the Christian faith; to acquaint them, in particular, with the supreme jurisdiction of the pope over all the kingdoms of the earth; to inform them of the grant which this holy pontiff had made of their country to the king of Spain; to require them to embrace the doctrines of that religion which the Spaniards made known to them; and to submit to the sovereign whose authority they proclaimed. If the natives refused to comply with this requisition, then Ojeda and Nicuesa were authorized to attack them with fire and sword; to reduce them, their wives and children, to a state of servitude; and to compel them by force to recognize the jurisdiction of the church, and the authority of the monarch, to which they would not voluntarily subject themselves.

As the inhabitants of the continent could not at once yield assent to doctrines too refined for their uncultivated understandings, and explained to them by interpreters imperfectly acquainted with their language; as they did not conceive how a foreign priest, of whom they had never heard, could have any right to dispose of their country, or how an unknown prince should claim jurisdiction over them as his subjects, they fiercely opposed the new invaders of their territories. Ojeda and Nicuesa endeavored to effect by force what they could not accomplish by persuasion. But they found these natives to be of a character very different from that of their countrymen in the islands. They were fierce and warlike. Their arrows were dipped in a poison so noxious, that every wound was followed with certain death. In one encounter they slew above seventy of Ojeda's followers, and the Spaniards, for the first time, were taught to dread the inhabitants of the New World. Nothing

could soften their ferocity. They refused to hold any intercourse, or to exchange any friendly office, with men whose residence among them they considered as fatal to their liberty and independence. This implacable enmity of the natives, though it rendered an attempt to establish a settlement in their country extremely difficult as well as dangerous, might have been surmounted at length by the perseverance of the Spaniards, by the superiority of their arms, and their skill in the art of war. But every disaster which can be accumulated upon the unfortunate, combined to complete their ruin. Though they received two considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola, the greater part of those who had engaged in this unhappy expedition perished, in less than a year, in the most extreme misery. A few who survived, settled as a feeble colony at Santa Maria el Antigua, on the gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who, in the most desperate exigencies, displayed such courage and conduct, as first gained the confidence of his countrymen, and marked him out as their leader in more splendid and successful undertakings.

Having been raised to the government of the small colony at Santa Maria in Darien, by the voluntary suffrage of his associates, he was so extremely desirous to obtain from the crown a confirmation of their election, that he despatched one of his officers to Spain, in order to solicit a royal commission, which might invest him with a legal title to the supreme command. Conscious, however, that he could not expect success from the patronage of Ferdinand's ministers, with whom he was unconnected, or from negotiating in a court to the arts of which he was a stranger, he endeavored to merit the dignity to which he aspired, and aimed at performing some signal service that would secure him the preference to every competitor. Full of this idea he made frequent inroads into the adjacent country, subdued several of the caciques, and collected a considerable quantity of gold, which abounded more in that part of the continent, than in the islands. In one of those excursions, the Spaniards contended with such eagerness about the division of some gold, that they were at the point of proceeding to acts of violence against one another. A young cacique who was present, astonished at the high value which they set upon a thing of which he did not discern the use, tumbled the gold out of the balance with indignation; and, turning to the Spaniards,

"Why do you quarrel (said he) about such a trifle? If you are so passionately fond of gold, as to abandon your own country, and to disturb the tranquillity of distant nations for its sake, I will conduct you to a region where the metal which seems to be the chief object of your admiration and desire, is so common that the meanest utensils are formed of it." Transported with what they heard, Balboa and his companions inquired eagerly where this happy country lay, and how they might arrive at it. He informed them that at the distance of six suns, that is, of six days' journey, towards the south, they should discover another ocean, near to which this wealthy kingdom was situated; but if they intended to attack that powerful state, they must assemble forces far superior in number and strength to those with which they now appeared.

This was the first information which the Spaniards received concerning the great southern ocean, or the opulent and extensive country known afterwards by the name of Peru. Balboa had now before him objects suited to his boundless ambition, and the enterprising ardor of his genius. He immediately concluded the ocean which the cacique mentioned, to be that for which Columbus had searched without success in this part of America, in hopes of opening a more direct communication with the East Indies. He was impatient until he could set out upon this enterprise, in comparison of which all his former exploits appeared inconsiderable. But previous arrangement and preparation were requisite to ensure success. He began with courting and securing the friendship of the neighboring caciques. He sent some of his officers to Hispaniola with a large quantity of gold, as a proof of his past success, and an earnest of his future hopes. By a proper distribution of this, they secured the favor of the governor, and allured volunteers into the service. A considerable reinforcement from that island joined him, and he thought himself in a condition to attempt the discovery.

The isthmus of Darien is not above sixty miles in breadth; but this neck of land which binds together the continents of North and South America, is strengthened by a chain of lofty mountains stretching through its whole extent, which render it a barrier of solidity sufficient to resist the impulse of two opposite oceans. The mountains are covered with forests almost inaccessible. The valleys in that moist climate, where it rains during two-thirds of

the year, are marshy, and so frequently overflowed that the inhabitants find it necessary, in many places, to build their houses upon trees, in order to be elevated at some distance from the damp soil, and the odious reptiles inhabiting the murky and putrid waters. Large rivers rush down with an impetuous current from the high grounds. In a region thinly inhabited by wandering savages, the hand of industry had done nothing to mitigate or correct those natural disadvantages. To march across this unexplored country with no other guides but Indians, whose fidelity could be little trusted, was, on all those accounts, the boldest enterprise on which the Spaniards had hitherto ventured in the New World. But the intrepidity of Balboa was such as distinguished him among his countrymen, at a period when every adventurer was conspicuous for daring courage [1513]. Nor was bravery his only merit; he was prudent in conduct, generous, affable, and possessed of those popular talents which, in the most desperate undertakings, inspire confidence and secure attachment. Even after the junction of the volunteers from Hispaniola, he was able to muster only a hundred and ninety men for his expedition. But they were hardy veterans, inured to the climate of America, and ready to follow him through every danger. A thousand Indians attended them to carry their provisions; and, to complete their warlike array, they took with them several of those fierce



BOA-CONSTRICTOR FISHING.

dogs, which were no less formidable than destructive to their naked enemies.

Balboa set out upon this important expedition on the first of September, about the time that the periodical rains began to abate. He proceeded by sea, and without any difficulty, to the territories of a cacique whose friendship he had gained; but no sooner did he begin to advance into the interior part of the country, than he was retarded by every obstacle, which he had reason to apprehend, from the nature of the territory, or the disposition of its inhabitants. Some of the caciques, at his approach, fled to the mountains with all their people, and carried off or destroyed whatever could afford subsistence to his troops. Others collected their subjects, in order to oppose his progress; and he quickly perceived what an arduous undertaking it was to conduct such a body of men through hostile nations, across swamps, and rivers, and woods, which had never been passed but by straggling Indians. But by sharing in every hardship with the meanest soldier, by appearing the foremost to meet every danger, by promising confidently to his troops the enjoyment of honor and riches superior to what had been attained by the most successful of their countrymen, he inspired them with such enthusiastic resolution, that they followed him without murmuring. When they had penetrated a good way into the mountains, a powerful cacique appeared in a narrow pass, with a numerous body of his subjects, to obstruct their progress. But men who had surmounted so many obstacles, despised the opposition of such feeble enemies. They attacked them with impetuosity, and, having dispersed them with much ease and great slaughter, continued their march. Though their guides had represented the breadth of the isthmus to be only a journey of six days, they had already spent twenty-five in forcing their way through the woods and mountains. Many of them were ready to sink under such uninterrupted fatigue in that sultry climate, several were taken ill of the dysentery and other diseases frequent in that country, and all became impatient to reach the period of their labors and sufferings. At length the Indians assured them, that from the top of the next mountain they should discover the ocean which was the object of their wishes. When, with infinite toil, they had climbed up the greater part of that steep ascent, Balboa commanded his men to halt, and advanced alone to the summit, that he might be the first who should enjoy a

spectacle which he had so long desired. As soon as he beheld the South Sea stretching in endless prospect below him, he fell on his knees, and, lifting up his hands to heaven, returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a discovery so beneficial to his country, and so honorable to himself. His followers, observing his transports of joy, rushed forward to join in his wonder, exultation, and gratitude. They held on their course to the shore with great alacrity, when Balboa, advancing up to the middle in the waves with his buckler and sword, took possession of that ocean in the name of the king his master, and vowed to defend it, with these arms, against all his enemies.

That part of the great Pacific or Southern Ocean, which Balboa first discovered, still retains the name of the Gulf of St. Michael, which he gave to it, and is situated to the east of Panama. From several of the petty princes, who governed in the districts adjacent to that gulf, he extorted provisions and gold by force of arms. Others sent them to him voluntarily. To these acceptable presents some of the caciques added a considerable quantity of pearls; and he learned from them, with much satisfaction, that pearl oysters abounded in the sea which he had newly discovered.

Together with the acquisition of this wealth, which served to soothe and



BALBOA, ARMED WITH SWORD AND BUCKLER, WAIST DEEP IN THE WATERS OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN, CLAIMS THIS UNKNOWN SEA, WITH ALL THAT IT CONTAINS, FOR THE KING OF CASTILE, AND THAT "HE WOULD MAKE GOOD THE CLAIM AGAINST ALL CHRISTIANS OR INFIDELS, WHO DARED TO GAINSAY IT."

encourage his followers, he received accounts which confirmed his sanguine hopes of future and more extensive benefits from the expedition. All the people on the coast of the South Sea concurred in informing him that there was a mighty and opulent kingdom situated at a considerable distance towards the south-east, the inhabitants of which had tame animals to carry their burdens. In order to give the Spaniards an idea of these, they drew upon the sand the figure of the llama or sheep, afterwards found in Peru, which the Peruvians had taught to perform such services as they described. As the llama, in its form, nearly resembles a camel, a beast of burden deemed peculiar to Asia, this circumstance, in conjunction with the discovery of the pearls, another noted production of that country, tended to confirm the Spaniards in their mistaken theory with respect to the vicinity of the New World to the East Indies.



LLAMA, OR PERUVIAN SHEEP.

But though the information which Balboa received from the people on the coast, as well as his own conjectures and hopes, rendered him extremely impatient to visit this unknown country, his prudence restrained him from attempting to invade it with a handful of men exhausted by fatigue and weakened by diseases. He determined to lead back his followers, at present, to their settlement of Santa Maria in Darien, and to return next season with a force more adequate to such an arduous enterprise. In order to acquire a more extensive knowledge of the isthmus, he marched back by a different route, which he found to be no less dangerous and difficult than that which he had formerly taken. But to men elated with success, and animated with hope, nothing is insurmountable. Balboa returned to Santa Maria [1514], from which he had been absent four months, with greater glory and more treasure than the Spaniards had acquired in any expedition in the New World. None of Balboa's officers distinguished themselves more in this service than Francisco Pizarro, or assisted with greater courage and ardor in opening a communication with those countries in which he was destined to act soon a more illustrious part.

Balboa's first care was to send information to Spain of the important discovery which he had made; and to demand a rein-

forcement of a thousand men, in order to attempt the conquest of that opulent country, concerning which he had received such inviting intelligence. The first account of the discovery of the New World hardly occasioned greater joy, than the unexpected tidings that a passage was at last found to the great Southern ocean. The communication with the East Indies, by a course to the westward of the line of demarcation drawn by the Pope, seemed now to be certain. The vast wealth which flowed into Portugal, from its settlements and conquests in that country, excited the envy and called forth the emulation of other states. Ferdinand hoped now to come in for a share in this lucrative commerce, and, in his eagerness to obtain it, was willing to make an effort beyond what Balboa required. But even in this exertion, his jealous policy, as well as the fatal antipathy of Fonseca, now Bishop of Burgos, to every man of merit who distinguished himself in the New World, was conspicuous. Notwithstanding Balboa's recent services, which marked him out as the most proper person to finish that great undertaking which he had begun, Ferdinand was so ungenerous as to overlook these, and to appoint Pedrarias Davila governor of Darien. He gave him the command of fifteen stout vessels, and twelve hundred soldiers. These were fitted out at the public expense, with a liberality which Ferdinand had never displayed in any former armament destined for the New World; and such was the ardor of the Spanish gentlemen to follow a leader who was about to conduct them to a country, where, as fame reported, they had only to throw their nets into the sea and draw out gold, that fifteen hundred embarked on board the fleet and, if they had not



SOUTH AMERICA ACCORDING TO THE GLOBUS CONSTRUCTED BY J. SCHOENER, 1515.

been restrained, a much greater number would have engaged in the service.

Pedrarias reached the Gulf of Darien without any remarkable accident, and immediately sent some of his principal officers ashore to inform Balboa of his arrival, with the king's commission to be governor of the colony. To their astonishment, they found Balboa, of whose great exploits they had heard so much, and of whose opulence they had formed such high ideas, clad in a canvas jacket, and wearing coarse hempen sandals used only by the meanest peasants, employed, together with some Indians, in thatching his own hut with reeds. Even in this simple garb, which corresponded so ill with the expectations and wishes of his new guests, Balboa received them with dignity. The fame of his discoveries had drawn so many adventurers from the islands, that he could now muster four hundred and fifty men. At the head of those daring veterans, he was more than a match for the forces which Pedrarias brought with him. But, though his troops murmured loudly at the injustice of the king in superseding their commander, and complained that strangers would now reap the fruits of their toil and success, Balboa submitted with implicit obedience to the will of his sovereign, and received Pedrarias with all the deference due to his character.

Notwithstanding this moderation, to which Pedrarias owed the peaceable possession of his government, he appointed a judicial inquiry to be made into Balboa's conduct, while under the command of Nicuesa, and imposed a considerable fine upon him, on account of the irregularities of which he had then been guilty. Balboa felt sensibly the mortification of being subjected to trial and to punishment in a place where he had so lately occupied the first station. Pedrarias could not conceal his jealousy of his superior merit; so that the resentment of the one, and the envy of the other, gave rise to dissensions extremely detrimental to the colony. It was threatened with a calamity still more fatal. Pedrarias had landed in Darien at a most unlucky time of the year [July], about the middle of the rainy season, in that part of the torrid zone where the clouds pour down such torrents as are unknown in more temperate climates. The village of Santa Maria was seated in a rich plain, environed with marshes and woods. The constitution of Europeans was unable to withstand the pestilential influence of such a

situation, in a climate naturally so noxious, and at a season so peculiarly unhealthy. A violent and destructive malady carried off many of the soldiers who accompanied Pedrarias. An extreme scarcity of provisions augmented this distress, as it rendered it impossible to find proper refreshment for the sick, or the necessary sustenance for the healthy. In the space of a month, above six hundred persons perished in the utmost misery. Dejection and despair spread through the colony. Many principal persons solicited their dismission, and were glad to relinquish all their hopes of wealth, in order to escape from that pernicious region. Pedrarias endeavored to divert those who remained from brooding over their misfortunes, by finding them employment. With this view, he sent several detachments into the interior parts of the country, to levy gold among the natives, and to search for the mines in which it was produced. Those rapacious adventurers, more attentive to present gain than to the means of facilitating their future progress, plundered without distinction wherever they marched. Regardless of the alliances which Balboa had made with several of the caciques, they stripped them of everything valuable, and treated them, as well as their subjects, with the utmost insolence and cruelty. By their tyranny and exactions, which Pedrarias, either from want of authority or inclination, did not restrain, all the country from the Gulf of Darien to the lake of Nicaragua was desolated, and the Spaniards were inconsiderately deprived of the advantages which they might have derived from the friendship of the natives, in extending their conquests to the South Sea. Balboa, who saw with concern that such ill-judged proceedings retarded the execution of his favorite scheme, sent violent remonstrances to Spain against the imprudent government of Pedrarias, which had ruined a happy and flourishing colony. Pedrarias, on the other hand, accused him of having deceived the king, by magnifying his own exploits, as well as by a false representation of the opulence and value of the country.



PEDRARIAS AGAINST EXPEDITIONS AMONG THE CACIQUES OF THE ISTHMUS OF DARIEN — PANAMA

Ferdinand became sensible at length of his imprudence in superseding the most active and experienced officer he had in the New World, and, by way of compensation to Balboa, appointed him *Adelantado*, or Lieutenant-Governor of the countries upon the South Sea, with very extensive privileges and authority. At the same time, he enjoined Pedrarias to support Balboa in all his operations, and to consult with him concerning every measure which he himself pursued [1515]. But to effect such a sudden transition from inveterate enmity to perfect confidence, exceeded Ferdinand's power. Pedrarias continued to treat his rival with neglect; and Balboa's fortune being exhausted by the payment of his fine, and other exactions of Pedrarias, he could not make suitable preparations for taking possession of his new government. At length, by the interposition and exhortations of the Bishop of Darien, they were brought to a reconciliation; and, in order to cement this union more firmly, Pedrarias agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Balboa [1516]. The first effect of their concord was, that Balboa was permitted to make several small incursions into the country. These he conducted with such prudence, as added to the reputation which he had already acquired. Many adventurers resorted to him, and, with the countenance and aid of Pedrarias, he began to prepare for his expedition to the South Sea. In order to accomplish this, it was necessary to build vessels capable of conveying his troops to those provinces which he proposed to invade [1517]. After surmounting many obstacles, and enduring a variety of those hardships which were the portion of the conquerors of America, he at length finished four small brigantines. In these, with three hundred chosen men, a force superior to that with which Pizarro afterwards undertook the same expedition, he was ready to sail towards Peru, when he received an unexpected message from Pedrarias. As his reconciliation with Balboa had never been cordial, the progress which his son-in-law was making revived his ancient enmity, and added to its rancor. He dreaded the prosperity and elevation of a man whom he had injured so deeply. He suspected that success would encourage him to aim at independence upon his jurisdiction; and so violently did the passion of hatred, fear, and jealousy operate upon his mind, that, in order to gratify his vengeance, he scrupled not to defeat an enterprise of the greatest moment to his country. Under pretexts which were

false, but plausible, he desired Balboa to postpone his voyage for a short time, and to repair to Acla, in order that he might have an interview with him. Balboa, with the unsuspicious confidence of a man conscious of no crime, instantly obeyed the summons; but as soon as he entered the place, he was arrested by order of Pedrarias, whose impatience to satiate his revenge did not suffer him to languish long in confinement. Judges were immediately appointed to proceed to his trial. An accusation of disloyalty to the king, and of an intention to revolt against the governor, was preferred against him. Sentence of death was pronounced; and though the judges who passed it, seconded by the whole colony, interceded warmly for his pardon, Pedrarias continued inexorable; and the Spaniards beheld, with astonishment and sorrow, the public execution of a man whom they universally deemed more capable than any one who had borne command in America, of forming and accomplishing great designs. Upon his death, the expedition which he had planned was relinquished. Pedrarias, notwithstanding the violence and injustice of his proceedings, was not only screened from punishment by the powerful patronage of the Bishop of Burgos and other courtiers, but continued in power. Soon after he obtained permission to remove the colony from its unwholesome station of Santa Maria to Panama, on the opposite side of the isthmus; and though it did not gain much in point of healthfulness by the change, the commodious situation of this new settlement contributed greatly to facilitate the subsequent conquests of the Spaniards in the extensive countries situated upon the Southern Ocean.



COSTUME OF EXECUTIONER, XV. AND XVI. CENTURIES.



HOLLOW TERRA COTTA FIGURES,
SO-CALLED CHIBCHA-ANTIQUITIES FROM COLUMBIA.
ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM, BERLIN.

CHAPTER LXV.

SCHEMES FOR THE DISCOVERY OF PERU UNSUCCESSFUL FOR SOME TIME. THE ENTERPRISE AT LAST UNDERTAKEN BY PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, AND LUQUE. (1524.)



THE GREAT BIRD OF PREY OF THE ANDES, THE CONDOR, AND A LLAMA.

FROM the time that Nuñez de Balboa discovered the great Southern ocean, and received the first obscure hints concerning the opulent countries with which it might open a communication, the wishes and schemes of every enterprising person in the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned towards the wealth of those unknown regions. In an age when the spirit of adventure was so ardent and vigorous, that large fortunes were wasted, and the most alarming dangers braved, in pursuit of discoveries merely possible, the faintest ray of hope was followed with an eager expectation, and the slightest information was sufficient to inspire such perfect confidence, as conducted men to the most arduous undertaking.

Accordingly, several armaments were fitted out in order to explore and take possession of the countries to the east of Panama, but under the conduct of leaders whose talents and resources were unequal to the attempt. As the excursions of those adventurers did not extend beyond the limits of the province to which the Spaniards have given the name of Tierra Firme, a mountainous region covered with woods, thinly inhabited, and extremely unhealthy, they returned with dismal accounts concerning the distresses to which they had been exposed, and the unpromising aspect of the places which they had visited. Damped by these tidings, the rage for discovery in that direction abated; and it became the general opinion that Balboa had founded visionary hopes, on the tale of an ignorant Indian, ill understood, or calculated to deceive.

1524.] But there were three persons settled in Panama on whom the circumstances which deterred others made so little impression, that, at the very moment when all considered Balboa's expectations of discovering a rich country, by steering towards the east, as chimerical, they resolved to attempt the execution of his scheme. The names of those extraordinary men were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. Pizarro was the natural son of a gentleman of an honorable family by a very low woman, and, according to the cruel fate which often attends the offspring of unlawful love, had been so totally neglected in his youth by the author of his birth, that he seems to have destined him never to rise beyond the condition of his mother. In consequence of this ungenerous idea, he set him, when bordering on manhood, to keep hogs. But the aspiring mind of young Pizarro disdaining that ignoble occupation, he abruptly abandoned his charge, enlisted as a soldier, and, after serving some years in Italy, embarked for America, which, by opening such a boundless range to active talents, allured every adventurer whose fortune was not equal to his ambitious thoughts. There Pizarro early distinguished himself. With a temper of mind no less daring than the constitution of his body was robust, he was foremost in every danger, patient under the greatest hardships, and unsubdued by any fatigue. Though so illiterate that he could not even read, he was soon considered as a man formed to command. Every operation committed to his conduct proved successful, as, by a happy but rare conjunction, he united perseverance with ardor, and was as cautious in

executing as he was bold in forming his plans. By engaging early in active life, without any resource but his own talents and industry, and by depending on himself alone in his struggles to emerge from obscurity, he acquired such a thorough knowledge of affairs, and of men, that he was fitted to assume a superior part in conducting the former, and in governing the latter.

Almagro had as little to boast of his descent as Pizarro. The one was a bastard, the other a foundling. Bred, like his companion, in the camp, he yielded not to him in any of the soldierly qualities of intrepid valor, indefatigable activity, or insurmountable constancy in enduring the hardships inseparable from military service in the New World. But in Almagro these virtues were accompanied with the openness, generosity, and candor natural to men whose profession is arms; in Pizarro they were united with the address, the craft, and the dissimulation of a politician, with the art of concealing his own purposes, and with sagacity to penetrate into those of other men.

Hernando de Luque was an ecclesiastic, who acted both as priest and schoolmaster at Panama, and, by means which the contemporary writers have not described, had amassed riches that inspired him with thoughts of rising to greater eminence.

Such were the men destined to overturn one of the most extensive empires on the face of the earth. Their confederacy for this purpose was authorized by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama. Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, the least wealthy of the three, as he could not throw so large a sum as his associates into the common stock, engaged to take the department of greatest fatigue and danger, and to command in person the armament which was to go first upon discovery. Almagro offered to conduct the supplies of provisions and reinforcements of troops, of which Pizarro might stand in need. Luque was to remain at Panama to negotiate with the governor, and superintend whatever was carrying on for the general interest. As the spirit of enthusiasm uniformly accompanied that of adventure in the New World, and by that strange union both

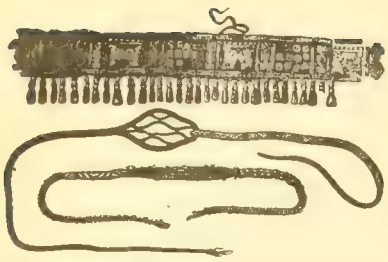


IN THE NAME OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE PIZARRO ALMAGRO AND FATHER

acquired an increase of force, this confederacy, formed by ambition and avarice, was confirmed by the most solemn act of religion. Luque celebrated mass, divided a consecrated host into three, and, reserving one part to himself, gave the other two to his associates, of which they partook; and thus, in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects.

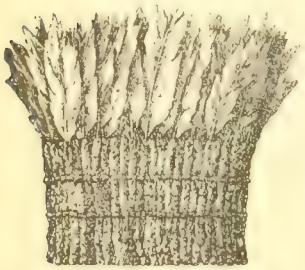
The attempt was begun with a force more suited to the humble condition of the three associates than to the greatness of the enterprise in which they were engaged. Pizarro set sail from Panama [Nov. 14] with a single vessel of small burden, and a hundred and twelve men. But in that age, so little were the Spanish acquainted with the peculiarities of the climate in America, that the time which Pizarro chose for his departure was the most improper in the whole year; the periodical winds, which were then set in, being directly adverse to the course which he proposed to steer. After beating about for seventy days, with much danger and incessant fatigue, Pizarro's progress towards the south-east was not greater than what a skillful navigator will now make in as many hours. He touched at several places on the coast of Tierra Firme, but found everywhere the same uninviting country which former adventurers had described; the low grounds converted into swamps by an overflowing of rivers; the higher, covered with impervious woods; few inhabitants, and those fierce and hostile. Famine, fatigue, frequent rencounters with the natives, and, above all, the distempers of a moist, sultry climate, combined in wasting his slender band of followers. [1525.] The undaunted resolution of their leader continued, however, for some time, to sustain their spirits, although no sign had yet appeared of discovering those golden regions to which he had promised to conduct them. At length, he was obliged to abandon that inhospitable coast, and retire to Chuchama, opposite to the Pearl Islands, where he hoped to receive a supply of provisions and troops from Panama.

But Almagro, having sailed from that port with seventy men, stood directly towards that part of the continent where he hoped to meet with his associates. Not finding him there, he landed his soldiers, who, in searching for their companions, underwent the same distresses, and were exposed to the same dangers, which had driven them out of the country. Repulsed, at length by the Indians



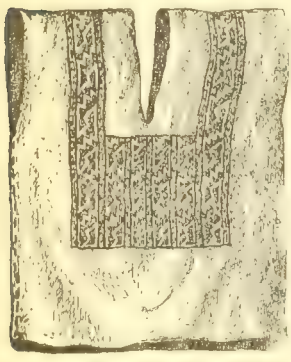
UPPER PIECE, NECKLACE MADE FROM NACRE. LOWER TWO PIECES, SLINGS, MADE PARTLY OF HUMAN HAIR, AND PARTLY OF THE FIBRES OF THE ALOE. FROM THE NECROPOLIS AT ANCON.

in a sharp conflict, in which their leader lost one of his eyes by the wound of an arrow, they likewise were compelled to re-embark. Chance led them to the place of Pizarro's retreat, where they found some consolation in recounting to each other their adventures, and comparing their sufferings. As Almagro had advanced as far as the river St. Juan [June 24], in the province of Popayan, where both the country and inhabitants appeared with a more promising aspect, that dawn of better fortune was sufficient to determine such sanguine projectors not to abandon their scheme, notwithstanding all that they had suffered in prosecuting it.



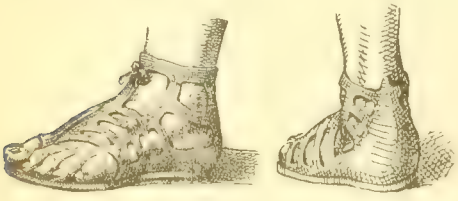
HEAD-DRESS MADE OF FEATHERS, THE BAND MADE OF THE FIBRES OF THE ALOE. FOUND AT FACALA.

[1526]. Almagro repaired to Panama in hopes of recruiting their shattered troops. But what he and Pizarro had suffered, gave his countrymen such an unfavorable idea of the service, that it was with difficulty he could levy fourscore men. Feeble as this reinforcement was, Almagro took the command of it, and, having joined Pizarro, they did not hesitate about resuming their operations. After a long series of disasters and disappointments, not inferior to those which they had already experienced, part of the armament reached the Bay of St. Matthew, on the coast of Quito, and landing at Tacamez, to the south of the river of Emeralds, they beheld a country more champaign and fertile than any they had yet discovered in the Southern Ocean, the natives clad in garments of woolen or cotton stuff, and adorned with several trinkets of gold and silver.



PONCHO-LIKE SHIRT FOUND AT VIRACOCHA-PAMPA.

But, notwithstanding those favorable appearances, magnified beyond the truth, both by the vanity of the persons who brought the report from Tacamez, and by the fond imagination of those who listened to them, Pizarro and Almagro durst not venture to invade a country so populous with a handful of men, enfeebled by fatigue and diseases. They retired to the small island of Gallo, where Pizarro remained with part of the troops, and his associate returned to Panama, in hopes of bringing such a reinforcement,



FOOT-GEAR FOUND AT CAXAMALCA AND VIRACOCHAPAMPA.



SANDALS FOUND AT CAJABAMBA.



ONLY SIXTEEN DARING VETERANS CROSS THE LINE, FRANCISCO PIZARRO DRAWS IN THE SAND ON THE ISLAND OF GALLO,

TO FOLLOW THEIR TRUSTY LEADER SOUTH, TO THE CONQUEST OF PERU, AND IMMORTAL GLORY.

PAINTING BY A. LIZCANO.

as might enable them to take possession of the opulent territories whose existence seemed to be no longer doubtful.

But some of the adventurers, less enterprising, or less hardy, than their leaders, having secretly conveyed lamentable accounts of their sufferings and losses to their friends at Panama, Almagro met with an unfavorable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had succeeded Pedrarias in the government of that settlement. After weighing the matter with that cold economical prudence, which appears the first of all virtues to persons whose limited faculties are incapable of conceiving or executing great designs, he concluded an expedition, attended with such certain waste of men, to be so detrimental to an infant and feeble colony, that he not only prohibited the raising of new levies, but despatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo. Almagro and Luque, though deeply affected with those measures, which they could not prevent, and durst not oppose, found means of communicating their sentiments privately to Pizarro, and exhorted him not to relinquish an enterprise that was the foundation of all their hopes, and the only means of re-establishing their reputation and fortune, which were both on the decline. Pizarro's mind, bent with inflexible obstinacy on all its purposes, needed no incentive to persist in the scheme. He peremptorily refused to obey the governor of Panama's orders, and employed all his address and eloquence in persuading his men not to abandon him. But the incredible calamities to which they had been exposed were still so recent in their memories, and the thoughts of revisiting their families and friends, after a long absence, rushed with such joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the sand with his sword, permitting such as wished to return home to pass over it, only sixteen of all the daring veterans in his service had resolution to remain with their commander.

This small, but determined band, whose names the Spanish historians record with deserved praise, as the persons to whose persevering fortitude their country is indebted for the most valuable of all its American possessions, fixed their residence in the island of Gorgona. This, as it was further removed from the coast than Gallo, and uninhabited, they considered as a more secure retreat, where, unmolested, they might wait for supplies from Panama, which they trusted that the activity of their associates would be

able to procure. Almagro and Luque were not inattentive or cold solicitors, and their incessant importunity was seconded by the general voice of the colony, which exclaimed loudly against the infamy of exposing brave men, engaged in the public sorvice, and chargeable with no error but what flowed from an excess of zeal and courage, to perish like the most odious criminals in a desert island. Overcome by those entreaties and expostulations, the governor at last consented to send a small vessel to their relief. But that he might not seem to encourage Pizarro to any new enterprise, he would not permit one landman to embark on board of it.



PAINTED TERRA COTTA VASES. THE MIDDLE ONE REPRESENTS AN INDIAN CARRYING A LLAMA. FROM THE NECROPOLIS AT ANCON.

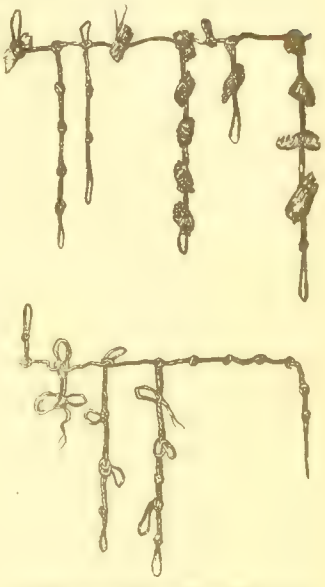
By this time, Pizarro and his companions had remained five months in an island, infamous for the most unhealthy climate in that region of America. During all this period, their eyes were turned towards Panama, in hopes of succor from their countrymen; but worn out at length with fruitless expectations, and dispirited with suffering hardships of which they saw no end, they, in despair, came to a resolution of committing themselves to the ocean on a float, rather than continue in that detestable abode. But, on the arrival of the vessel from Panama, they were transported with such joy that all their sufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived; and, with a rapid transition not unnatural among men accustomed by their mode of life to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, high confidence succeeding to extreme dejection, Pizarro easily induced not only his own followers, but the crew of the vessel from Panama, to resume his former scheme with fresh ardor. Instead of returning to Panama, they stood towards the south-east, and, more fortunate in this than in any of their past efforts, they, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, discovered the coast of Peru. After touching at several villages near the shore, which they found to be nowise inviting, they landed at Tumbez, a place of some note about three degrees south of the line, distinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the *Incas* or sovereigns of the country. There the Spaniards feasted their eyes



YELLOW TERRA COTTA VASES, WITH RED DEBIGNS, FROM HUANTAR

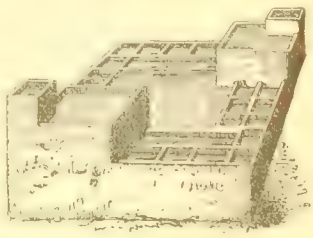
with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country fully peopled, and cultivated with an appearance of regular industry; the natives decently clothed, and possessed of ingenuity so far surpassing the other inhabitants of the New World, as to have the use of tame domestic animals. But what chiefly attracted their notice was such a show of gold and silver, not only in the ornaments of their persons and temples, but in several vessels and utensils for common use, formed of those precious metals, as left no room to doubt that they abounded with profusion in the country. Pizarro and his companions seemed now to have attained to the completion of their most sanguine hopes, and fancied that all their wishes and dreams of rich domains, and inexhaustible treasures, would soon be realized.

But with the slender force then under his command, Pizarro could only view the rich country of which he hoped hereafter to obtain possession. He ranged, however, for some time along the coast, maintaining everywhere a peaceable intercourse with the natives, no less astonished at their new visitants, than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld [1527]. Having explored the country as far as was requisite to ascertain the importance of the discovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants some of their *Llamas*, or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of sheep, some vessels of gold and silver, as well as some specimens of their other works of ingenuity, and two young men, whom he proposed to instruct in the Castilian language, that they might serve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated. With these he arrived at Panama, towards the close of the third year from the time of his departure thence. No adventurer of the age suffered hardships or encountered dangers which equal those to which he was exposed during this long period. The patience with which he endured the one, and the fortitude with which he surmounted the other, exceed whatever is recorded in the history of the New World, where so many romantic displays of those virtues occur.



QUIPUS, OR KNOTTED CORDS, USED BY THE PERUVIANS IN RECKONING, FOUND AT PARAMANGO.

[illegible] consists of a thick main cord, with minor cords tied on to it at certain distances. The cords are often of various colors, each with its own proper meaning; red for soldiers, yellow for gold, white for silver, green for corn, etc. A single knot meant ten, a double one a hundred, a triple one a thousand; two singles, side by side, twenty; two doubles, two hundred. The distances of the knots from the main cord were of great importance. The difficulty of deciphering them is very great, since every knot indicates an idea, and a number of intermediate notions are left out.



ABACCUS, OR COUNTING STONE, FOUND AT CHUCANA.

A peculiarly formed instrument, which [illegible] city relief-plans. The tribute furnished by the various tribes was thus carefully registered: each tribe was denoted by a particular color, and each higher floor represented a ten times higher tribute, so that, a grain of corn in the highest corner towers denoted a hundred times greater tribute than a grain deposited in the lowest box between the two towers.—*Dr. Fr. Ratzel, Voelkerkunde, Vol III.*

1528]. Neither the splendid relation that Pizarro gave of the incredible opulence of the country which he had discovered, nor his bitter complaints on account of that unseasonable recall of his forces, which had put it out of his power to attempt making any settlement there, could move the governor of Panama to swerve from his former plan of conduct. He still contended, that the colony was not in a condition to invade such a mighty empire, and refused to authorize an expedition which, he foresaw, would be so alluring that it might ruin the province in which he presided, by an effort beyond its strength. His coldness, however, did not, in any degree, abate the ardor of the three associates; but they perceived they could not carry their scheme into execution without the countenance of superior authority, and must solicit their sovereign to grant that permission which they could not extort from his delegate. With this view, after adjusting among themselves, that Pizarro should claim the station of governor, Almagro that of lieutenant-governor, and Luque the dignity of bishop in the country which they purposed to conquer, they sent Pizarro as their agent to Spain, though their fortunes were now so much exhausted by the repeated efforts which they had made, that they found some difficulty in borrowing the small sum requisite towards equipping him for the voyage.



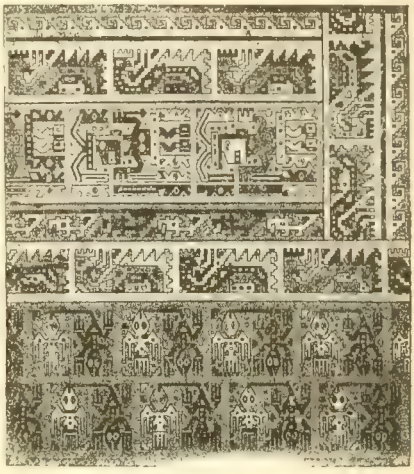
SEAT WITH TOP MADE FROM THE MAGUEY TREE.



ANTIQUE PERUVIAN WOOD CARVINGS, IDOLS AND SCEPTRES. FOUND IN THE GUANO DEPOSITS OF THE MACABI ISLANDS. CHRISTY COLLECTION, LONDON.



TYPES OF FACE-URNS FROM OLD PERU. ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM, BERLIN.



PIECE OF CLOTH. FROM THE NECROPOLIS AT ANCON.

Though the Llama herds were exclusively the property of the Incas, each inhabitant received his share of wool yearly, which, together with cotton, and other fibres, were very skillfully and beautifully woven into all kinds of fabrics by them



PIZARRO BEFORE THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

PAINTING BY A[illegible]ANO.

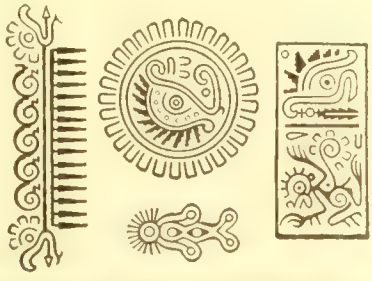
Pizarro lost no time in repairing to court; and new as the scene might be to him, he appeared before the emperor with the unembarrassed dignity of a man, conscious of what his services merited; and he conducted his negotiations with an insinuating dexterity of address, which could not have been expected either from his education or former habits of life. His feeling description of his own sufferings, and his pompous account of the country which he had discovered, confirmed by the specimens of its productions which he exhibited, made such an impression both on Charles and his ministers, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but seemed to be interested in the success of its leader. Presuming on those dispositions in his favor, Pizarro paid little attention to the interest of his associates. As the pretensions of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the ecclesiastical dignity to which he aspired. For Almagro, he claimed only the command of the fortress which should be erected at Tumbez. To himself he secured whatever his boundless ambition could desire. He was appointed [July 26], governor, captain-general, and adelantado of all the country which he had discovered, and hoped to conquer, with supreme authority, civil as well as military; and with full right to all the privileges and emoluments usually granted to adventurers in the New World. His jurisdiction was declared to extend two hundred leagues along the coast to the south of the river St. Jago; to be independent of the governor of Panama; and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to serve under him. In return for those concessions, which cost the court of Spain nothing, as the enjoyment of them depended upon the success of Pizarro's own efforts, he engaged to raise two hundred and fifty men, and to provide the ships, arms, and warlike stores requisite towards subjecting to the crown of Castile the country of which the government was allotted him.

1529]. Inconsiderable as the body of men was which Pizarro had undertaken to raise, his funds and credit were so low that he could hardly complete half the number; and after obtaining his patents from the crown, he was obliged to steal privately out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the scrutiny of the officers, who had it in charge to examine whether he had fulfilled the stipulations in his contract. Before his departure, however, he received some supply of money from Cortes, who having returned to Spain

about this time, was willing to contribute his aid towards enabling an ancient companion, with whose talents and courage he was well acquainted, to begin a career of glory similar to that which he himself had finished.

He landed at Nombre de Dios, and marched across the isthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo, of whom the first was born in lawful wedlock, the two latter, like himself, were of illegitimate birth, and by Francisco de Alcantara, his mother's brother. They were all in the prime of life, and of such abilities and courage, as fitted them to take a distinguished part in his subsequent transactions.

1530]. On his arrival at Panama, Pizarro found Almagro so much exasperated at the manner in which he had conducted his negotiation, that he not only refused to act any longer in concert with a man by whose perfidy he had been excluded from the power and honors to which he had a just claim, but labored to form a new association, in order to thwart or to rival his former confederate in his discoveries. Pizarro, however, had more wisdom and address than to suffer a rupture so fatal to all his schemes, to become irreparable. By offering voluntarily to relinquish the office of adelantado, and promising to concur in soliciting that title, with an independent government for Almagro, he gradually mitigated the rage of an open-hearted soldier, which had been violent, but was not implacable. Luque, highly satisfied with having been successful in all his own pretensions, cordially seconded Pizarro's endeavors. A reconciliation was effected, and the confederacy renewed on its original terms, that the enterprise should be carried on at the common expense of the associates, and the profits accruing from it should be equally divided among them.



OLD PERUVIAN DIES FOR DECORATING (TATTOOING) THE BODY.
ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM, BERLIN.



EAR ORNAMENT, MADE FROM RED TERRA COTTA. FOUND AT CHANCAY.

ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE

The wearing of these ornaments in the lobe of the ear was reserved for the princes of the royal blood. At the age of puberty their ears were pierced, and, from time to time, larger blocks were introduced, until the desired size was at last obtained.

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE STATE OF THE PERUVIAN EMPIRE AT THAT TIME FAVORABLE TO THE INVADERS. PIZARRO AVAILS HIMSELF OF IT, AND ADVANCES INTO THE HEART OF THE COUNTRY. TAKES THE INCA PRISONER.

EVEN after their reunion, and the utmost efforts of their interest, three small vessels, with a hundred and eighty soldiers, thirty-six of whom were horsemen, composed the armament which they were able to fit out. But the astonishing progress of the Spaniards in America had inspired them with such ideas of their own superiority, that Pizarro did not hesitate to sail with this contemptible force [Feb. 1531] to invade a great empire. Almagro was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him with what reinforcement of men he should be able to muster. As the season for embarking was properly chosen, and the course of navigation between Panama and Peru was now better known, Pizarro completed the voyage in thirteen days; though, by the force of the winds and currents, he was carried above a hundred leagues to the north of Tumbez, the place of his destination, and obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. Without losing a moment, he began to advance towards the south, taking care, however, not to depart far from the sea-shore, both that he might easily effect a junction with

the supplies which he expected from Panama, and secure a retreat in case of any disaster, by keeping as near as possible to his ships. But as the country in several parts on the coast of Peru is barren, unhealthful, and thinly peopled; as the Spaniards had to pass all the rivers near their mouths, where the body of water is greatest; and as the imprudence of Pizarro, in attacking the natives, when he should have studied to gain their confidence, had forced them to abandon their habitations; famine, fatigue, and diseases of various kinds, brought upon him and his followers calamities hardly inferior to those which they had endured in their former expedition. What they now experienced corresponded so ill with the alluring description of the country given by Pizarro, that many began to reproach him, and every soldier must have become cold to the service, if, even in this unfertile region of Peru, they had not met with some appearances of wealth and civilization, which seemed to justify the report of their leader. At length they reached the province of Coaque [April 14]; and, having surprised the principal settlement of the natives, they seized their vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, to the amount of thirty thousand pesos, with other booty of such value as dispelled all their doubts, and inspired the most desponding with sanguine hopes.



WATER FITCHERS MADE OF TERRA COTTA.

FOUND AT ANCON AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF TRUJILLO.

That with the representations of warriors depicted on its base, is one of the best examples of old Peruvian handicraft extant.



TERRA [illegible] FOUND IN THE RUINS OF HUAULLANG, NEAR THE [illegible] OF CORONGO, ON THE FARM [illegible] SENOR ORCON.

Pizarro himself was so much delighted with this rich spoil, which he considered as the first fruits of a land abounding with treasure, that he instantly despatched one of his ships to Panama with a large remittance to Almagro; and another to Nicaragua with a considerable sum to several persons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers by this early display of the wealth which he had acquired. Meanwhile, he continued his march along the coast; and disdaining to employ any means of reducing the natives but force, he attacked them with such violence in their scattered habitations, as compelled them either to retire into the interior country, or to submit to his yoke. This sudden



TERRA COTTA VASE, DECORATED WITH BATTLE SCENES.
ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM, BERLIN.



BATTLE CLUBS AND LANCE.

The middle one has a six-cornered stone fastened with cotton to its base, like the old German "Morgenstern."

appearance of invaders, whose aspect and manners were so strange, and whose power seemed to be so irresistible, made the same dreadful impression as in other parts of America. Pizarro hardly met with resistance until he attacked the island of Puna in the bay of Guyaquil. As that was better peopled than the country through which he had passed, and its inhabitants fiercer and less civilized than those of the continent, they defended themselves with such obstinate valor, that Pizarro spent six months in reducing them to subjection. From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where the distempers which raged among his men compelled him to remain for three months.

While he was thus employed, he began to reap advantage from his attention to spread the fame of his first success at Coaque. Two different detachments arrived from Nicaragua [1532], which, though neither exceeded thirty men, he considered as a reinforcement of great consequence to his feeble band, especially as the one was under the command of Sebastian Benalcazar, and the other of Hernando Soto, officers not inferior in merit and reputation to any who had served in America. From Tumbez he proceeded to the river Piura [May 16], and, in an advantageous station near the mouth of it, he established the first Spanish colony in Peru; to which he gave the name of St. Michael.

As Pizarro continued to advance towards the centre of the Peruvian empire, he gradually received more full information concerning its extent and policy, as well as the situation of its affairs at that juncture. Without some knowledge of these, he could not have conducted his operations with propriety; and without a suitable attention to them, it is impossible to account for the progress which the Spaniards had already made, or to unfold the causes of their subsequent success.

At the time when the Spaniards invaded Peru, the dominions of its sovereigns extended in length, from north to south, above fifteen hundred miles along the Pacific Ocean. Its breadth, from east to west, was much less considerable; being uniformly bounded by the vast ridge of the Andes, stretching from its one extremity to the other. Peru, like the rest of the New World, was originally possessed by small independent tribes, differing from each other in manners, and in their forms of rude policy. All, however, were so little civilized, that, if the traditions concerning their mode of



THE ISLANDERS OF PUNA, DEFEND THEMSELVES WITH SUCH OBSTINATE VALOR,
THAT PIZARRO REQUIRE, 6 MONTHS IN SUBJUGATING THEM.
DRAWING BY A. DEVERIA.

life, preserved among their descendants, deserve credit, they must be classed among the most unimproved savages of America. Strangers to every species of cultivation or regular industry, without any fixed residence, and unacquainted with those sentiments and obligations which form the first bond of social union, they are said to have roamed about naked in the forests, with which the country was then covered, more like wild beasts than like men. After they had struggled for several ages with the hardships and calamities which are inevitable in such a state, and when no circumstance seemed to indicate the approach of any uncommon effort towards improvement, we are told that there appeared, on the banks of the lake Titicaca, a man and woman of majestic form, clothed in decent garments. They declared themselves to be children of the Sun, sent by their beneficent parent, who beheld with pity the miseries of the human race, to instruct and to reclaim them. At their persuasion, enforced by reverence for the divinity in whose name they were supposed to speak, several of the dispersed savages united together, and, receiving their commands as heavenly injunctions, followed them to Cuzco, where they settled, and began to lay the foundations of a city.



EXTERIOR WALL OF THE FORTRESS OF SACSA HUAMAN, NEAR CUZCO. (CYCLOPEAN STYLE.)



WALL FROM THE FORTRESS OF OLLANTA TAMBO.

The walls of the early Peruvian buildings were erected without the use of mortar or cement. The sides of the stones were often carefully trimmed, and so closely, that not even the blade of a knife could be inserted between them.



WALL FROM THE NORTHERN FACADE OF THE PALACE OF THE INCA, AND OF THE SUN, LAKE TITICACA.

Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, for such were the names of those extraordinary personages, having thus collected some wandering tribes, formed that social union, which, by multiplying the desires and uniting the efforts of the human species, excites industry and leads to improvement. Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture, and other useful arts. Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and to weave. By the labor of the one sex, subsistence became less precarious; by that of the other, life was rendered more comfort-

able. After securing the objects of first necessity in an infant state, by providing food, raiment, and habitations for the rude people of whom he took charge, Manco Capac turned his attention towards introducing such laws and policy as might perpetuate their happiness. By his institutions, which shall be more particularly explained hereafter, the various relations in private life were established, and the duties resulting from them prescribed with such propriety, as gradually formed a barbarous people to decency of manners. In public administration, the functions of persons in authority were so precisely defined, and the subordination of those under their jurisdiction maintained with such a steady hand, that the society in which he presided soon assumed the aspect of a regular and well-governed state.



WOOLEN BAG; OPENING CAPABLE OF BEING CLOSED WITH DRAWSTRING.

WORK-BASKET MADE OF WOVEN GRASS; USED FOR THE SAFE-KEEPING OF SPINNING AND WEAVING TOOLS, WHICH ARE SEEN LYING ON TOP.

FROM THE NECROPOLIS AT ANCON.

Thus, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the Incas, or Lords of Peru. At first, its extent was small. The territory of Manco Capac did not reach above eight leagues from Cuzco. But within its narrow precincts he exercised absolute and uncontrolled authority. His successors, as their dominions extended, arrogated a similar jurisdiction over the new subjects which they acquired; the despotism of Asia was not more complete. The Incas were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities. Their blood was held to be sacred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated by mixing with that of any other race. The family, thus separated from the rest of the nation, was distinguished by peculiarities in dress and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to assume. The monarch himself appeared with ensigns of royalty reserved for him alone; and received from his subjects marks of obsequious homage and respect which approached almost to adoration.

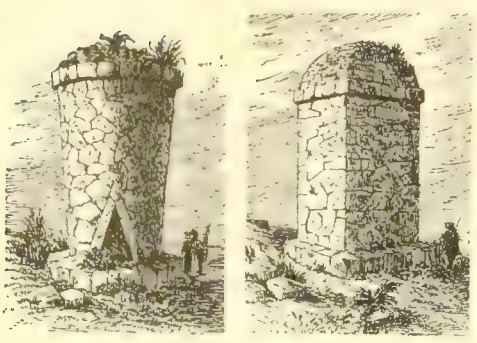
But, among the Peruvians, this unbounded power of their monarchs seems to have been uniformly accompanied with attention to the good of their subjects. It was not the rage of conquest, if we may believe the accounts of their countrymen, that prompted the Incas to extend their dominions, but the desire of diffusing the blessings of civilization, and the knowledge of the arts which



THE INCA (EMPEROR) AND COYA (EMPRESS) ACCOMPANIED BY THEIR CECUMILLU (DWARF).

REDRAWN FROM DESCRIPTIONS FURNISHED BY THE INCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, HISTORIAN OF PERU

they possessed, among the barbarous people whom they reduced. During a succession of twelve monarchs, it is said that not one deviated from this beneficent character.



CHULPAS, OR SEPULCHRES, THREE LEAGUES SOUTHEAST OF PIMO.

The usual mode of burying was under ground; only the nobility erected monuments, built of stone, above ground.





MUMMIES FROM THE NECROPOLIS AT ANCON.

The Peruvians were accustomed, like the Egyptians in the miserable attempt to perpetuate the existence of the body by all the means [illegible] by nature. Unlike the elaborate embalming of the Egyptians, the Peruvians exposed it to the action of the [illegible] dry, rarefied atmosphere of the mountains. They buried with the deceased some of his apparel, utensils, and frequently treasure; and completed the gloomy ceremony by sacrificing his wives and domestics to bear him company, and do him service in the [illegible].

The body of the deceased was put into a sitting posture, knees tightly drawn to the body, and the whole carefully bound and wound about with cotton or woolen cloths, until it assumed a bag-like appearance, as seen in the illustration.

When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year 1526, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince distinguished not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was subjected, a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of residing in the capital of that valuable province which he had added to his dominions; and notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. She bore him a son named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which seems to have happened about the year 1529, he appointed his successor in that kingdom, leaving the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son by a mother of the royal race. Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch, who had reigned with greater reputation and splendor than any of his predecessors, the destination of Huana Capac, concerning the succession, appeared so repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed sacred, that it was no sooner known at Cuzco than it excited general disgust. Encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, Huascar required his brother to



I. INCA MANCO CCAPAC. CIR. 1250 ?



COYA MAMA OCLLO HUACCO



II. INCA SINCHI ROCCA



COYA MAMA CORA OCCLLO



III. INCA LLOQUE YUPANQUI



COYA MAMA CCAHUANA

THE TWELVE INCAS (EMPERORS) AND COYAS (EMPRESSES) OF PERU.

These portraits, *imperial size* as they call it at Cuzco, were painted upon Chinese taffeta by an artist of Cuzco in the sixteenth century. They were preserved with the greatest care in the archives of the cathedral at Cuzco for their historical value as for the time employed in their execution. The work cost, we are told, six years of constant labor. The original and conscien-



IV INCA MAYTA CCAPAC



COYA MAMA CUCA



V. INCA CCAPAC YUPANQUI



COYA MAMA CURIHILLPA



VI. INCA ROCCA



COYA MAMA MICHAY CHIMPO.

tious work, which Garcillasso de la Vega had the happiness to see in all its beauty, as he tells us himself in his *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, disappeared during the occupation of Cuzco by the Independents. Happily for the friends of Iconography, a family of the country, whose name figures among the princes of the ninth descent, designated Ayllo Ccozcco Panaca, possessed a copy of them, which they were willing to communicate, and which we here reproduce.—*Publ.*



VII. INCA YAHUAR-HUACCAC



COYA MAMA CCHOQUE CCHICYA HILLPAI



VIII. INCA HUIRA CCOCHA (VIRACOCHA) CIR. 1380.



COYA MAMA RUNTO



IX. INCA PACHA CCUTIC. CIR. 1400.
Cieza de Leon puts in his place INCA URCO



COYA MAMA ANAHUARQUI

The pronounciation of a name like Capac is more correctly indicated by writing it Capa. The first C is a guttural far back in the throat, the second on the roof of the mouth.—*Markham's [illegible]*



X. INCA YUPANQUI. CIR. 4[illegible].



COYA MAMA CHIMPO OCLLO



XI. INCA TUPAC YUPANQUI. CIR. 1439.



COYA MAMA CHIMPU OCLLU

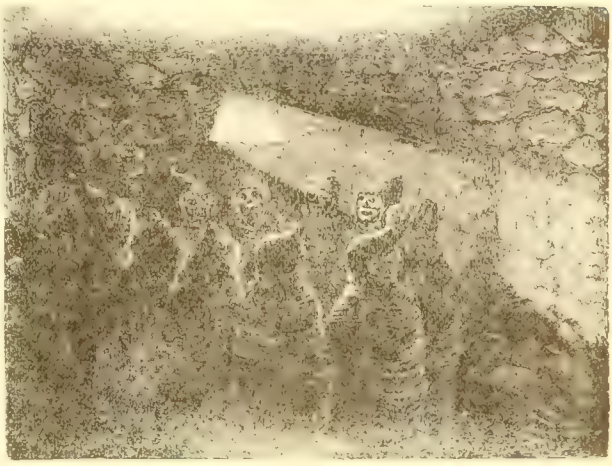


XII. INCA HUAYNA CCAPAC CIR. 1475.



COYA MAMA PILLCO HUACCO

renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior. But it had been the first care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. These were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whose valor Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their support, Atahualpa first eluded his brother's demand, and then marched against him in hostile array.



INTERIOR OF CHOLPA.

Each tomb of this kind was designed for the reception of a dozen individuals, whose bodies were seated in a circle, their feet touching one another.

Thus the ambition of these two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient usage, and that of the other asserted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in civil war, a calamity to which, under a succession of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a stranger. In such a contest the issue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the Sun descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize either by force or stratagem. From a political motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huascar, who had been taken prisoner in a battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for some time, that, by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.



WARRIORS DURING THE REIGN OF THE INCAS. OLD PERUVIAN VASE IN POSSESSION OF MR. BARNARD.

The warriors here represented are all provided with helmets and a kind of lance, though one only seems to have a shield.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greatest fury. Had he made any hostile attempt in his former visit to Peru, in the year 1527, he must then have encountered the force of a powerful state, united

under a monarch, possessed of capacity as well as courage, and unembarrassed with any care that could divert him from opposing his progress. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were so intent upon the operations of a war, which they deemed more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconsiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whom it would be easy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leisure.



INTI-CUSIHUALPA CHUASCAR.



COYA MAMA CHOQUI.

By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no foresight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourse with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmolested, and advanced to the centre of a great empire, before one effort of its power was exerted to stop his career. During their progress, the Spaniards had acquired some imperfect knowledge of this struggle between the two contending factions. The first complete information, with respect to it, they received from messengers whom Huascar sent to Pizarro, in order to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper. Pizarro perceived, at once, the importance of this intelligence, and foresaw so clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided state of the kingdom which he had invaded, that, without waiting for the reinforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumstances should incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater ease to crush both. Enterprising as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations

against Americans, and distinguished as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly suppose that, after having proceeded hitherto slowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his system of operation, and have ventured upon a measure so hazardous, without some new motive or prospect to justify it.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garrison in St. Michael, sufficient to defend a situation of equal importance as a place of retreat in case of any disaster, and as a port for receiving any supplies which should come from Panama, he began his march with a very slender and ill-accoutred train of followers. They consisted of sixty-two horsemen, and a hundred and two foot-soldiers, of whom twenty were armed with cross-bows, and three with muskets. He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of twelve days' march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer despatched by the Inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and assurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declaring that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it without being able to decide whether they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards, that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness, favored the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapaciousness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter. While in this state of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions so far removed all the Inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael

and Motupè, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them.

* Before them now rose the stupendous Andes, rock piled upon rock, their skirts below dark with evergreen forests, varied here and there by terraced patches of cultivated garden, with the peasant's cottage clinging to their shaggy sides, and their crests of snow glittering high in the heavens, presenting altogether such a wild chaos of magnificence and beauty as no other mountain scenery in the world can show. Across this tremendous rampart, through a labyrinth of passes, easily capable of defense by a handful of men against an army, the troops were now to march. To the right ran a broad and level road, with its border of friendly shades, and wide enough for two carriages to pass abreast. It was one of the great routes leading to Cuzco, and seemed by its pleasant and easy access to invite the wayworn soldier to choose it in preference to the dangerous mountain defiles. Many were accordingly of opinion that the army should take this course, and abandon the original destination to Caxamalca. But such was not the decision of Pizarro.

The Spaniards had everywhere proclaimed their purpose, he said, to visit the Inca in his camp. This purpose had been communicated to the Inca himself. To take an opposite direction now would only be to draw on them the imputation of cowardice, and to incur Atahualpa's contempt. No alternative remained but to march straight across the sierra to his quarters. "Let every one of you," said the bold cavalier, "take heart and go forward like a good soldier, nothing daunted by the smallness of your numbers. For in the greatest extremity God ever fights for his own; and doubt not He will humble the pride of the heathen, and bring him to the knowledge of the true faith, the great end and object of the Conquest."

Pizarro, like Cortes, possessed a good share of that frank and manly eloquence which touches the heart of the soldier more than the parade of rhetoric or the finest flow of elocution. He was a soldier himself, and partook in all the feelings of the soldier,

* The following description of the perilous ascent of the Andes, and the successful accomplishment of the feat, is from the poetic pen of one of America's best beloved sons, William H. Prescott.—*Ed.*

his joys, his hopes, and his disappointments. He was not raised by rank and education above sympathy with the humblest of his followers. Every chord in their bosoms vibrated with the same pulsations as his own, and the conviction of this gave him a mastery over them. "Lead on," they shouted, as he finished his brief but animating address, "lead on wherever you think best. We will follow with good-will, and you shall see that we can do our duty in the cause of God and the King!" There was no longer hesitation. All thoughts were now bent on the instant passage of the Cordilleras.

That night Pizarro held a council of his principal officers, and it was determined that he should lead the advance, consisting of forty horse and sixty foot, and reconnoiter the ground; while the rest of the company, under his brother Hernando, should occupy their present position till they received further orders.

At early dawn the Spanish general and his detachment were under arms, and prepared to breast the difficulties of the sierra. These proved even greater than had been foreseen. The path had been conducted in the most judicious manner round the rugged and precipitous side of the mountains, so as best to avoid the natural impediments presented by the ground. But it was necessarily so steep, in many places, that the cavalry were obliged to dismount, and, scrambling up as they could, to lead their horses by the bridle. In many places, too, where some huge crag or eminence overhung the road, this was driven to the very verge of the precipice; and the traveller was compelled to wind along the narrow ledge of rock, scarcely wide enough for his single steed, where a misstep would precipitate him hundreds, nay, thousands, of feet into the dreadful abyss! The wild passes of the sierra, practicable for the half-naked Indian, and even for the sure and circumspect mule,—an animal that seems to have been created for the roads of the Cordilleras,—were formidable to the man-at-arms encumbered with his panoply of mail. The tremendous fissures or *quebradas*, so frightful in this mountain chain, yawned open, as if the Andes had been split asunder by some terrible convulsion, showing a broad expanse of the primitive rock on their sides, partially mantled over with the spontaneous vegetation of ages; while their obscure depths furnished a channel for the torrents, that, rising in the heart of the sierra, worked their way gradually into

light, and spread over the savannas and green valleys of *tierra caliente* on their way to the great ocean.

Many of these passes afforded obvious points of defense; and the Spaniards, as they entered the rocky defiles, looked with apprehension lest they might rouse some foe from his ambush. This apprehension was heightened, as, at the summit of a steep and narrow gorge, in which they were engaged, they beheld a strong-work, rising like a fortress, and frowning, as it were, in gloomy defiance on the invaders. As they drew near this building, which was of solid stone, commanding an angle of the road, they almost expected to see the dusky forms of the warriors rise over the battlements, and to receive their tempests of missiles on their bucklers; for it was in so strong a position, that a few resolute men might easily have held there an army at bay. But they had the satisfaction to find the place untenanted, and their spirits were greatly raised by the conviction that the Indian monarch did not intend to dispute their passage, when it would have been easy to do so with success.



OLD INCA FORTRESS OF PARAMANGA AS SEEN FROM THE HEIGHTS OF THE MARITIME CHAIN OF THE ANDES.
(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)

Pizarro now sent orders to his brother to follow without delay; and, after refreshing his men, continued his toilsome ascent, and before nightfall reached an eminence crowned by another fortress, of even greater strength than the preceding. It was built of solid masonry, the lower part excavated from the living rock, and the whole work executed with skill not inferior to that of the European architect.



FERNANDO PIZARRO FOLLOWS WITH THE REAR GUARD UP THE STEEP SIDE OF THE MOUNTAIN PASS.

Here Pizarro took up his quarters for the night. Without waiting for the arrival of the rear, on the following morning he resumed his march, leading still deeper into the intricate gorges of the sierra. The climate had gradually changed, and the men and

horses, especially the latter, suffered severely from the cold, so long accustomed as they had been to the sultry climate of the tropics. The vegetation also had changed its character; and the magnificent timber which covered the lower level of the country had gradually given way to the funereal forest of pine, and, as they rose still higher, to the stunted growth of numberless Alpine plants, whose hardy natures found a congenial temperature in the icy atmosphere of the more elevated regions. These dreary solitudes seemed to be nearly abandoned by the brute creation as well as by man. The light-footed vicuña, roaming in its native state, might be sometimes seen looking down from some airy cliff, where the foot of the hunter dared not venture. But instead of the feathered tribes whose gay plumage sparkled in the deep glooms of the tropical forests, the adventurers now beheld only the great bird of the Andes, the loathsome condor, who, sailing high above the clouds, followed with doleful cries in the track of the army, as if guided by instinct in the path of blood and carnage.

At length they reached the crest of the Cordillera, where it spreads out into a bold and bleak expanse, with scarce the vestige of vegetation, except what is afforded by the *pajonal*, a dried yellow grass, which, as it is seen from below, encircling the base of the snow-covered peaks, looks, with its brilliant straw-color lighted up in the rays of an ardent sun, like a setting of gold round pinnacles of burnished silver. The land was sterile, as usual in mining districts, and they were drawing near the once famous gold quarries on the way to Caxamalca;

> "Rocks rich in gems, and mountains big with mines,
> That on the high equator ridgy rise."

Here Pizarro halted for the coming up of the rear. The air was sharp and frosty; and the soldiers, spreading their tents, lighted fires, and, huddling round them, endeavored to find some repose after their laborious march.

They had not been long in these quarters, when a messenger arrived. He informed the general that the road was free from enemies, and that an embassy from the Inca was on its way to the Castilian camp. Pizarro now sent back to quicken the march of the rear, as he was unwilling that the Peruvian envoy should find him with his present diminished numbers. The rest of the army were not far distant, and not long after reached the encampment.

In a short time the Indian embassy also arrived, which consisted of one of the Inca nobles and several attendants, bringing a welcome present of llamas to the Spanish commander. The Peruvian bore, also, the greetings of his master, who wished to know when the Spaniards would arrive at Caxamalca, that he might provide suitable refreshments for them. Pizarro learned that the Inca had left Guamachucho, and was now lying with a small force in the neighborhood of Caxamalca, at a place celebrated for its natural springs of warm water. The Peruvian was an intelligent person, and the Spanish commander gathered from him many particulars respecting the late contests which had distracted the empire.

As the envoy vaunted in lofty terms the military prowess and resources of his sovereign, Pizarro thought it politic to show that it had no power to overawe him. He expressed his satisfaction at the triumphs of Atahualpa, who, he acknowledged, had raised himself high in the rank of Indian warriors. But he was as inferior, he added with more policy than politeness, to the monarch who ruled over the white men, as the petty curacas of the country were inferior to him. This was evident from the ease with which a few Spaniards had overrun this great continent, subduing one nation after another, that had offered resistance to their arms. He had been led by the fame of Atahualpa to visit his dominions, and to offer him his services in his wars; and, if he were received by the Inca in the same friendly spirit with which he came, he was willing, for the aid he could render him, to postpone awhile his passage across the country to the opposite seas. The Indian, according to the Castilian accounts, listened with awe to this strain of glorification from the Spanish commander. Yet it is possible that the envoy was a better diplomatist than they imagined; and that he understood it was only the game of brag at which he was playing with his more civilized antagonist.

On the succeeding morning, at an early hour, the troops were again on their march, and for two days were occupied in threading the airy defiles of the Cordilleras.

The descent of the sierra, though the Andes are less precipitous on their eastern side than towards the west, was attended with difficulties almost equal to those of the upward march; and the Spaniards felt no little satisfaction, when, on the seventh day, they arrived in view of the valley of Caxamalca, which, enamelled



FERDINAND CORTES AND HERNANDO DE SOTO IN THE CAMP OF THE INCA AT CAXAMALCA.

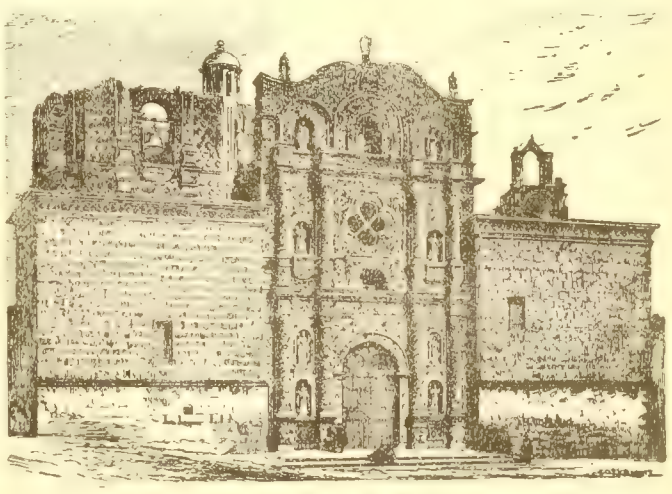
THE ORDER OF HIS COURT AND THE REVERENCE WITH WHICH HIS SUBJECTS APPROACHED HIS PERSON, ASTONISHED THE SPANIARDS.

DRAWING BY C. COLIN

with all the beauties of cultivation, lay unrolled like a rich and variegated carpet of verdure, in strong contrast with the dark forms of the Andes, that rose up everywhere around it.*

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house which the Spanish historians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he despatched his brother Ferdinand and Hernando Soto to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. He instructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his pacific disposition, and to desire an interview with the Inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country. They were treated with all the respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians in the reception of their most cordial friends, and Atahualpa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects approached his person and obeyed his commands, astonished those Spaniards who had never met in America with any thing more dignified than the petty cacique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still more powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that an European of the sixteenth century could form.

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken. From his own



THE CHURCH OF BELEN AT CAXAMALCA. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)

* End of W. H. Prescott's description of the march across the Cordilleras.

observation of American manners during his long service in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from seizing Montezuma, he knew of what consequence it was to have the Inca in his power. For this purpose, he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character that he had assumed of an ambassador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the Inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he made to him of his own friendship and assistance, he determined to avail himself of the unsuspicious simplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his professions, and to seize the person of the Inca during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no disgrace on himself or his country. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry were formed in one body, except twenty of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the dangerous service which he reserved for himself; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, and the crossbow-men, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for action was given.

Early in the morning [Nov. 16] the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendor and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were so tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly, that the Spaniards became impatient, and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro despatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the Inca approached. First of all appeared four hundred men, in an uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes of various colors, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner.

Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicegerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power, by succession, to the Popes, the donation made to the king of Castile, by Pope Alexander of all the regions of the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope, and to submit to the king of Castile as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskillful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the Inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehensible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he de-

sired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and, turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: "This," says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing;" and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms; the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs!"

Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and musketry began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed at the destructive effect of the firearms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of his chosen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro, seizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the Inca.

The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru; and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

CHAPTER LXVII.

THE DEJECTED EMPEROR OFFERS A RANSOM COMMENSURATE WITH THE OPULENCE OF HIS DOMINIONS. ARRIVAL OF ALMAGRO. DEATH OF SHUASCAR AND EXECUTION OF THE INCA. DISSOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT AND ORDER IN PERU.



PERUVIAN WOMAN SPINNING.

AT first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the posssesion of such a prisoner, labored to console him with professions of kindness and respect, that corresponded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the Inca quickly discovered their ruling passion, which indeed, they were nowise solicitous to conceal, and, by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth; he



HOUSE IN CAXAMALCA WHERE THE INCA WAS KEPT CONFINED.
(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)

undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

Atahualpa, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of the gods, or the houses of the Inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca. Though Atahualpa was now in the custody of his enemies, yet so much were the Peruvians accustomed to respect every mandate issued by their sovereign, that his orders were executed with the greatest alacrity. Soothed with hopes of recovering his liberty by this means, the subjects of the Inca were afraid of endangering his life by forming any other scheme for his relief; and though the force of the empire was still entire, no preparations were made, and no army assembled to avenge their own wrongs or those of their monarch. The Spaniards remained in Caxamalca tranquil and unmolested. Small detachments of their number marched into remote provinces of the empire, and, instead of meeting with any opposition, were everywhere received with marks of the most submissive respect.

Inconsiderable as those parties were, and desirous as Pizarro might be to obtain some knowledge of the interior state of the country, he could not have ventured upon any diminution of his main body, if he had not about this time [December], received an account of Almagro's having landed at St. Michael with such a reinforcement as would almost double the number of his followers. The arrival of this long-expected succor was not more agreeable to the Spaniards than alarming to the Inca. He saw the power of his enemies increase; and as he knew neither the source whence they derived their supplies, nor the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foresee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might rise [1533]. While disquieted with such apprehensions, he learned that some Spaniards, in their way to Cuzco, had visited his brother Huascar in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had represented to them the justice of his own cause, and, as an inducement to es-

pouse it, had promised them a quantity of treasure greatly beyond that which Atahualpa had engaged to pay for his ransom. If the Spaniards should listen to this proposal, Atahualpa perceived his own destruction to be inevitable ; and suspecting that their insatiable thirst for gold would tempt them to lend a favorable ear to it, he determined to sacrifice his brother's life, that he might save his own ; and his orders for this purpose were executed, like all his other commands, with scrupulous punctuality.



THE MURDER OF THE INCA HUASCAR BY ORDER OF ATAHUALPA.

Meanwhile, Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca from different parts of the kingdom, loaded with treasure. A great part of the stipulated quantity was now amassed, and Atahualpa assured the Spaniards that the only thing which prevented the whole from being brought in, was the remoteness of the provinces where it was deposited. But such vast piles of gold, presented continually to the view of needy soldiers, had so inflamed their avarice, that it was impossible any longer to restrain their impatience to obtain possession of this rich booty. Orders were given for melting down the whole, except some pieces of curious fabric, reserved as a present for the emperor. After setting apart the fifth due to the crown, and a hundred thousand pesos as a donative to the soldiers which arrived with Almagro, there remained one million five hundred and

twenty-eight thousand five hundred pesos to Pizarro and his followers.* The festival of St. James [July 25], the patron saint of Spain, was the day chosen for the partition of this enormous sum, and the manner of conducting it strongly marks the strange alliance of fanaticism with avarice, which I have more than once had occasion to point out as a striking feature in the character of the conquerors of the New World. Though assembled to divide the spoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit, extortion, and cruelty, the transaction began with a solemn invocation of the name of God, as if they could have expected the guidance of heaven in distributing those wages of iniquity. In this division, above eight thousand pesos, at that time not inferior in effective value to as many pounds sterling in the present century, fell to the share of each horseman, and half that sum to each foot soldier. Pizarro himself, and his officers, received dividends in proportion to the dignity of their rank.

There is no example in history of such a sudden acquisition of wealth by military service, nor was ever a sum so great divided among so small a number of soldiers. Many of them having received a recompense for their services far beyond their most sanguine hopes, were so impatient to retire from fatigue and danger, in order to spend the remainder of their days in their native country in ease and opulence, that they demanded their discharge with clamorous importunity. Pizarro, sensible that from such men he could expect neither enterprise in action nor fortitude in suffering, and persuaded that wherever they went the display of their riches would allure adventurers, less opulent but more hardy, to his standard, granted their suit without reluctance, and permitted above sixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he sent to Spain with an account of his success, and the present destined for the emperor.

The Spaniards having divided among them the treasure amassed for the Inca's ransom, he insisted with them to fulfill their promise of setting him at liberty. But nothing was further from Pizarro's thoughts. During his long service in the New World, he had imbibed those ideas and maxims of his fellow-soldiers, which led them to consider its inhabitants as an inferior race, neither worthy of the name, nor entitled to the rights of men. In his

* The ranson of Atahualpa is computed to have amounted to more than $15,000,000.

compact with Atahualpa, he had no other object than to amuse his captive with such a prospect of recovering his liberty, as might induce him to lend all the aid of his authority towards collecting the wealth of his kingdom. Having now accomplished this, he no longer regarded his plighted faith; and at the very time when the credulous prince hoped to be replaced on his throne, he had secretly resolved to bereave him of life. Many circumstances seem to have concurred in prompting him to this action, the most criminal and atrocious that stains the Spanish name, amidst all the deeds of violence committed in carrying on the conquests of the New World.

Though Pizarro had seized the Inca, in imitation of Cortes' conduct towards the Mexican monarch, he did not possess talents for carrying on the same artful plan of policy. Destitute of the temper and address requisite for gaining the confidence of his prisoner, he never reaped all the advantages which might have been derived from being master of his person and authority. Atahualpa was, indeed, a prince of greater abilities and discernment than Montezuma, and seems to have penetrated more thoroughly into the character and intentions of the Spaniards. Mutual suspicion and distrust accordingly took place between them. The strict attention with which it was necessary to guard a captive of such importance, greatly increased the fatigue of military duty. The utility of keeping him appeared inconsiderable; and Pizarro felt him as an encumbrance, from which he wished to be delivered.

Almagro and his followers had made a demand for an equal share in the Inca's ransom; and though Pizarro had bestowed upon the private men the large gratuity which I have mentioned, and endeavored to soothe their leader by presents of great value, they still continued dissatisfied. They were apprehensive that, as long as Atahualpa remained a prisoner, Pizarro's soldiers would apply whatever treasure should be acquired, to make up what was wanting of the quantity stipulated for his ransom, and under that pretext exclude them from any part of it. They insisted eagerly on putting the Inca to death, that all the adventurers in Peru might thereafter be on an equal footing.

Pizarro himself began to be alarmed with accounts of forces assembling in the remote provinces of the empire, and suspected Atahualpa of having issued orders for that purpose. These fears

and suspicions were artfully increased by Philippillo, one of the Indians whom Pizarro had carried off from Tumbez in the year 1527, and whom he employed as an interpreter. The function which he performed admitting this man to familiar intercourse with the captive monarch, he presumed, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, to raise his affections to a Coya, or descendant of the Sun, one of Atahualpa's wives; and seeing no prospect of gratifying that passion during the life of the monarch, he endeavored to fill the ears of the Spaniards with such accounts of the Inca's secret designs and preparations, as might awaken their jealousy, and incite them to cut him off.



ATAHUALPA.

FROM THE ENGRAVING IN MONTANUS' NIEUWE EN ONBEKENDE WEERELD

While Almagro and his followers openly demanded the life of the Inca, and Philippillo labored to ruin him by private machinations, that unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to hasten his own fate. During his confinement he had attached himself with peculiar affection to Ferdinand Pizarro and Hernando Soto; who, as they were persons of birth and education superior to the rough adventurers with whom they served, were accustomed to behave with more decency and attention to the captive monarch. Soothed with this respect from persons of such high rank, he delighted in their society. But in the presence of the governor he was always uneasy and overawed. This dread soon came to be mingled with contempt. Among all the European arts, what he admired most was that of reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himself, whether he should regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the



ATAHUALPA ORDERS THE SACRIFICE OF A VIRGIN OF THE SUN,

AND ABOVE A THOUSAND VICTIMS ARE DOOMED TO ACCOMPANY HIS FATHER, HUANA CAPAC, TO THE TOMB.

DRAWING BY A. DEVERIA.

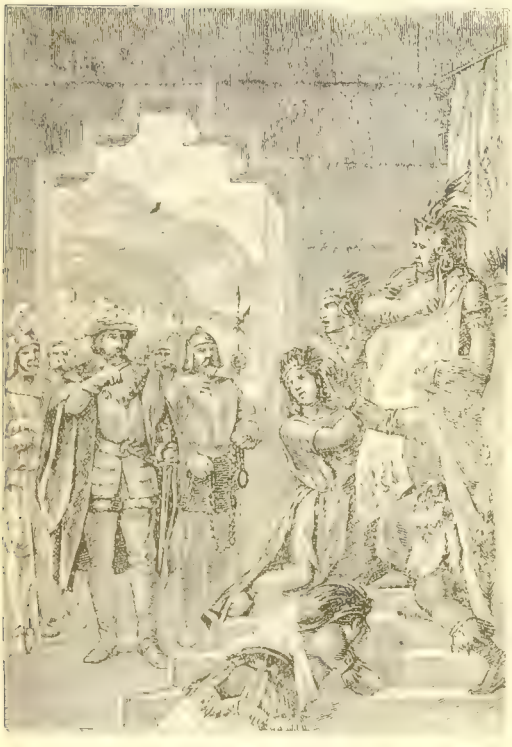
soldiers, who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he showed successively to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazement, they all, without hesitation, returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered; and, on presenting it to him, he blushed, and, with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment Atahualpa considered him as a mean person, less instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of a barbarian's scorn, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death.



MUMMY HAND, ORNAMENTED WITH GOLD RINGS AND BRACELETS. FOUND AT CHIMBOTE.

But in order to give some color of justice to this violent action, and that he himself might be exempted from standing singly responsible for the commission of it, Pizarro resolved to try the Inca with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts of Spain. Pizarro himself, and Almagro, with two assistants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or to condemn; an attorney-general was named to carry on the prosecution in the king's name; counsellors were chosen to assist the prisoner in his defense; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of court. Before this strange tribunal, a charge was exhibited still more amazing. It consisted of various articles; that Atahualpa, though a bastard, had dispossessed the rightful owner of the throne, and usurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful sovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted but commanded the offering of human sacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that since his imprisonment he had wasted and embezzled the royal treasures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; that he had incited his subjects to take arms against the Spaniards. On these heads of accusation, some of which are so ludicrous, others so absurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the foundation of a serious procedure, is not less surprising than his injustice, did this strange court go on to try the sovereign of a great empire, over whom it had no jurisdiction. With respect to each of the articles, witnesses were examined; but as they delivered their evidence in their native tongue, Philippillo had it in his power to give their words whatever turn best suited his malevolent intentions. To

judges pre-determined in their opinion, the evidence appeared sufficient. They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde prostituted the authority of his sacred function to confirm this sentence, and by his signature warranted it to be just. Astonished at his fate, Atahualpa endeavored to avert it by tears, by promises, and by entreaties that he might be sent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his lot. But pity never touched the unfeeling heart of Pizzaro. He ordered him to be led instantly to execution; and what added to the bitterness of his last moments, the same monk who had just ratified his doom, offered to console, and attempted to convert him. The most powerful argument Valverde employed to prevail with him to embrace the Christian faith, was a promise of mitigation in his punishment. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a desire of receiving baptism. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, instead of being burnt, was strangled at the stake.

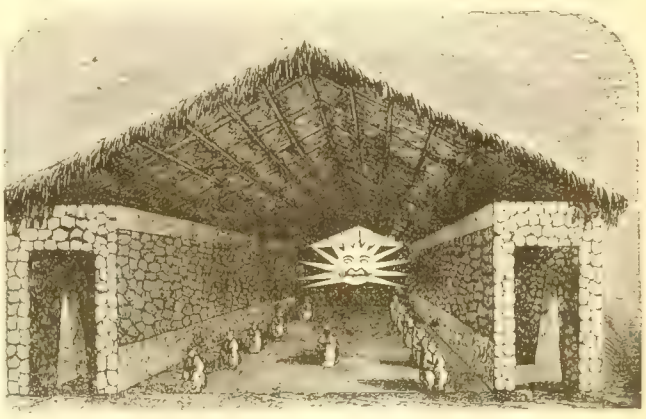


THE HEARTLESS PIZARRO ORDERS THE UNFORTUNATE ATAHUALPA TO BE LED INSTANTLY TO EXECUTION.

Happily for the credit of the Spanish nation, even among the profligate adventurers which it sent forth to conquer and desolate the New World, there were persons who retained some tincture of the Castilian generosity and honor. Though, before the trial of Atahualpa, Ferdinand Pizarro had set out for Spain, and Soto was sent on a separate command at a distance from Caxamalca, this odious transaction was not carried on without censure and opposition. Several officers, and among those some of the greatest reputation and most respectable families in the service, not only remonstrated, but protested against this measure of their general, as disgraceful to their country, as repugnant to every maxim of equity, as a violation of public faith, and a usurpation of jurisdiction over an independent monarch, to which they had no title. But their laudable endeavors were vain. Numbers, and the opinion of such as held every thing to be lawful which they deemed advantageous,

prevailed. History, however, records even the unsuccessful exertions of virtue with applause; and the Spanish writers, in relating events where the valor of their nation is more conspicuous than its humanity, have not failed to preserve the names of those who made this laudable effort to save their country from the infamy of having perpetrated such a crime.

On the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty, hoping that a young man without experience might prove a more passive instrument in his hands than an ambitious monarch, who had been accustomed to independent command. The people of Cuzco, and the adjacent country, acknowledged Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, as Inca. But neither possessed the authority which belonged to a sovereign of Peru. The violent convulsions into which the empire had been thrown, first by the civil war between the two brothers, and then by the invasion of the Spaniards, had not only deranged the order of the Peruvian government, but almost dissolved its frame. When they beheld their monarch a captive in the power of strangers, and at last suffering an ignominious death, the people in several provinces, as if they had been set free from every restraint of law and decency, broke into the most licentious excesses. So many descendants of the Sun, after being treated with the utmost indignity, had been cut off by Atahualpa, that not only their influence in the state diminished with their number, but the accustomed reverence for that sacred race sensibly decreased. In consequence of this state of things, ambitious men in different parts of the empire aspired to independent authority, and usurped jurisdiction to which they had no title. The general who commanded for Ata-

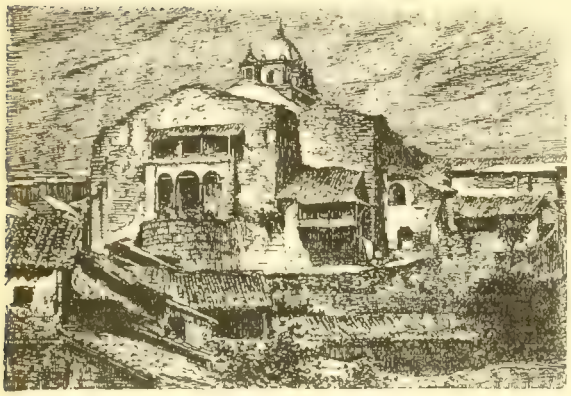


INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN DURING THE LATER REIGNS OF THE INCAS.

The Temple, known also by the name of Curicancha, or "the place of gold," consisted of a principal building and several chapels, and inferior edifices, covering a large extent of ground in the heart of the city of Cuzco. It was substantially built, though thatched with straw, like most of the Inca buildings. The interior of the Temple was the most worthy of admiration. It was literally a mine of gold. On the western wall was emblazoned a representation of the deity, the sun, consisting of a human countenance, looking forth from amidst innumerable rays of light, which emanated from it in every direction, in the same manner as the sun is often personified with us. The figure was engraved on a massive plate of gold of enormous dimensions, thickly powdered with emeralds and precious stones. The cornices, which surrounded the walls of the sanctuary, were of the same costly material; and a broad belt or frieze of gold, let into the stonework, encompassed the whole exterior of the edifice. The bodies of the deceased Incas and Coyas, after being skillfully embalmed, were removed to this sanctuary, clothed in the princely attire which they had been accustomed to wear, placed on chairs of gold, their heads inclined downward, their hands placidly crossed over their bosoms.—*Prescott, Conquest of Peru.*

hualpa in Quito, seized the brother and children of his master, put them to a cruel death, and, disclaiming any connection with either Inca, endeavored to establish a separate kingdom for himself.

The Spaniards, with pleasure, beheld the spirit of discord diffusing itself, and the vigor of government relaxing among the Peruvians. They considered those disorders as symptoms of a state hastening towards its dissolution. Pizarro no longer hesitated to advance towards Cuzco, and he had received such considerable reinforcements, that he could venture, with little danger, to penetrate so far into the interior part of the country. The account of the wealth acquired at Caxamalca operated as he had foreseen. No sooner did his brother Ferdinand, with the officers and soldiers, to whom he had given their discharge after the partition of the Inca's ransom, arrive at Panama, and display their riches in the view of their astonished countrymen, than fame spread the account with such exaggeration through all the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, that the governors of Guatemala, Panama, and Nicaragua, could hardly restrain the people under their jurisdiction, from abandoning their possessions, and crowding to that inexhaustible source of wealth which seemed to be opened in Peru. In spite of every check and regulation, such numbers resorted thither, that Pizarro began his march at the head of five hundred men, after leaving a considerable garrison in St. Michael, under the command of Benalcazar. The Peruvians had assembled some large bodies of troops to oppose his progress. Several fierce encounters happened. But they terminated like all the actions in America; a few Spaniards were killed or wounded; the natives were put to flight with incredible slaughter. At length Pizarro forced his way to Cuzco, and took quiet possession of that capital. The riches found there, even after all that the natives had carried off and concealed, either from a superstitious veneration for the ornaments of their temples, or out of hatred to their rapacious conquerors, exceeded in value what had been received as Atahualpa's ransom. But as the Span-



CONVENT OF SAN DOMINGO. ERECTED OVER THE RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN, AT CUZCO.

iards were now accustomed to the wealth of the country, and it came to be parceled out among a greater number of adventurers, this dividend did not excite the same surprise, either from novelty, or the largeness of the sum that fell to the share of each individual.

During the march to Cuzco, that son of Atahualpa whom Pizarro treated as Inca, died; and as the Spaniards substituted no person in his place, the title of Manco Capac seems to have been universally recognized.



BRANCHES OF THE CINCHONA LANCIFOLIA.

Cinchona, Peruvian or Jesuit's bark, named in honor of the countess of Chinchon, the wife of a Viceroy of Peru, who having been herself cured thereby, is said to have first carried the bark to Europe, where she used it successfully in the cure of intermittent fever about 1640. Quinia is its most important alkaloid. Sulphate of Quinia, or more properly the disulphate, is the medicine commonly known as quinine



HEAD OF A MAN AT CABANA.



GRANITE HEAD, PASHASH.



GRANITE HEAD, PASHASH.

PERUVIAN SCULPTURE.
FROM CH. WIENER'S PERU AND BOLIVIA.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE CONQUEST OF QUITO ALVARADO'S EXPEDITION. ALMAGRO'S INVASION OF CHILI.

WHILE his fellow-soldiers were thus employed, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, an able and enterprising officer, was ashamed of remaining inactive, and impatient to have his name distinguished among the discoverers and conquerors of the New World. The seasonable arrival of a fresh body of recruits from Panama and Nicaragua put it in his power to gratify this passion. Leaving a sufficient force to protect the infant settlement intrusted to his care, he placed himself at the head of the rest, and set out to attempt the reduction of Quito, where, according to the report of the natives, Atahualpa had left the greatest part of his treasure. Notwithstanding the distance of that city from St. Michael, the difficulty of marching through a mountainous country covered with woods, and the frequent and fierce attacks of the best troops in Peru commanded by a skillful leader, the valor, good conduct, and perseverance of Benalcazar surmounted every obstacle, and he entered Quito with his victorious troops. But they met with a cruel mortification there. The natives, now acquainted to their sorrow with the predominant passion of their invaders, and knowing how to disappoint it, had carried off all those treasures, the prospect of

which had prompted them to undertake this arduous expedition, and had supported them under all the dangers and hardships wherewith they had to struggle in carrying it on.

Benalcazar was not the only Spanish leader who attacked the kingdom of Quito. The fame of its riches attracted a more powerful enemy. Pedro de Alvarado, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the conquest of Mexico, having obtained the government of Guatemala as a recompense for his valor, soon became disgusted with a life of uniform tranquillity, and longed to be again engaged in the bustle of military service. The glory and wealth acquired by the conquerors of Peru heightened this passion, and gave it a determined direction. Believing, or pretending to believe, that the kingdom of Quito did not lie within the limits of the province allotted to Pizarro, he resolved to invade it. The high reputation of the commander allured volunteers from every quarter. He embarked with five hundred men, of whom above two hundred were of such distinction as to serve on horseback. He landed at Puerto Viejo, and without sufficient knowledge of the country, or proper guides to conduct him, attempted to march directly to Quito, by following the course of the river Guyaquil, and crossing the ridge of the Andes towards its head. But in this route, one of the most impracticable in all America, his troops endured such fatigue in forcing their way through forests and marshes on the low grounds, and suffered so much from excessive cold when they be-

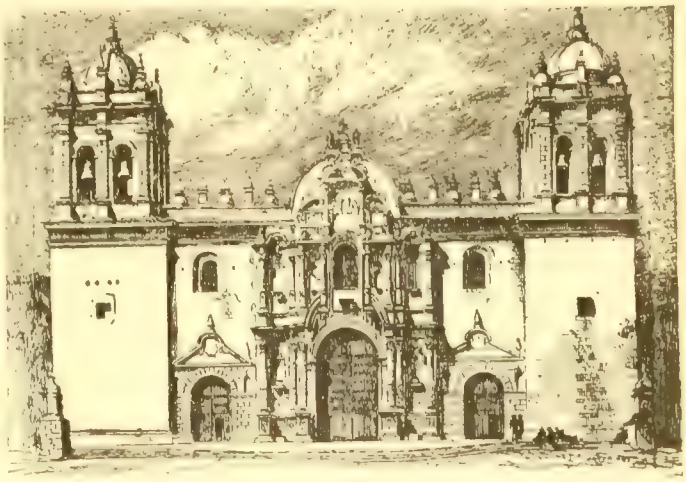


THE EXCESSIVE COLD REIGNING SUPREME IN THE HIGH LATITUDES OF THE ANDES, NEARLY ANNIHILATES ALVARADO'S ARMY.

gan to ascend the mountains, that before they reached the plain of Quito, a fifth part of the men and half their horses died, and the rest were so much dispirited and worn out, as to be almost unfit for service. There they met with a body, not of Indians, but of Spaniards, drawn in hostile array against them. Pizarro having received an account of Alvarado's armament, had detached Almagro with some troops to oppose this formidable invader of his jurisdiction; and these were joined by Benalcazar and his victorious party. Alvarado, though surprised at the sight of enemies whom he did not expect, advanced boldly to the charge. But, by the interposition of some moderate men in each party, an amicable accommodation took place; and the fatal period when Spaniards suspended their conquests to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen, was postponed a few years. Alvarado engaged to return to his government, upon Almagro's paying him a hundred thousand pesos to defray the expense of his armament. Most of his followers remained in the country; and an expedition, which threatened Pizarro and his colony with ruin, contributed to augment its strength.

1534]. By this time Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Spain. The immense quantities of gold and silver which he imported, filled the kingdom with no less astonishment than they had excited in Panama and the adjacent provinces. Pizarro was received by the emperor with the attention due to the bearer of a present so rich, as to exceed any idea which the Spaniards had formed concerning the value of their acquisitions in America, even after they had been ten years masters of Mexico. In recompense of his brother's services, his authority was confirmed with new powers and privileges, and the addition of seventy leagues, extending along the coast, to the southward of the territory granted in his former patent. Almagro received the honors which he had so long desired. The title of Adelantado, or governor, was conferred upon him, with jurisdiction over two hundred leagues of country, stretching beyond the southern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro. Ferdinand himself did not go unrewarded. He was admitted into the military order of St. Jago, a distinction always acceptable to a Spanish gentleman, and soon set out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many persons of higher rank than had yet served in that country.

Some account of his negotiations reached Peru before he arrived there himself. Almagro no sooner learned that he had obtained the royal grant of an independent government, than pretending that Cuzco, the imperial residence of the Incas, lay within its boundaries, he attempted to render himself master of that important station. Juan and Gonzales Pizarro prepared to oppose him. Each of the contending parties was supported by powerful adherents, and the dispute was on the point of being terminated by the sword, when Francis Pizarro arrived in the capital. The reconciliation between him and Almagro had never been cordial. The treachery of Pizarro in engrossing to himself all the honors and emoluments, which ought to have been divided with his associate, was always present in both their thoughts. The former, conscious of his own perfidy, did not expect forgiveness; the latter, feeling that he had been deceived, was impatient to be avenged; and though avarice and ambition had induced them not only to dissemble their sentiments, but even to act in concert while in pursuit of wealth and power, no sooner did they obtain possession of these, than the same passions which had formed this temporary union, gave rise to jealousy and discord. To each of them was attached a small band of interested dependants, who, with the malicious art peculiar to such men, heightened their suspicions, and magnified every appearance of offense. But with all these seeds of enmity in their minds, and thus assiduously cherished, each was so thoroughly acquainted with the abilities and courage of his rival, that they equally dreaded the consequences of an open rupture. The fortunate arrival of Pizrrro at Cuzco, and the address mingled with firmness which he manifested in his expostulations with Almagro and his partisans, averted that evil for the present. A new reconciliation took place; the chief article of which was, that Almagro should attempt the conquest of Chili; and if he did not find in



CATHEDRAL OF CUZCO, PLAZA MAYOR.
(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)

that province an establishment adequate to his merit and expectations, Pizarro, by way of indemnification, should yield up to him a part of Peru. This new agreement, though confirmed [June 12] with the same sacred solemities as their first contract, was observed with as little fidelity.

Soon after he concluded this important transaction, Pizarro marched back to the countries on the seacoast; and as he now enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, undisturbed by any enemy, either Spaniard or Indian, he applied himself with that persevering ardor which distinguishes his character, to introduce a form of regular government into the extensive provinces subject to his authority. Though ill qualified by his education to enter into any disquisition concerning the principles of civil policy, and little accustomed by his former habits of life to attend to its arrangements, his natural sagacity supplied the want both of science and experience. He distributed the country into various districts; he appointed proper magistrates to preside in each; and established regulations concerning the administration of justice, the collection of the royal revenue, the working of the mines, and the treatment of the Indians, extremely simple, but well calculated to promote the public prosperity. But though, for the present, he adapted his plan to the infant state of his colony, his aspiring mind looked forward to its future grandeur. He considered himself as laying the foundation of a great empire, and deliberated long, and with much solicitude, in what place he should fix the seat of government. Cuzco, the imperial city of the Incas, was situated in a corner of the empire, above four hundred miles from the sea, and much further from Quito, a province of whose value he had



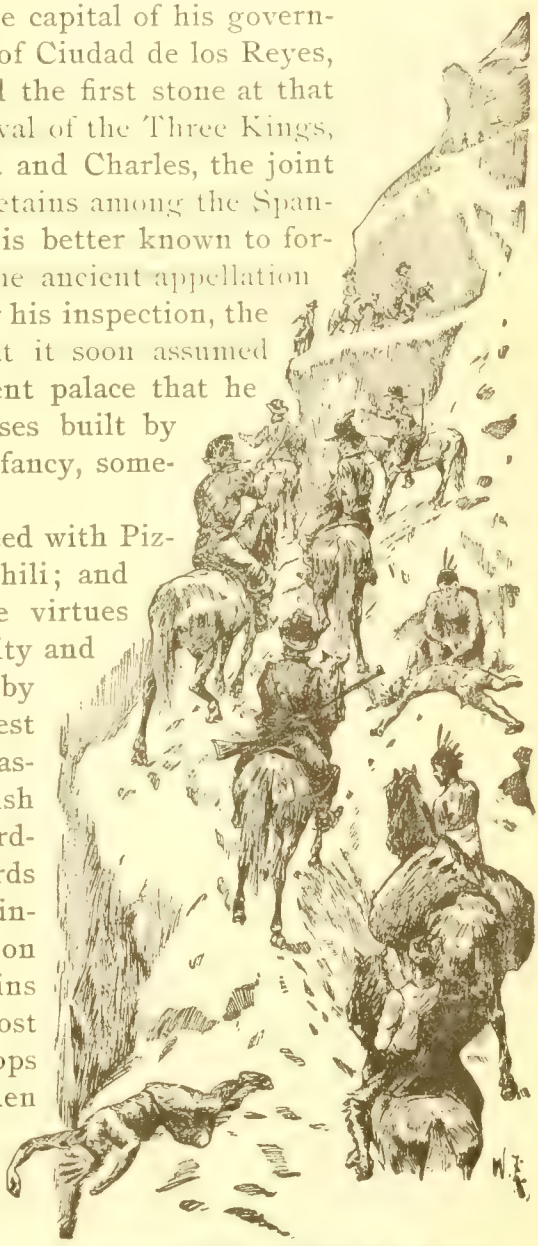
BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER PACHACHACA, MADE OF THE FIBRE OF THE MAGUEY.



THE CATHEDRAL OF LIMA. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)

formed a high idea. No other settlement of the Peruvians was so considerable as to merit the name of a town, or to allure the Spaniards to fix their residence in it. But, in marching through the country, Pizarro had been struck with the beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac, one of the most extensive and best cultivated in Peru. There, on the banks of a small river, of the same name with the vale which it waters and enriches, at the distance of six miles from Callao, the more commodious harbor in the Pacific Ocean, he founded a city which he destined to be the capital of his government [Jan. 18, 1535]. He gave it the name of Ciudad de los Reyes, either from the circumstance of having laid the first stone at that season when the church celebrates the festival of the Three Kings, or, as is most probable, in honor of Juana and Charles, the joint sovereigns of Castile. This name it still retains among the Spaniards, in all legal and formal deeds; but it is better known to foreigners by that of *Lima*, a corruption of the ancient appellation of the valley in which it is situated. Under his inspection, the buildings advanced with such rapidity, that it soon assumed the form of a city, which, by a magnificent palace that he erected for himself, and by the stately houses built by several of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, some indication of its subsequent grandeur.

In consequence of what had been agreed with Pizarro, Almagro began his march towards Chili; and as he possessed in an eminent degree the virtues most admired by soldiers, boundless liberality and fearless courage, his standard was followed by five hundred and seventy men, the greatest body of Europeans that had hitherto been assembled in Peru. From impatience to finish the expedition, or from that contempt of hardship and danger acquired by all the Spaniards who had served long in America, Almagro, instead of advancing along the level country on the coast, chose to march across the mountains by a route that was shorter, indeed, but almost impracticable. In this attempt his troops were exposed to every calamity which men can suffer, from fatigue, from famine, and



ALMAGRO CROSSING THE CORDILLERAS ON HIS MARCH TO CHILI.

from the rigor of the climate in those elevated regions of the torrid zone, where the degree of cold is hardly inferior to what is felt within the polar circle. Many of them perished; and the survivors, when they descended into the fertile plains of Chili, had new difficulties to encounter. They found there a race of men very different from the people of Peru, intrepid, hardy, independent, and in their bodily constitution, as well as vigor of spirit, nearly resembling the warlike tribes of North America. Though filled with wonder at the first appearance of the Spaniards, and still more astonished at the operations of their cavalry and the effects of their firearms, the Chilese soon recovered so far from their surprise, as not only to defend themselves with obstinacy, but to attack their new enemies with more determined fierceness than any American nation had hitherto discovered. The Spaniards, however, continued to penetrate into the country, and collected some considerable quantities of gold; but were so far from thinking of making any settlement amidst such formidable neighbors, that, in spite of all the experience and valor of their leader, the final issue of the expedition still remained extremely dubious, when they were recalled from it by an unexpected revolution in Peru. The causes of this important event I shall endeavor to trace to their source.



ARAUCANIANS; ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF CHILI.

So many adventurers had flocked to Peru from every Spanish colony in America, and all with such high expectations of accumulating independent fortunes at once, that, to men possessed with notions so extravagant, any mention of acquiring wealth gradually, and by schemes of patient industry, would have been not only a disappointment, but an insult. In order to find occupation for men who could not with safety be allowed to remain inactive, Pizarro encouraged some of the most distinguished officers who had lately joined him, to invade different provinces of the empire, which the Spaniards had not hitherto visited. Several large bodies were formed for this purpose; and about the time that Almagro set out for Chili, they marched into remote districts of the country. No sooner did Manco Capac, the Inca, observe the inconsiderate security of the Spaniards in thus dispersing their troops, and

that only a handful of soldiers remained at Cuzco, under Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro, than he thought that the happy period was at length come for vindicating his own rights, for avenging the wrongs of his country, and extirpating its oppressors. Though strictly watched by the Spaniards, who allowed him to reside in the palace of his ancestors at Cuzco, he found means of communicating his scheme to the persons who were to be intrusted with the execution of it. Among people accustomed to revere their sovereign as a divinity, every hint of his will carries the authority of a command; and they themselves were now convinced, by the daily increase in the number of their invaders, that the fond hopes which they had long entertained of their voluntary departure were altogether vain. All perceived that a vigorous effort of the whole nation was requisite to expel them, and the preparations for it were carried on with the secrecy and silence peculiar to Americans.

After some unsuccessful attempts of the Inca to make his escape, Ferdinand Pizarro happening to arrive at that time in Cuzco [1536], he obtained permission from him to attend a great festival which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. Under pretext of that solemnity, the great men of the empire were assembled. As soon as the Inca joined them, the standard of war was erected; and in a short time all the fighting men, from the confines of Quito to the frontier of Chili, were in arms. Many Spaniards, living securely on the settlements allotted them, were massacred. Several detachments, as they marched carelessly through a country which seemed to be tamely submissive to their dominion, were cut off to a man. An army amounting (if we may believe the Spanish writers) to two hundred thousand men, attacked Cuzco, which the three brothers endeavored to defend with only one hundred and seventy Spaniards. Another formidable body invested Lima, and kept the governor closely shut up. There was no longer any communication between the two cities; the numerous forces of the Peruvians spreading over the country, intercepted every messenger; and as the parties in Cuzco and Lima were equally unacquainted with the fate of their countrymen, each boded the worst concerning the other, and imagined that they themselves were the only persons who had survived the general extinction of the Spanish name in Peru.

It was at Cuzco, where the Inca commanded in person, that the Peruvians made their chief efforts. During nine months they carried on the siege with incessant ardor, and in various forms; and though they displayed not the same undaunted ferocity as the Mexican warriors, they conducted some of their operations in a manner which discovered greater sagacity, and a genius more susceptible of improvement in the military art. They not only observed the advantages which the Spaniards derived from their discipline and their weapons, but they endeavored to imitate the former, and turned the latter against them. They armed a considerable body of their bravest warriors with the swords, the spears, and bucklers, which they had taken from the Spanish soldiers whom they had cut off in different parts of the country. These they endeavored to marshal in that regular compact order, to which experience had taught them that the Spaniards were indebted for their irresistible force in action. Some appeared in the field with Spanish muskets, and had acquired skill and resolution enough to use them. A few of the boldest, among whom was the Inca himself, were mounted on the horses which they had taken, and advanced briskly to the charge like Spanish cavaliers, with their lances in rest. It was more by their numbers, however, than by those imperfect essays to imitate European arts and to employ European arms, that the Peruvians annoyed the Spaniards. In spite of the valor, heightened by despair, with which the three brothers defended Cuzco, Manco Capac recovered possession of one-half of his capital, besides holding the citadel or fortress of Sacsahuaman; and in their various efforts to drive him out of the latter, the Spaniards lost Juan Pizarro, the best beloved of all the brothers, together with some other persons of note. Worn out with the fatigue of incessant duty, distressed with the want of provisions, and despairing of being able any longer to resist an enemy whose numbers daily increased, the soldiers became impatient to



THE ASSAULT UPON THE INCA FORTRESS OF SACSAHUAMAN BY THE SPANIARDS.



MANCO CAPAC LAYS SIEGE TO THE CITY OF CUZCO.

A FEW OF THE BOLDEST, AMONG WHOM IS THE INCA, ARE MOUNTED ON HORSES, AND ADVA ISKLY TO THE CHARGE, LIKE SPANISH CAVALIERS.

PAINTING BY O. GRABFF.

abandon Cuzco, in hopes either of joining their countrymen, if any of them yet survived, or of forcing their way to the sea, and finding some means of escaping from a country which had been so fatal to the Spanish name. While they were brooding over those desponding thoughts, which their officers labored in vain to dispel, Almagro appeared suddenly in the neighborhood of Cuzco.

The accounts transmitted to Almagro concerning the general insurrection of the Peruvians, were such as would have induced him, without hesitation, to relinquish the conquest of Chili, and hasten to the aid of his countrymen. But in this resolution he was confirmed by a motive less generous, but more interesting. By the same messenger who brought him intelligence of the Inca's revolt, he received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his jurisdiction. Upon considering the tenor of it, he deemed it manifest beyond contradiction, that Cuzco lay within the boundaries of his government, and he was equally solicitous to prevent the Peruvians from recovering possession of their capital, and to wrest it out of the hands of the Pizarros. From impatience to accomplish both, he ventured to return by a new route; and in marching through the sandy plains on the coast, he suffered from heat and drought, calamities of a new species hardly inferior to those in which he had been involved by cold and famine on the summits of the Andes.



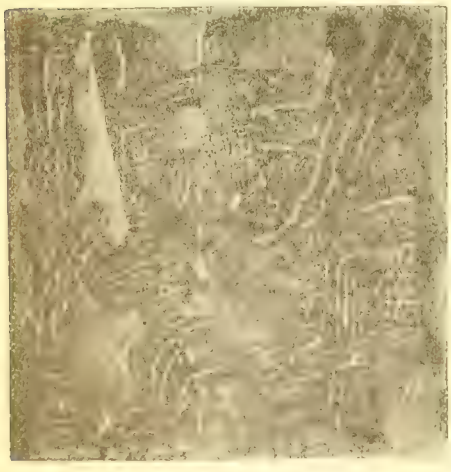
(CHURCH OF THE SUN AT CUZCO. — FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)

1537.] His arrival at Cuzco was at a critical moment. The Spaniards and Peruvians fixed their eyes upon him with equal solicitude. The former, as he did not study to conceal his pretensions, were at a loss whether to welcome him as a deliverer, or to take precautions against him as an enemy. The latter, knowing the points in contest between him and his countrymen, flattered themselves that they had more to hope than to dread from his operations. Almagro himself, unacquainted with the detail of the events which had hap-

pened in his absence, and solicitous to learn the precise posture of affairs, advanced toward the capital slowly, and with great circumspection. Various negotiations with both parties were set on foot. The Inca conducted them on his part with much address. At first he endeavored to gain the friendship of Almagro; and after many fruitless overtures, despairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, he attacked him by surprise with a numerous body of chosen troops. But the Spanish discipline and valor maintained their wonted superiority. The Peruvians were repulsed with such slaughter, that a great part of their army dispersed, and Almagro proceeded to the gates of Cuzco without interruption.



SCULPTURE FROM THE INCA GATE AT CUZCO.



SCULPTURE FROM THE INCA GATE AT CUZCO.

The Pizarros, as they had no longer to make head against the Peruvians, directed all their attention towards their new enemy, and took measures to obstruct his entry into the capital. Prudence, however, restrained both parties for some time from turning their arms against one another, while surrounded by common enemies, who would rejoice in the mutual slaughter. Different schemes of accommodation were proposed. Each endeavored to deceive the other, or to corrupt his followers. The generous, open, affable temper of Almagro gained many adherents of the Pizarros, who were disgusted with their harsh, domineering manners. Encouraged by this defection, he advanced towards the city by night, surprised the sentinels or was admitted by them, and, investing the house where the two brothers resided, compelled them, after an obstinate defense, to surrender at discretion. Almagro's claim of jurisdiction over Cuzco was universally acknowledged, and a form of administration established in his name.

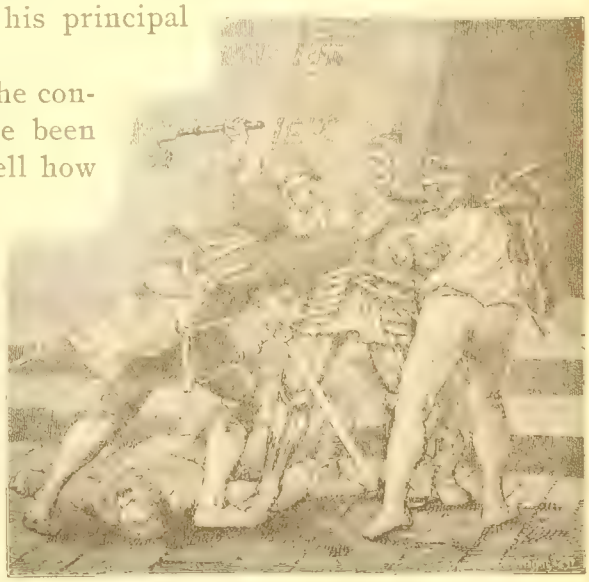
Two or three persons only were killed in this first act of civil hostility; but it was soon followed by scenes more bloody. Francisco Pizarro having dispersed the Peruvians who had invested

Lima, and received some considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonzo de Alvarado, to march to Cuzco, in hopes of relieving his brothers, if they and their garrison were not already cut off by the Peruvians. This body, which, at that period of the Spanish power in America, must be deemed a considerable force, advanced near to the capital before they knew that they had any enemy more formidable than Indians to encounter. It was with astonishment that they beheld their countrymen posted on the banks of the river Abancay to oppose their progress. Almagro, however, wished rather to gain than to conquer them, and by bribes and promises endeavored to seduce their leader. The fidelity of Alvarado remained unshaken; but his talents for war were not equal to his virtue. Almagro amused him with various movements, of which he did not comprehend the meaning, while a large detachment of chosen soldiers passed the river by night [July 12], fell upon his camp by surprise, broke his troops before they had time to form, and took him prisoner, together with his principal officers.



ALONZO DE ALVARADO, AT THE HEAD OF FIVE HUNDRED MEN, CROSSING A PONTOON BRIDGE

By the sudden rout of this body, the contest between the two rivals must have been decided, if Almagro had known as well how to improve as how to gain a victory. Rodrigo Orgoñez, an officer of great abilities, who having served under the Constable Bourbon, when he led the imperial army to Rome, had been accustomed to bold and decisive measures, advised him instantly to issue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro, Alvarado,



ALVARADO TAKEN PRISONER BY THE TROOPS OF ALMAGRO.

and a few other persons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly with his victorious troops to Lima, before the governor had time to prepare for his defense. But Almagro, though he discerned at once the utility of the counsel, and though he had courage to have carried it into execution, suffered himself to be influenced by sentiments unlike those of a soldier of fortune grown old in service, and by scruples which suited not the chief of a party who had drawn his sword in civil war. Feelings of humanity restrained him from shedding the blood of his opponents; and the dread of being deemed a rebel, deterred him from entering a province which the King had allotted to another. Though he knew that arms must terminate the dispute between him and Pizarro, and resolved not to shun that mode of decision; yet, with a timid delicacy, preposterous at such a juncture, he was so solicitous that his rival should be considered as the aggressor, that he marched quietly back to Cuzco, to wait his approach.



ERYTHROXYLON COCA, OR PRESCOTT'S ERYTHROXYLUM PERUVIANUM; THE CUCA OF THE NATIVES.

It is valued for its stimulating narcotic properties, which it is said to possess in a greater degree than opium, tobacco, or any other vegetable production. The leaves are gathered and dried in the sun, and are chewed, mixed with quicklime, which the Peruvians affirm renders its flavor sensible to the taste. The practice of chewing the leaf is attended with the most pernicious consequences, producing an intoxication like opium. Under the Inca reign it is said to have been exclusively reserved for the nobles. With a handful of roasted corn (maize) and a small supply of coca, the Indian of our day performs his wearisome journeys, day after day, without fatigue, or at least without complaint.



OLD PERUVIAN SCULPTURE.
HEAD OF A MAN, EATING A BALL OF COCA.
GRAY GRANITE. FOUND AT CABANA

CHAPTER LXIX.

FRANCISCO PIZARRO PREPARES FOR WAR. HIS MARCH TO CUZCO. DEFEAT AND EXECUTION OF ALMAGRO. VACA DE CASTRO APPOINTED GOVERNOR. REMARKABLE EXPEDITION OF GONZALO PIZARRO AND ORELLANA

PIZARRO was still unacquainted with all the interesting events which had happened near Cuzco. Accounts of Almagro's return, of the loss of the capital, of the death of one brother, of the imprisonment of the other two, and of the defeat of Alvarado, were brought to him at once. Such a tide of misfortunes almost overwhelmed a spirit which had continued firm and erect under the rudest shocks of adversity. But the necessity of attending to his own safety, as well as the desire of revenge, preserved him from sinking under it. He took measures for both with his wonted sagacity. As he had the command of the sea-coast, and expected considerable supplies both of men and military stores, it was no less his interest to gain time, and to avoid an action, than it was that of Almagro to precipitate operations, and bring the contest to a speedy issue. He had recourse to arts which he had formerly practiced with success; and Almagro was again weak enough to suffer himself to be amused with a prospect of terminating their differences by some amicable accommodation. By varying his overtures, and shifting his ground as often as it suited his purpose, sometimes seeming to yield to every thing which his rival could desire, and then retracting all that he had granted, Pizarro dexterously protracted the negotiation to such a length, that, though every day was pre-

cious to Almagro, several months elapsed without coming to any final agreement. While the attention of Almagro, and of the officers with whom he consulted, was occupied in detecting and eluding the fraudulent intentions of the governor, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to corrupt the soldiers to whose custody they were committed, and not only made their escape themselves, but persuaded sixty of the men who formerly guarded them to accompany their flight. Fortune having thus delivered one of his brothers, the governor scrupled not at one act of perfidy more to procure the release of the other. He proposed that every point in controversy between Almagro and himself should be submitted to the decision of their sovereign; that until his award was known, each should retain undisturbed possession of whatever part of the country he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro should be set at liberty, and return instantly to Spain, together with the officers whom Almagro purposed to send thither to represent the justice of his claims. Obvious as the design of Pizarro was in those propositions, and familiar as his artifices might now have been to his opponent, Almagro, with a credulity approaching to infatuation, relied on his sincerity, and concluded an agreement on these terms.

The moment that Ferdinand Pizarro recovered his liberty, the governor, no longer fettered in his operations by anxiety about his brother's life, threw off every disguise which his concern for it had obliged him to assume. The treaty was forgotten, pacific and conciliating measures were no more mentioned; it was in the field, he openly declared, and not in the cabinet; by arms, and not by negotiation, —that it must now be determined who should be master of Peru. The rapidity of his preparations suited such a decisive resolution. Seven hundred men were soon ready to march towards Cuzco. The command of these was given to his two brothers, in whom he could perfectly confide for the execution of his most violent schemes, as they were urged on, not only by the enmity flowing from the rivalship between their family and Almagro, but animated with the desire of vengeance, excited by recollection of their own recent disgrace and sufferings. After an unsuccessful attempt to cross the mountains in the direct road between Lima and Cuzco, they marched towards the south along the coast as far as Nasca, and then turning to the left, penetrated through the defiles in that

branch of the Andes which lay between them and the capital. Almagro, instead of hearkening to some of his officers, who advised him to attempt the defense of those difficult passes, waited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco. Two reasons seem to have induced him to take this resolution. His followers amounted hardly to five hundred, and he was afraid of weakening such a feeble body by sending any detachment towards the mountains. His cavalry far exceeded that of the adverse party, both in number and discipline, and it was only in an open country that he could avail himself of that advantage.

The Pizarros advanced without any obstruction, but what arose from the nature of the desert and horrid regions through which they marched. As soon as they reached the plain, both factions were equally impatient to bring this long-protracted contest to an issue. Though countrymen and friends, the subjects of the same sovereign, and each with the royal standard displayed; and though they beheld the mountains that surrounded the plain in which they were drawn up, covered with a vast multitude of Indians assembled to enjoy the spectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack whatever party remained master of the field; so fell and implacable was the rancor which had taken possession of every breast, that not one pacific counsel, not a single overture towards accommodation proceeded from either side. Unfortunately for Almagro, he was so worn out with the fatigues of service, to which his advanced age was unequal, that, at this crisis of his fate, he could not exert his wonted activity, and he was obliged to commit the leading of his troops to Orgoñez, who, though an officer of great merit, did not possess the same ascendant, either over the spirit or affections of the soldiers, as the chief whom they had long been accustomed to follow and revere.

The conflict was fierce, and maintained by each party with equal courage [April 26]. On the side of Almagro, were more veteran soldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry; but these were counterbalanced by Pizarro's superiority in numbers, and by two companies of well-disciplined musketeers, which, on receiving an account of the insurrection of the Indians, the emperor had sent from Spain. As the use of firearms was not frequent among the adventurers in America, hastily equipped for service, at their own expense, this small band of soldiers, regularly trained and armed,

was a novelty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, the weight of a heavy and well-sustained fire bore down horse and foot before it; and Orgoñez, while he endeavored to rally and animate his troops, having received a dangerous wound, the rout became general. The barbarity of the conquerors stained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on some to slaughter their countrymen with indiscriminate cruelty; the meanness of private revenge instigated others to single out individuals as the objects of their vengeance. Orgoñez and several officers of distinction were massacred in cold blood; above a hundred and forty soldiers fell in the field; a large proportion, where the number of combatants was few, and the heat of the contest soon over. Almagro, though so feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horse, had insisted on being carried in a litter to an eminence which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmost agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and, at last, beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the passionate indignation of a veteran leader long accustomed to victory. He endeavored to save himself by flight, but was taken prisoner, and guarded with the strictest vigilance.



PIZARRO'S WELL-DISCIPLINED BATTALIONS ACHIEVE A DECISIVE VICTORY OVER THE VETERANS OF ALMAGRO.

The Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the history of the New World, there is not a more striking instance of the wonderful ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that, after seeing one of the contending parties ruined and dispersed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not the courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune

presented an opportunity of attacking them with such advantage.

Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a considerable booty, consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Peru and Chili. But so far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the high ideas of the recompense which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, had recourse to the same expedient which his brother had employed on a similar occasion, and endeavored to find occupation for this turbulent assuming spirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his most active officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. To every standard erected by the leaders who undertook any of those new expeditions, volunteers resorted with the ardor and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them, and thus Pizarro had the satisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies.

Almagro himself remained for several months in custody, under all the anguish of suspense. For although his doom was determined by the Pizarros from the moment that he fell into their hands, prudence constrained them to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the soldiers who had served under him, as well as several of their own followers, in whom they could not perfectly confide, had left Cuzco. As soon as they set out upon their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treason, formally tried, and condemned to die. The sentence astonished him; and though he had often braved death with undaunted spirit in the field, its approach under this ignominious form appalled him so much, that he had recourse to abject supplications unworthy of his former fame. He besought the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendship between their brother and him, and how much



ALMAGRO APPALLED WHEN HEARING SENTENCE OF DEATH PRONOUNCED AGAINST HIM.

he had contributed to the prosperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with which, in opposition to the repeated remonstrances of his own most attached friends, he had spared their lives when he had them in his power; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to suffer him to pass the wretched remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with Heaven. The entreaties, says a Spanish historian, of a man so much beloved, touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a stern eye. But the brothers remained inflexible. As soon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was strangled in prison, and afterwards publicly beheaded. He suffered in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and left one son by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though at that time a prisoner in Lima, he named as successor to his government, pursuant to a power which the emperor had granted him.

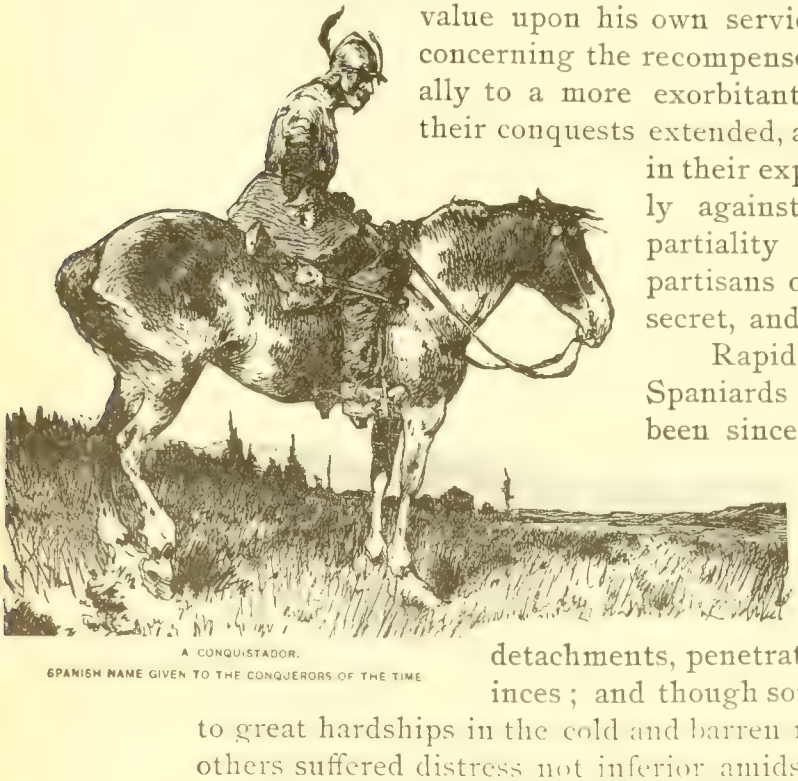
1539.] As, during the civil dissensions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended, the detail of the extraordinary transactions there did not soon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the first intelligence was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country upon the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened, with every circumstance, unfavorable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party-hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendor, endeavored to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissensions. It was obvious, that while the leaders, intrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy, in destroying one another, all attention to the public good must cease, and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the disunion of the Spaniards presented to them, and extirpate both the victors and vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy.

Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the situation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Nothing, therefore, remained, but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and inquiring upon the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorized to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man selected for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmness, justified the choice. His instructions, though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offense to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro were dead, he was intrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power than from any approbation of his measures; for, at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to a prison, where he remained above twenty years.

1540]. While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, considering himself, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candor of a judge attentive to discover and to reward

merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party-leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents, and favorites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were assigned. The followers of Almagro, among whom were many of the original adventurers, to whose valor and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion in those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, and the idea of each concerning the recompense due to them rose gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conquests extended, all who were disappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.



A CONQUISTADOR.
SPANISH NAME GIVEN TO THE CONQUERORS OF THE TIME

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces; and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which not only extended their knowledge of the country, but added considerably to the territories of Spain in the New World. Pedro de Valdivia resumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion in that province. But of all the enterprises undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the most

remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, near one-half of whom were horsemen; with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excessive cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants. The Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men; but when they descended into the low country, their distress increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes. The immense plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the New World, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seem more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labor, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provisions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty soldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana,



ABORIGINES FROM THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE RIVER NAPO.

the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far ahead of their countrymen, who followed slowly and with difficulty by land.

At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent; and transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Maragnon until it joined the ocean, and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-soldiers in a pathless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark; his crime is, in some measure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskillful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the south, until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents upon both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks; and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses, which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean, where new perils awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safely to the Spanish settlement in the Island of Cubagua; from thence he sailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvelous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have



INDIAN HUT ON THE AMAZON RIVER.
(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

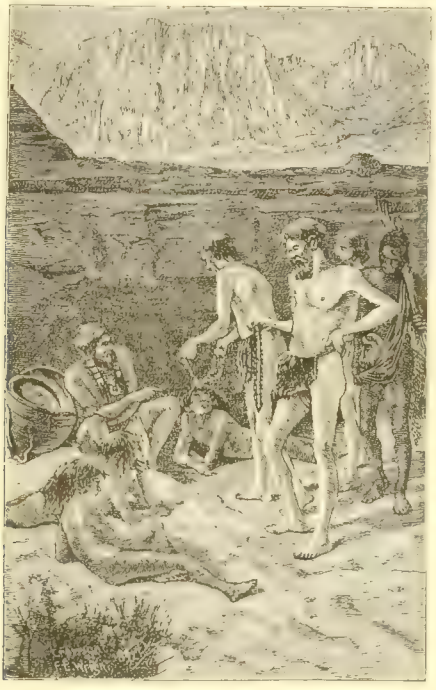
discovered nations so rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of *El Dorado*, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the world; and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly, and with difficulty, that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event which led to any certain knowledge of the extensive countries that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had intrusted with such an important command, could be so base and unfeeling as to desert him at such a juncture. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions [1541]. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest-hearted veteran sunk within him, and all demanded to be led back instantly. Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those which they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then

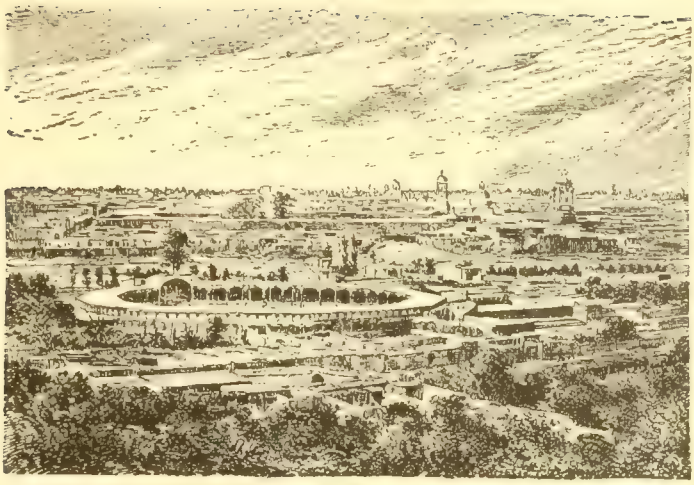


TOUCANS.

soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and sword-belts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, perished in this wild, disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only fourscore got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.



GONZALO PIZARRO'S DISASTROUS EXPEDITION IN QUEST OF THE "EL DORADO."



GENERAL VIEW OF LIMA, WITH THE "PLAZA DE HACHO" BULL RING, IN THE FOREGROUND.
FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH.

CHAPTER LXX.

DEATH OF FRANCISCO PIZARRO. ARRIVAL OF VACA DE CASTRO. LAS CASAS MOVES THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. TO CONSIDER THE WELFARE OF HIS INDIAN SUBJECTS.

BUT, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests which had been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all

martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and, looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake anything for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessaries, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty seemed to render their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," said he carelessly, "about my life; it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbor a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations, with all the zeal which this connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On Sunday, the twenty-sixth of June, at mid-day, the season of tranquillity and repose in all sultry climates, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house in complete armour; and, drawing their swords, as they advanced hastily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant die!" Their associates, warned of their motions by a signal, were in arms at different stations ready to support them. Though Pizarro was usually sur-

rounded by such a numerous train of attendants as suited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived; yet as he was just risen from table, and most of his domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of the staircase, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his master, who was conversing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whose steady mind no form of danger could appal, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francisco de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer, who did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the staircase, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant, and whither they were going? Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. Some of the persons who were there threw themselves from the windows; others attempted to fly; and a few drawing their swords, followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conspirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buck-



THE MURDER OF PIZARRO

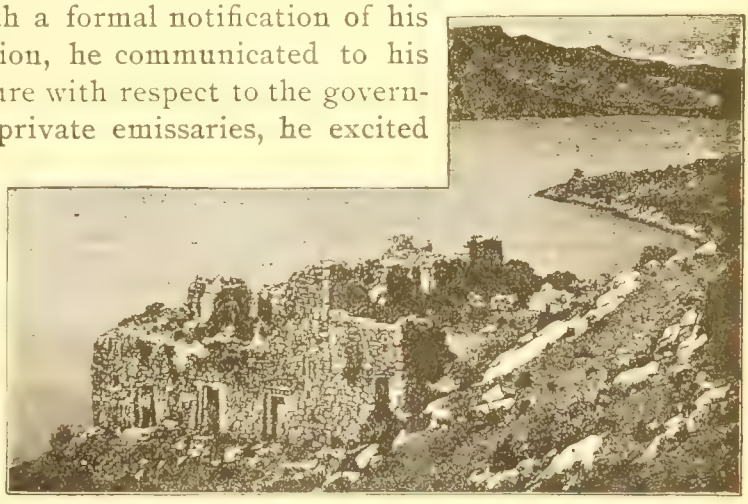
ler, defended the entry; and, supported by his half-brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal contest with intrepidity worthy of his past exploits, and with the vigor of a youthful combatant. "Courage," cries he, "companions! we are yet enough to make those traitors repent of their audacity." But the armor of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defenders were mortally wounded. The governor, so weary that he could hardly wield his sword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust full in his throat, and sunk to the ground. "Jesu," exclaimed the dying man, and, tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, he bent down his head to kiss it, when a stroke more friendly than the rest put an end to his existence.

As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran out into the streets, and, waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city, and assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents, were pillaged by the soldiers, who had the satisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of those through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had passed.

The boldness and success of the conspiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many soldiers to his standard. Every adventurer of desperate fortune, all who were dissatisfied with Pizarro, and, from the rapaciousness of his government in the latter years of his life, the number of malcontents was considerable, declared without hesitation in favor of Almagro, and he was soon at the head of eight hundred of the most gallant veterans in Peru. As his youth and inexperience disqualified him from taking the command of them himself, he appointed Herrada to act as general. But though Almagro speedily collected such a respectable force, the acquiescence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous assassination of a man to whom his country was so highly indebted, filled every impartial person with horror.

The ignominious birth of Almagro, as well as the doubtful title on which he founded his pretensions, led others to consider him as a usurper. The officers who commanded in some provinces refused to recognize his authority until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal standard was erected, and preparations were begun in order to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

Those seeds of discord, which could not have lain long dormant, acquired great vigor and activity when the arrival of Vaca de Castro was known. After a long and disastrous voyage, he was driven by stress of weather into a small harbor in the province of Popayan; and proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no less tedious than difficult, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He immediately produced the royal commission appointing him governor of Peru, with the same privileges and authority; and his jurisdiction was acknowledged without hesitation by Benalcazar, Adelantado or lieutenant-general for the emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro, had the command of the troops left in Quito. Vaca de Castro not only assumed the supreme authority, but showed that he possessed the talents which the exercise of it, at that juncture, required. By his influence and address he soon assembled such a body of troops, as not only to set him above all fear of being exposed to any insult from the adverse party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity which became his character. By despatching persons of confidence to the different settlements in Peru with a formal notification of his arrival and of his commission, he communicated to his countrymen the royal pleasure with respect to the government of the country. By private emissaries, he excited such officers as had discovered their disapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifest their duty to their sovereign by supporting the person honored with his commission. Those measures were pro-



THE RUINS OF THE INCA PALACE IN LAKE TITICACA.

ductive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldness; the timid ventured to declare their sentiments; the neutral and wavering, finding it necessary to choose a side, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the safest as well as the most just.

Almagro observed the rapid progress of this spirit of disaffection to his cause; and in order to give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Castro, he set out at the head of his troops for Cuzco [1542], where the most considerable body of opponents had erected the royal standard, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Holguin. During his march thither, Herrada, the skillful guide of his youth and of his counsels, died; and from that time his measures were conspicuous for their violence, but concerted with little sagacity, and executed with no address. Holguin, who, with forces far inferior to those of the opposite party, was descending towards the coast at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cuzco, deceived his inexperienced adversary by a very simple stratagem, avoided an engagement, and effected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the first to declare against Almagro as a usurper.

Soon after, Vaca de Castro entered their camp with the troops which he brought from Quito; and erecting the royal standard before his own tent, he declared that, as governor, he would discharge in person all the functions of general of their combined forces. Though formed by the tenor of his past life to the habits of a sedentary and pacific profession, he at once assumed the activity and discovered the decision of an officer long accustomed to command. Knowing his strength to be now far superior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to terminate the contest by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining a pardon for a crime so atrocious as the murder of the



ARTILLERY IN THE EARLY PART OF THE XV. CENTURY.

governor, decline that mode of decision. They met at Chupaz [Sept. 16], about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and fought with all the fierce animosity inspired by the violence of civil rage, the rancor of private enmity, the eagerness of revenge, and the last efforts of despair. Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at last for Vaca de Castro. The superior number of his troops, his own intrepidity, and the martial talents of Francisco de Carvajal, a veteran officer formed under the great captain in the wars of Italy, and who, on that day, laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by young Almagro with a gallant spirit worthy of a better cause, and deserving another fate. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants. Many of the vanquished, especially such as were conscious that they might be charged with being accessory to the assassination of Pizarro, rushing on the swords of the enemy, chose to fall like soldiers rather than wait an ignominious doom. Of fourteen hundred men, the total number of combatants on both sides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was still greater.

If the military talents displayed by Vaca de Castro, both in the council and in the field, surprised the adventurers in Peru, they were still more astonished at his conduct after the victory. As he was by nature a rigid dispenser of justice, and persuaded that it required examples of extraordinary severity to restrain the licentious spirit of soldiers so far removed from the seat of government, he proceeded directly to try his prisoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to suffer the death of traitors, others were banished from Peru. Their leader, who made his escape from the battle, being betrayed by some of his officers, was publicly beheaded in Cuzco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the spirit of the party, was extinct.

During those violent convulsions in Peru, the emperor and his ministers were intently employed in preparing regulations, by which they hoped, not only to re-establish tranquillity there, but to introduce a



EXECUTION OF DIEGO ALMAGRO, THE YOUNGER, AT CUZCO, BY ORDER OF VACA DE CASTRO.

more perfect system of internal policy into all their settlements in the New World. It is manifest from all the events recorded in the history of America, that, rapid and extensive as the Spanish conquests there had been, they were not carried on by any regular exertion of the national force, but by the occasional efforts of private adventurers. After fitting out a few of the first armaments for discovering new regions, the court of Spain, during the busy reigns of Ferdinand and of Charles V., the former the most intriguing prince of the age, and the latter the most ambitious, was encumbered with such a multiplicity of schemes, and involved in war with so many nations of Europe, that it had not leisure to attend to distant and less interesting objects. The care of prosecuting discovery, or of attempting conquest, was abandoned to individuals; and with such ardor did men push forward in this new career, on which novelty, the spirit of adventure, avarice, ambition, and the hope of meriting heaven, prompted them with combined influence to enter, that in less than half a century almost the whole of that extensive empire which Spain possessed in the New World was subjected to its dominion. As the Spanish court contributed nothing towards the various expeditions undertaken in America, it was not entitled to claim much from their success. The sovereignty of the conquered provinces, with the fifth of the gold and silver, was reserved for the crown; every thing else was seized by the associates in each expedition as their own right. The plunder of the countries which they invaded served to indemnify them for what they had expended in equipping themselves for the service, and the conquered territory was divided among them, according to rules which custom had introduced, as permanent establishments which their successful valor merited. In the infancy of those settlements, when their extent as well as their value was unknown, many irregularities escaped observation, and it was found necessary to connive at many excesses. The conquered people were frequently pillaged with destructive rapacity, and their country parceled out among its new masters in exorbitant shares, far exceeding the highest recompense due to their services. The rude conquerors of America, incapable of forming their establishments upon any general or extensive plan of policy, attentive only to private interest, unwilling to forego present gain from the prospect of remote or public ben-

efit, seem to have had no object but to amass sudden wealth, without regarding what might be the consequences of the means by which they acquired it. But when time at length discovered to the Spanish court the importance of its American possessions, the necessity of new-modeling their whole frame became obvious, and in place of the maxims and practices prevalent among military adventurers, it was found requisite to substitute the institutions of regular government.

One evil in particular called for an immediate remedy. The conquerors of Mexico and Peru imitated the fatal example of their countrymen settled in the islands, and employed themselves in searching for gold and silver with the same inconsiderate eagerness. Similar effects followed. The natives employed in this labor by masters, who in imposing tasks had no regard either to what they felt or to what they were able to perform, pined away and perished so fast, that there was reason to apprehend that Spain, instead of possessing countries peopled to such a degree as to be susceptible of progressive improvement, would soon remain proprietor only of a vast, uninhabited desert.

The emperor and his ministers were so sensible of this, and so solicitous to prevent the extinction of the Indian race, which threatened to render their acquisitions of no value, that, from time to time, various laws, which I have mentioned, had been made for securing to that unhappy people more gentle and equitable treatment. But the distance of America from the seat of empire, the feebleness of government in the new colonies, the avarice and audacity of soldiers unaccustomed to restraint, prevented these salutary regulations from operating with any considerable influence. The evil continued to grow, and, at this time the emperor found an interval of leisure from the affairs of Europe to take it into attentive consideration. He consulted not only with his ministers and the members of the council of the Indies, but called upon several persons who had resided long in the New World to aid them with the result of their experience and observation. Fortunately for the people of America, among these was Bartholomew de las Casas, who happened then to be at Madrid on a mission from a chapter of his order at Chiapa. Though, since the miscarriage of his former schemes for the relief of the Indians, he had continued shut up in his cloister, or occupied in religious functions, his zeal in behalf of the former objects

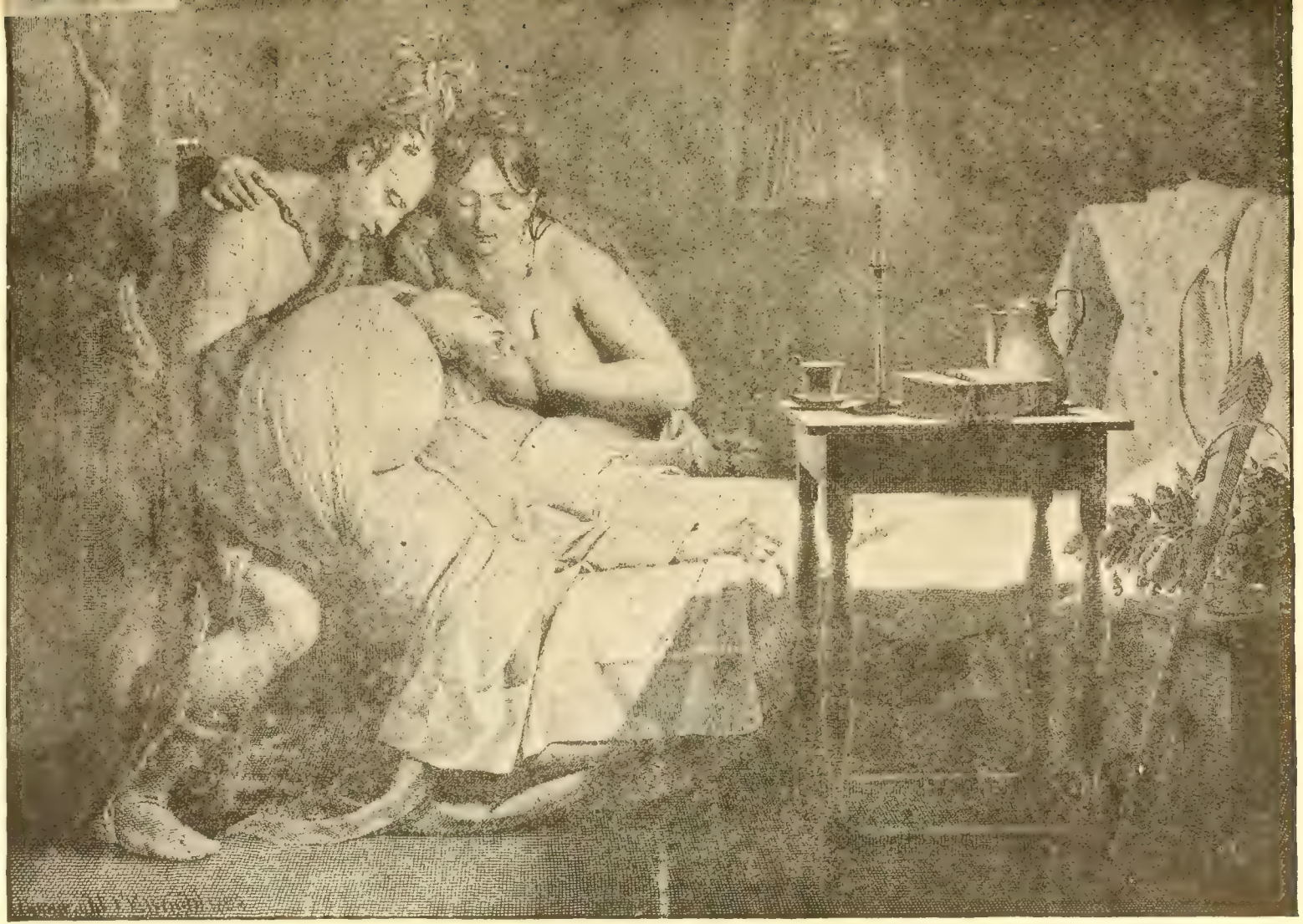
of his pity was so far from abating, that, from an increased knowledge of their sufferings, its ardor had augmented. He seized eagerly this opportunity of reviving his favorite maxims concerning the treatment of the Indians. With the moving eloquence natural to a man on whose mind the scenes which he had beheld had made a deep impression, he described the irreparable waste of the human species in the New World, the Indian race almost totally swept away in the islands in less than fifty years, and hastening to extinction on the continent with the same rapid decay. With the decisive tone of one strongly prepossessed with the truth of his own system, he imputed all this to a single cause, to the exactions and cruelty of his countrymen, and contended that nothing could prevent the depopulation of America, but the declaring of its natives to be freemen, and treating them as subjects, not as slaves. Nor did he confide for the success of this proposal in the powers of his oratory alone. In order to enforce them, he composed his famous treatise concerning the destruction of America, in which he relates, with many horrid circumstances, but with apparent marks of exaggerated description, the devastation of every province which had been visited by the Spaniards.



MONUMENT OF LAS CASAS, THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS.

MARBLE STATUE IN MADRID. D. ANTONIO MOLTO Y SUCH.

The emperor was deeply afflicted with the recital of so many actions shocking to humanity. But as his views extended far beyond those of Las Casas, he perceived that relieving the Indians from oppression was but one step towards rendering his possessions in the New World a valuable acquisition, and would be of little



THE SICKNESS OF LAS CASAS.

THE GREAT LAS CASAS, WORN OUT BY INCESSANT LABOR AND TOIL, SINKS UNTO A BED OF PAIN. HE GROWS DAILY WEAKER, AND IS AT LAST UNABLE TO TAKE NOURISHMENT. DESPAIRING OF HIS LIFE, HIS ANXIOUS INDIAN FRIENDS BRING IN THE MOTHERS OF THEIR BABES, AND ATTEMPT TO ADMINISTER SUSTENANCE TO HIM.

EPISODE FROM HIS NOBLE LIFE: MARMONTEL "LES INCAS."

avail, unless he could circumscribe the power and usurpations of his own subjects there. The conquerors of America, however great their merit had been towards their country, were mostly persons of such mean birth, and of such an abject rank in society, as gave no distinction in the eye of a monarch. The exorbitant wealth with which some of them returned, gave umbrage to an age not accustomed to see men in inferior condition elevated above their level, and rising to emulate or to surpass the ancient nobility in splendor. The territories which their leaders had appropriated to themselves were of such enormous extent, that, if the country should ever be improved in proportion to the fertility of the soil, they must grow too wealthy and too powerful for subjects. It appeared to Charles that this abuse required a remedy no less than the other, and that the regulations concerning both must be enforced by a mode of government more vigorous than had yet been introduced into America.



LAS CASAS.

The editor of this book cannot forego the opportunity offered him here to quote the words of just tribute paid to Las Casas by that masterhand, John Fiske, in his work, "The Discovery of America," vol. 2, page 482. "In contemplating such a life as that of Las Casas, all words of eulogy seem weak and trivious. The historian can only bow in reverent awe before a figure which is in some respects the most beautiful and sublime in the annals of Christianity since the apostolic age. When now and then in the course of the centuries God's providence brings such a life into this world, the memory of it must be cherished by mankind as one of its most precious and sacred possessions. For the thoughts, the words, the deeds of such a man, there is no death. The sphere of their influence goes on widening forever. They bud, they blossom, they bear fruit, from age to age."

With this view he framed a body of laws, containing many salutary appointments with respect to the constitution and powers of the supreme council of the Indies; concerning the station and jurisdiction of the royal audiences in different parts of America; the administration of justice; the order of government, both ecclesiastical and civil. These were approved of by all ranks of men. But together with them were issued the following regulations, which excited universal alarm, and occasioned the most violent convulsions: "That as the *repartimientos* or shares of land seized by several persons appeared to be excessive, the royal audiences are empowered to reduce them to a moderate extent: That upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted to him shall not descend to his widow or children, but return to the crown: That the Indians shall henceforth be exempt from personal service, and shall not be compelled to carry the baggage of travelers,

to labor in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fisheries: That the stated tribute due by them to their superior shall be ascertained, and they shall be paid as servants for any work they voluntarily perform: That all persons who are or have been in public offices, all ecclesiastics of every denomination, all hospitals and monasteries, shall be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them, and these be annexed to the crown: That every person in Peru, who had any criminal concern in the contests between Pizarro and Almagro, should forfeit his lands and Indians."

All the Spanish ministers who had hitherto been intrusted with the direction of American affairs, and who were best acquainted with the state of the country, remonstrated against those regulations as ruinous to their infant colonies. They represented, that the number of Spaniards who had hitherto emigrated to the New World was so extremely small, that nothing could be expected from any effort of theirs towards improving the vast regions over which they were scattered; that the success of every scheme for this purpose must depend upon the ministry and service of the Indians, whose native indolence and aversion to labor, no prospect of benefit or promise of reward could surmount; that the moment the right of imposing a task, and exacting the performance of it, was taken from their masters, every work of industry must cease, and all the sources from which wealth began to pour in upon Spain must be stopped for ever. But Charles, tenacious at all times of his own opinions, and so much impressed at present with the view of the disorders which reigned in America, that he was willing to hazard the application even of a dangerous remedy, persisted in his resolution of publishing the laws. That they might be carried into execution with greater vigor and authority, he authorized Francisco Tello de Sandoval to repair to Mexico as *Visitador*, or superintendent of that country, and to cooperate with Antonio de Mendoza, the Viceroy, in enforcing them. He appointed Blasco Nuñez Vela to be governor of Peru, with the



THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

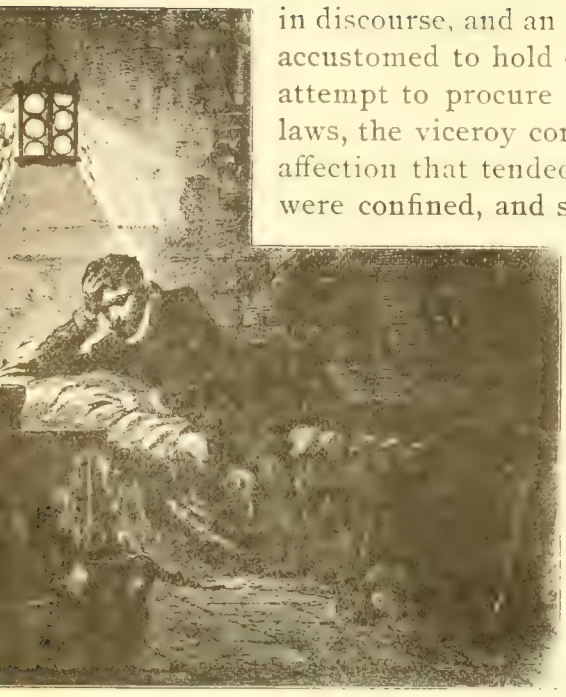
title of viceroy; and in order to strengthen his administration, he established a court of royal audience at Lima [1543], in which four lawyers of eminence were to preside as Judges.

The viceroy and superintendent sailed at the same time; and an account of the laws which they were to enforce reached America before them. The entry of Sandoval into Mexico was viewed as the prelude of general ruin. The unlimited grant of liberty to the Indians affected every Spaniard in America without distinction, and there was hardly one who might not, on some pretext, be included under the other regulations, and suffer by them. But the colony in New Spain had now been so long accustomed to the restraints of law and authority, under the steady and prudent administration of Mendoza, that, how much soever the spirit of the new statutes was detested and dreaded, no attempt was made to obstruct the application of them by any act of violence unbecoming subjects. The magistrates and principal inhabitants, however, presented dutiful addresses to the viceroy and superintendent, representing the fatal consequences of enforcing them. Happily for them, Mendoza, by long residence in the country, was so thoroughly acquainted with its state, that he knew what was for its interest as well as what it could bear; and Sandoval, though new in office, displayed a degree of moderation seldom possessed by persons just entering upon the exercise of power. They engaged to suspend, for some time, the execution of what was offensive in the new laws, and not only consented that a deputation of citizens should be sent to Europe to lay before the emperor the apprehensions of his subjects in New Spain with respect to their tendency and effects, but they concurred with them in supporting their sentiments. Charles, moved by the opinion of men whose abilities and integrity entitled them to decide concerning what fell immediately under their own view, granted such a relaxation of the rigor of the laws as re-established the colony in its former tranquillity.

In Peru the storm gathered with an aspect still more fierce and threatening, and was not so soon dispelled. The conquerors of Peru, of a rank much inferior to those who had subjected Mexico to the Spanish crown, farther removed from the inspection of the parent state, and intoxicated with the sudden acquisition of wealth, carried on all their operations with greater license and irregularity than any body of adventurers in the New World. Amidst the gen-

eral subversion of law and order, occasioned by two successive civil wars, when each individual was at liberty to decide for himself, without any guide but his own interest or passions, this turbulent spirit rose above all sense of subordination. To men thus corrupted by anarchy, the introduction of regular government, the power of a viceroy, and the authority of a respectable court of judicature, would of themselves have appeared formidable restraints, to which they would have submitted with reluctance. But they revolted with indignation against the idea of complying with laws, by which they were to be stripped at once of all they had earned so hardly during many years of service and suffering. As the account of the new laws spread successively through the different settlements, the inhabitants ran together, the women in tears, and the men exclaiming against the injustice and ingratitude of their sovereign in depriving them, unheard and unconvicted, of their possessions. "Is this," cried they, "the recompense due to persons, who, without public aid, at their own expense, and by their own valor, have subjected to the crown of Castile, territories of such immense extent and opulence? Are these the rewards bestowed for having endured unparalleled distress, for having encountered every species of danger in the service of their country? Whose merit is so great, whose conduct has been so irreproachable, that he may not be condemned by some penal clause in regulations, conceived in terms as loose and comprehensive, as if it had been intended that all should be entangled in their snare? Every Spaniard of note in Peru has held some public office, and all, without distinction, have been constrained to take an active part in the contest between the two rival chiefs. Were the former to be robbed of their property because they had done their duty? Were the latter to be punished on account of what they could not avoid? Shall the conquerors of this great empire, instead of receiving marks of distinction, be deprived of the natural consolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for subsistence on the scanty supply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers?" "We are not able now," continued they, "to explore unknown regions in quest of more secure settlements; our constitutions debilitated with age, and our bodies covered with wounds, are no longer fit for active service; but still we possess vigor sufficient to assert our just rights, and we will not tamely suffer them to be wrested from us."

By discourses of this sort, uttered with vehemence, and listened to with universal approbation, their passions were inflamed to such a pitch, that they were prepared for the most violent measures; and began to hold consultations in different places, how they might oppose the entrance of the viceroy and judges, and prevent not only the execution but the promulgation of the new laws. From this, however, they were diverted by the address of Vaca de Castro, who flattered them with hopes, that, as soon as the viceroy and judges should arrive, and had leisure to examine their petitions and remonstrances, they would concur with them in endeavoring to procure some mitigation in the rigor of laws which had been framed without due attention either to the state of the country, or to the sentiments of the people. A greater degree of accommodation to these, and even some concessions on the part of government, were now become requisite to compose the present ferment, and to soothe the colonists into submission, by inspiring them with confidence in their superiors. But without profound discernment, conciliating manners, and flexibility of temper, such a plan could not be carried on. The viceroy possessed none of these. Of all the qualities that fit men for high command, he was endowed only with integrity and courage; the former harsh and uncomplying, the latter bordering so frequently on rashness or obstinacy, that, in his situation, they were defects rather than virtues. From the moment that he landed at Tumbez [March 4], Nuñez Vela seems to have considered himself merely as an executive officer, without any discretionary power; and, regardless of whatever he observed or heard concerning the state of the country, he adhered to the letter of the regulations with unrelenting rigor. In all the towns through which he passed, the natives were declared to be free, every person in public office was deprived of his lands and servants; and as an example of obedience to others, he would not suffer a single Indian to be employed in carrying his own baggage in his march towards Lima. Amazement and consternation went before him as he approached; and so little solicitous was he to prevent these from augmenting, that, on entering the capital, he openly avowed that he came to obey the orders of his sovereign, not to dispense with his laws. This harsh declaration was accompanied with what rendered it still more intolerable, haughtiness in deportment, a tone of arrogance and decision



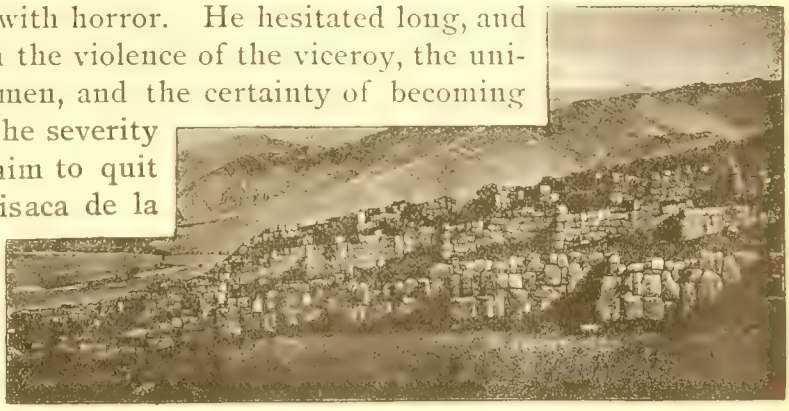
THE GOVERNOR, VACA DE CASTRO, IMPRISONED IN THE COMMON JAIL.

in discourse, and an insolence of office grievous to men little accustomed to hold civil authority in high respect. Every attempt to procure a suspension or mitigation of the new laws, the viceroy considered as flowing from a spirit of disaffection that tended to rebellion. Several persons of rank were confined, and some put to death, without any form of trial. Vaca de Castro was arrested; and notwithstanding the dignity of his former rank, and his merit, in having prevented a general insurrection in the colony, he was loaded with chains, and shut up in the common gaol.

But, however general the indignation was against such proceedings, it is probable the hand of authority would have been strong enough to suppress it, or to prevent it bursting out with open violence, if the malcontents had not been provided with a leader of credit and eminence to unite and to direct their efforts. From the time that the purport of the new regulations was known in Peru, every Spaniard there turned his eyes toward Gonzalo Pizarro, as the only person able to avert the ruin with which they threatened the colony. From all quarters, letters and addresses were sent to him, conjuring him to stand forth as their common protector, and offering to support him in the attempt with their lives and fortunes. Gonzalo, though inferior in talents to his other brothers, was equally ambitious, and of courage no less daring. The behavior of an ungrateful court towards his brothers and himself dwelt continually on his mind. Ferdinand a state-prisoner in Europe, the children of the governor in custody of the viceroy, and sent aboard his fleet, himself reduced to the condition of a private citizen in a country for the discovery and conquest of which Spain was indebted to his family;



—these thoughts prompted him to seek for vengeance, and to assert the rights of his family, of which he now considered himself as the guardian and the heir. But as no Spaniard can easily surmount that veneration for his sovereign which seems to be interwoven in his frame, the idea of marching in arms against the royal standard filled him with horror. He hesitated long, and was still unresolved, when the violence of the viceroy, the universal call of his countrymen, and the certainty of becoming soon a victim himself to the severity of the new laws, moved him to quit his residence at Chuquisaca de la Plata, and repair to Cuzco. All the inhabitants went out to meet him, and received him with transports of joy as the deliverer of the colony. In the fervor of their zeal, they elected him procurator-general of the Spanish nation in Peru, to solicit the repeal of the late regulations. They empowered him to lay their remonstrances before the royal audience in Lima, and, upon pretext of danger from the Indians, authorized him to march thither in arms [1544]. Under sanction of this nomination Pizarro took possession of the royal treasure, appointed officers, levied soldiers, seized a large train of artillery which Vaca de Castro had deposited in Gumanga, and set out for Lima as if he had been advancing against a public enemy. Disaffection having now assumed a regular form, and being united under a chief of such distinguished name, many persons of note resorted to his standard; and a considerable part of the troops, raised by the viceroy to oppose his progress, deserted to him in a body.



RUINS OF THE OLD INCA FORTRESS OF SACSAHUAMAN.
(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)

Before Pizarro reached Lima, a revolution had happened there, which encouraged him to proceed with almost certainty of success. The violence of the viceroy's administration was not more formidable to the Spaniards of Peru, than his overbearing haughtiness was odious to his associates, the judges of the royal audience. During their voyage from Spain, some symptoms of coldness between the viceroy and them began to appear. But as soon as they entered

upon the exercise of their respective offices, both parties were so much exasperated by frequent contests, arising from interference of jurisdiction and contrariety of opinion, that their mutual disgust soon grew into open enmity. The judges thwarted the viceroy in every measure, set at liberty prisoners whom he had confined, justified the malcontents, and applauded their remonstrances. At a time when both departments of government should have united against the approaching enemy, they were contending with each other for superiority. The judges at length prevailed. The viceroy, universally odious, and abandoned even by his own guards, was seized in his palace [Sept. 18], and carried to a desert island on the coast, to be kept there until he could be sent home to Spain.

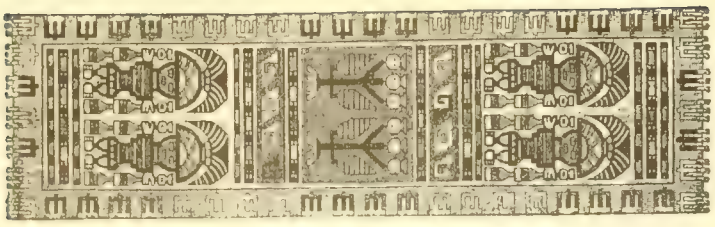
The judges, in consequence of this, having assumed the supreme direction of affairs in their own hands, issued a proclamation suspending the execution of the obnoxious laws, and sent a message to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could request, to dismiss his troops, and to repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants. They could hardly expect that a man so daring and ambitious would tamely comply with this requisition. It was made, probably, with no such intention, but only to throw a decent veil over their own conduct; for Cepeda, the president of the court of audience, a pragmatical and aspiring lawyer, seems to have held a secret correspondence with Pizarro, and had already formed the plan, which he afterwards executed, of devoting himself to his service. The imprisonment of the viceroy, the usurpation of the judges, together with the universal confusion and anarchy consequent upon events so singular and unexpected, opened new and vast prospects to Pizarro. He now beheld the supreme power within his reach. Nor did he want courage to push on towards the object which fortune presented to his view. Carvajal, the prompter of his resolutions, and guide of all his actions, had long fixed his eye upon it as the only end at which Pizarro ought to aim. Instead of the inferior function of procurator for the Spanish settlements in Peru, he openly demanded to be governor and captain-general of the whole province, and required the court of audience to grant him a commission to that effect. At the head of twelve hundred men, within a mile of Lima, where there was neither leader nor army to oppose him, such a request carried with it the authority of a command. But the judges, either from

unwillingness to relinquish power, or from a desire of preserving some attention to appearances, hesitated, or seemed to hesitate, about complying with what he demanded. Carvajal, impatient of delay, and impetuous in all his operations, marched into the city by night, seized several officers of distinction obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audience issued a commission in the emperor's name, appointing Pizarro governor of Peru, with full powers, civil as well as military, and he entered the town that day with extraordinary pomp, to take possession of his new dignity.



SUBTERRANEAN CANAL OF MOUNT SIPA.

Much of the country along the sea-coast of Peru suffered from want of water, as little or no rain fell there. In order to reclaim the soil, it needed only to be properly irrigated to be susceptible of extraordinary production. To these spots water was conveyed by means of canals and subterraneous aqueducts, executed on a noble scale. They consisted of large slabs of freestone nicely fitted together without cement, and discharged a volume of water sufficient, by means of latent ducts or sluices, to moisten the lands in the lower levels through which they passed. One of these aqueducts, which traversed the district of Condesuyu, measured between four and five hundred miles. They were brought from some elevated lake or natural reservoir in the heart of the mountains, and were fed at intervals by other basins which lay in their route. In this descent passages were opened for them through rocks; rivers and marshes were crossed, and in short, the same obstacles were encountered and successfully overcome as in the construction of their mighty roads. *Prescott, Conquest, Vol. I., p. 32.*

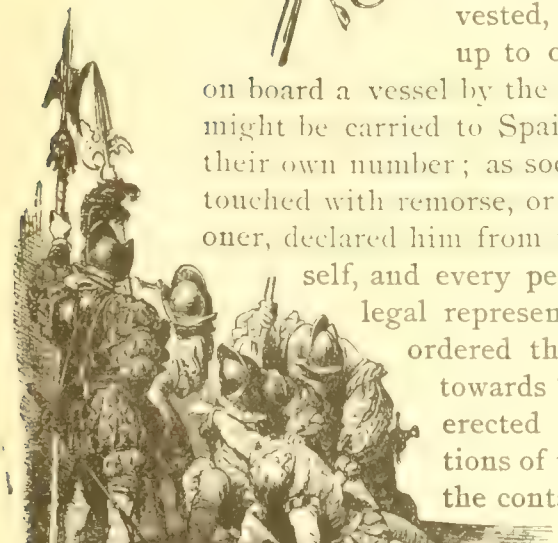


OLD PERUVIAN TEXTILE FABRIC.
ONE HALF OF CENTRAL PART OF A SHEET LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN USED AS A CURTAIN.
PUBLIC IN THE MUSEUM OF ETHNOLOGY, MUNICH.

CHAPTER LXXI.

NUNEZ VELA MARCHES AGAINST PIZARRO AND IS KILLED IN BATTLE. PIZARRO'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SPANISH CROWN. APPOINTMENT OF PEDRO DE LA GASCA, A PRIEST, TO THE PRESIDENCY OF PERU.

BUT amidst the disorder and turbulence which accompanied this total dissolution of the frame of government, the minds of men, set loose from the ordinary restraints of law and authority, acted with such capricious irregularity, that events no less extraordinary than unexpected followed in rapid succession. Pizarro had scarcely begun to exercise the new powers with which he was invested, when he beheld formidable enemies rise up to oppose him. The viceroy having been put on board a vessel by the judges of the audience, in order that he might be carried to Spain under custody of Juan Alvarez, one of their own number; as soon as they were out at sea, Alvarez, either touched with remorse, or moved by fear, kneeled down to his prisoner, declared him from that moment to be free, and that he himself, and every person in the ship, would obey him as the legal representative of their sovereign. Nuñez Vela ordered the pilot of the vessel to shape his course towards Tumbez, and, as soon as he landed there, erected the royal standard, and resumed his functions of viceroy. Several persons of note, to whom the contagion of the seditious spirit which reigned at Cuzco and Lima had not reached, instantly avowed their resolution to support



ASSASSINATION OF PIZARRO'S LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF CHARCAS BY DIEGO CENTENO.

his authority. The violence of Pizarro's government, who observed every individual with the jealousy natural to usurpers, and who punished every appearance of disaffection with unforgiving severity, soon augmented the number of the viceroy's adherents, as it forced some leading men in the colony to fly to him for refuge. While he was gathering such strength at Tumbez, that his forces began to assume the appearance of what was considered as an army in America, Diego Centeno, a bold and active officer, exasperated by the cruelty and oppression of Pizarro's lieutenant-governor in the province of Charcas, formed a conspiracy against his life, cut him off, and declared for the viceroy.

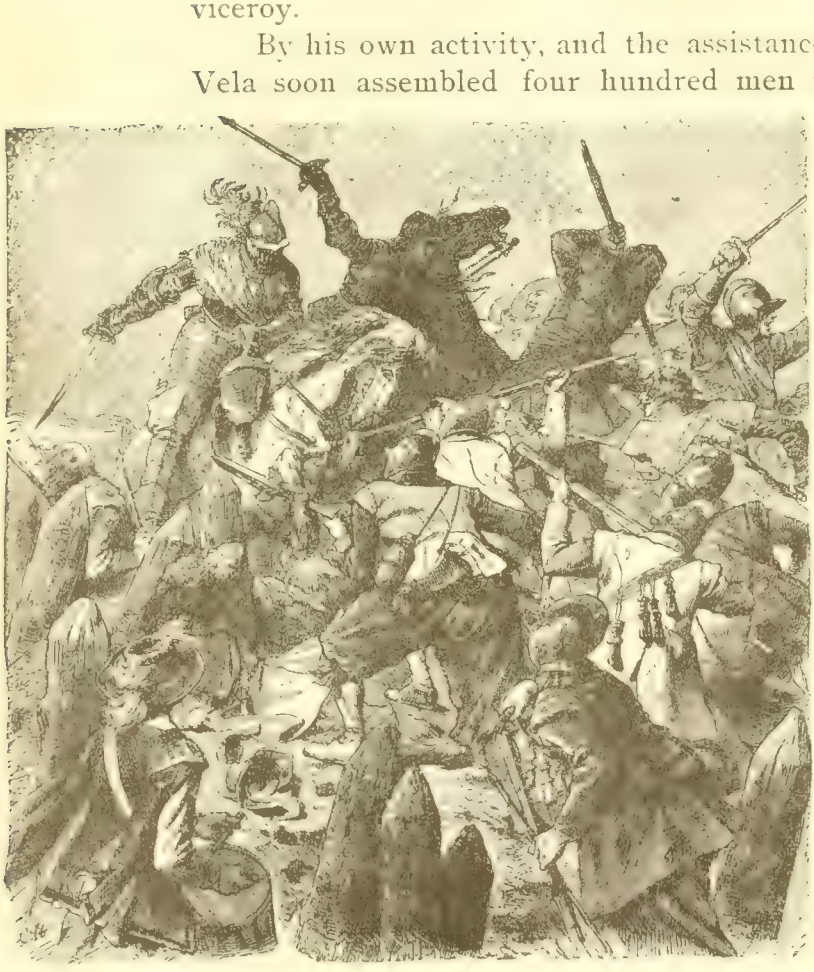


JUAN ALVAREZ, TOUCHED BY REMORSE, OR MOVED BY FEAR, DECLARES HIS PRISONER, VACA DE CASTRO,

1545.] Pizarro, though alarmed with those appearances of hostility in the opposite extremes of the empire, was not disconcerted. He prepared to assert the authority, to which he had attained, with the spirit and conduct of an officer accustomed to command, and marched directly against the viceroy, as the enemy who was nearest as well as most formidable. As he was master of the public revenues in Peru, and most of the military men were attached to his family, his troops were so numerous, that the viceroy,

unable to face them, retreated towards Quito. Pizarro followed him; and in that long march, through a wild, mountainous country, suffered hardships, and encountered difficulties, which no troops but those accustomed to serve in America could have endured or surmounted. The viceroy had scarcely reached Quito, when the vanguard of Pizarro's forces appeared, led by Carvajal, who, though near fourscore, was as hardy and active as any young soldier under his command. Nuñez Vela instantly abandoned a town incapable of defense, and, with a rapidity more resembling a flight than a retreat, marched into the province of Popayan. Pizarro continued to pursue; but, finding it impossible to overtake him, returned to Quito. From thence he despatched Carvajal to oppose Centeno, who was growing formidable in the southern provinces of the empire, and he himself remained there to make head against the viceroy.

By his own activity, and the assistance of Benalcazar, Nuñez Vela soon assembled four hundred men in Popayan. As he retained, amidst all his disasters, the same elevation of mind, and the same high sense of his own dignity, he rejected with disdain the advice of some of his followers who urged him to make overtures of accommodation to Pizarro, declaring that it was only by the sword that a contest with rebels could be decided. With this intention he marched back to Quito [1546]. Pizarro, relying on the superior number, and still more on the discipline and valor of his troops,



BATTLE OF QUITO, BETWEEN THE ADHERENTS OF THE VICEROY, NUÑEZ VELA, AND THE REBELS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PIZARRO AND CARVAJAL.

advanced resolutely to meet him [Jan. 18]. The battle was fierce and bloody, both parties fighting like men who knew that the possession of a great empire, the fate of their leaders, and their own future fortune, depended upon the issue of that day. But Pizarro's veterans pushed forward with such regular and well-directed force, that they soon began to make impressions on their enemies. The viceroy, by extraordinary exertions, in which the abilities of a commander and the courage of a soldier were equally displayed, held victory for some time in suspense. At length he fell, pierced with many wounds; and the rout of his followers became general. They were hotly pursued. His head was cut off, and placed on the public gibbet in Quito, which Pizarro entered in triumph. The troops assembled by Centeno were dispersed soon after by Carvajal, and he himself compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained for several months concealed in a cave. Every person in Peru, from the frontiers of Popayan to those of Chili, submitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojosa, he had not only the unrivaled command of the South Sea, but had taken possession of Panama, and placed a garrison in Nombre de Dios, on the opposite side of the isthmus, which rendered him master of the only avenue of communication between Spain and Peru, that was used at that period.

After this decisive victory, Pizarro and his followers remained for some time at Quito; and during the first transports of their exultation, they ran into every excess of licentious indulgence, with the riotous spirit usual among low adventurers upon extraordinary success. But, amidst this dissipation, their chief and his confidants were obliged to turn their thoughts sometimes to what was serious, and deliberated with much solicitude concerning the part that he ought now to take. Carvajal, no less bold and decisive in council than in the field, had, from the beginning, warned Pizarro, that in the career on which he was entering, it was vain to think of holding a middle course; that he must either boldly aim at all, or attempt nothing. From the time that Pizarro obtained possession of the government of Peru, he inculcated the same maxim with greater earnestness. Upon receiving an account of the victory at Quito, he remonstrated with him in a tone still more peremptory. "You have usurped," said he, in a letter written to Pizarro on that occasion, "the supreme power in this coun-

try, in contempt of the emperor's commission to the viceroy. You have marched in hostile array against the royal standard; you have attacked the representative of your sovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that ever a monarch will forgive such insults on his dignity, or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or sincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favor of another. Assume yourself the sovereignty over a country to the dominion of which your family has a title founded on the rights both of discovery and conquest. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru of any consequence inviolably to your interest, by liberal grants of lands and of Indians, or by instituting ranks of nobility, and creating titles of honor similar to those which are courted with so much eagerness in Europe. By establishing orders of knighthood, with privileges and distinctions resembling those in Spain, you may bestow a gratification upon the officers in your service, suited to the ideas of military men. Nor is it to your countrymen only that you ought to attend; endeavor to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya, or daughter of the Sun, next in succession to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancient princes, to unite with the Spaniards in support of your authority. Thus, at the head of the ancient inhabitants of Peru, as well as of the new settlers there, you may set at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with ease any feeble force which it can send at such a distance." Cepeda, the lawyer, who was now Pizarro's confidential counsellor, warmly seconded Carvajal's exhortations, and employed whatever learning he possessed in demonstrating, that all the founders of great monarchies had been raised to pre-eminence, not by the antiquity of their lineage, or the validity of their rights, but by their own aspiring valor and personal merit.

Pizarro listened attentively to both, and could not conceal the satisfaction with which he contemplated the object that they presented to his view. But, happily for the tranquillity of the world, few men possess that superior strength of mind, and extent of abilities, which are capable of forming and executing such daring schemes, as cannot be accomplished without overturning the established order of society, and violating those maxims of duty which men are accustomed to hold sacred. The mediocrity of

Pizarro's talents circumscribed his ambition within more narrow limits. Instead of aspiring at independent power, he confined his views to the obtaining from the court of Spain a confirmation of the authority which he now possessed; and, for that purpose, he sent an officer of distinction thither, to give such a representation of his conduct, and of the state of the country, as might induce the emperor and his ministers, either from inclination or from necessity, to continue him in his present station.

While Pizarro was deliberating with respect to the part which he should take, consultations were held in Spain, with no less solicitude, concerning the measures which ought to be pursued in order to re-establish the emperor's authority in Peru. Though unacquainted with the last excesses of outrage to which the malcontents had proceeded in that country, the court had received an account of the insurrection against the viceroy, of his imprisonment, and the usurpation of the government by Pizarro. A revolution so alarming called for an immediate interposition of the emperor's abilities and authority. But as he was fully occupied at that time in Germany, in conducting the war against the famous league of Smalkalde, one of the most interesting and arduous enterprises in his reign, the care of providing a remedy for the disorders in Peru devolved upon his son Philip, and the counsellors whom Charles had appointed to assist him in the government of Spain during his absence. At first view, the actions of Pizarro and his adherents appeared so repugnant to the duty of subjects towards their sovereign, that the greater part of the ministers insisted on declaring them instantly to be guilty of rebellion, and on proceeding to punish them with exemplary rigor. But when the fervor of their zeal and indignation began to abate, innumerable obstacles to the execution of this measure presented themselves. The veteran bands of infantry, the strength and glory of the Spanish armies, were then employed in Germany. Spain, exhausted of men and money by a long series of wars, in which she had been involved by the restless ambition of two successive monarchs, could not easily equip an armament of sufficient force to reduce Pizarro. To transport any respectable body of troops to a country so remote as Peru, appeared almost impossible. While Pizarro continued master of the South Sea, the direct route by Nombre de Dios and Panama was impracticable. An attempt to march to Quito by land through the

new kingdom of Granada, and the province of Popayan, across regions of prodigious extent, desolate, unhealthy, or inhabited by fierce and hostile tribes, would be attended with insurmountable danger and hardships. The passage to the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan was so tedious, so uncertain, and so little known in that age, that no confidence could be placed in any effort carried on in a course of navigation so remote and precarious. Nothing then remained but to relinquish the system which the ardor of their loyalty had first suggested, and to attempt by lenient measures what could not be effected by force. It was manifest from Pizarro's solicitude to represent his conduct in a favorable light to the emperor, that, notwithstanding the excesses of which he had been guilty, he still retained sentiments of veneration for his sovereign. By a proper application to these, together with some such concessions as should discover a spirit of moderation and forbearance in government, there was still room to hope that he might be yet reclaimed, or the ideas of loyalty natural to Spaniards might so far revive among his followers, that they would no longer lend their aid to uphold his usurped authority.

The success, however, of this negotiation, no less delicate than it was important, depended entirely on the abilities and address of the person to whom it should be committed. After weighing with much attention the comparative merit of various persons, the Spanish ministers fixed, with unanimity of choice, upon Pedro de la Gasca, a priest in no higher station than that of counsellor to the Inquisition. Though in no public office, he had been occasionally employed by government in affairs of trust and consequence, and had conducted them with no less skill than success; displaying a gentle and insinuating temper, accompanied with much firmness; probity, superior to any feeling of private interest; and a cautious circumspection in concerting measures, followed by such vigor in executing them as is rarely found in alliance with the other. These qualities marked him out for the function to which he was destined. The emperor, to whom Gasca was not unknown, warmly approved of the choice, and communicated it to him in a letter, containing expressions of good-will and confidence, no less honorable to the prince who wrote, than to the subject who received it. Gasca, notwithstanding his advanced age and feeble constitution, and though, from the apprehensions natural to a man, who, during the course

of his life, had never been out of his own country, he dreaded the effects of a long voyage, and of an unhealthy climate, did not hesitate a moment about complying with the will of his sovereign. But as a proof that it was from this principle alone he acted, he refused a bishopric which was offered to him, in order that he might appear in Peru with a more dignified character; he would accept of no higher title than that of President of the Court of Audience in Lima; and declared that he would receive no salary on account of his discharging the duties of that office. All he required was, that the expense of supporting his family should be defrayed by the public; and as he was to go like a minister of peace with his gown and breviary, and without any retinue but a few domestics, this would not load the revenue with any enormous burden.

But while he discovered such disinterested moderation with respect to whatever related personally to himself, he demanded his official powers in a very different tone. He insisted, as he was to be employed in a country so remote from the seat of government, where he could not have recourse to his sovereign for new instructions on every emergence; and as the whole success of his negotiations must depend upon the confidence which the people with whom he had to treat could place in the extent of his powers, that he ought to be invested with unlimited authority; that his jurisdiction must reach to all persons and to all causes; that he must be empowered to pardon, to punish, or to reward, as circumstances and the behavior of different men might require; that in case of resistance from the malcontents, he might be authorized to reduce them to obedience by force of arms, to levy troops for that purpose, and to call for assistance from the governors of all the Spanish settlements in America. These powers, though manifestly conducive to the great objects of his mission, appeared to the Spanish ministers to be inalienable prerogatives of royalty, which ought not to be delegated to a subject, and they refused to grant them. But the emperor's views were more enlarged. As, from the nature of his employment, Gasca must be intrusted with discretionary power in several points, and all his efforts might prove ineffectual if he was circumscribed in any one particular, Charles scrupled not to invest him with authority to the full extent that he demanded. Highly satisfied with this fresh proof of his master's confidence, Gasca hastened his departure, and, without either money or troops, set out to quell a formidable rebellion.

On his arrival at Nombre de Dios [July 27], he found Herman Mexia, an officer of note, posted there, by order of Pizarro, with a considerable body of men, to oppose the landing of any hostile forces. But Gasca appeared in such pacific guise, with a train so little formidable, and with a title of no such dignity as to excite terror, that he was received with much respect. From Nombre de Dios he advanced to Panama, and met with a similar reception from Hinojosa, whom Pizarro had intrusted with the government of that town, and the command of his fleet stationed there. In both places he held the same language, declaring that he was sent by their sovereign as a messenger of peace, not as a minister of vengeance; that he came to redress all their grievances, to revoke the laws which had excited alarm, to pardon past offenses, and to re-establish order and justice in the government of Peru. His mild deportment, the simplicity of his manners, the sanctity of his profession, and a winning appearance of candor, gained credit to his declarations. The veneration due to a person clothed with legal authority, and acting in virtue of a royal commission, began to revive among men accustomed for some time to nothing more respectable than a usurped jurisdiction. Hinojosa, Mexia, and several other officers of distinction, to each of whom Gasca replied separately, were gained over to his interest, and waited only for some decent occasion of declaring openly in his favor.

This the violence of Pizarro soon afforded them. As soon as he heard of Gasca's arrival at Panama, though he received, at the same time, on account of the nature of his commission, and was informed of his offers not only to render every Spaniard in Peru easy concerning what was past, by an act of general oblivion, but secure with respect to the future, by repealing the obnoxious laws; instead of accepting with gratitude his sovereign's gracious concessions, he was so much exasperated on finding that he was not to be continued in his station as governor of the country, that he instantly resolved to oppose the president's entry into Peru, and to prevent his exercising any jurisdiction there. To this desperate resolution he added another highly preposterous. He sent a new deputation to Spain to justify his conduct, and to insist, in name of all the communities in Peru, for a confirmation of the government to himself during life, as the only means of preserving tran-

quillity there. The persons intrusted with this strange commission, intimated the intention of Pizarro to the president, and required him, in his name, to depart from Panama and return to Spain. They carried likewise secret instructions to Hinojosa, directing him to offer Gasca a present of fifty thousand pesos, if he would comply voluntarily with what was demanded of him; and if he should continue obstinate, to cut him off, either by assassination or poison.

Many circumstances concurred in pushing on Pizarro to those wild measures. Having been once accustomed to supreme command, he could not bear the thoughts of descending to a private station. Conscious of his own demerit, he suspected that the emperor studied only to deceive him, and would never pardon the outrages which he had committed. His chief confidants, no less guilty, entertained the same apprehensions. The approach of Gasca without any military force excited no terror. There were now above six thousand Spaniards settled in Peru; and at the head of these he doubted not to maintain his own independence, if the court of Spain should refuse to grant what he required. But he knew not that a spirit of defection had already begun to spread among those whom he trusted most. Hinojosa, amazed at Pizarro's precipitate resolution of setting himself in opposition to the emperor's commission, and disdaining to be his instrument in perpetrating the odious crimes pointed out in his secret instructions, publicly recognized the title of the president to the supreme authority in Peru. The officers under his command did the same. Such was the contagious influence of the example, that it reached even the deputies who had been sent from Peru; and at the time when Pizarro expected to hear either of Gasca's return to Spain, or of his death, he received an account of his being master of the fleet, of Panama, and of the troops stationed there.

1547]. Irritated almost to madness by events so unexpected, he openly prepared for war; and in order to give some color of justice to his arms, he appointed the court of audience in Lima to proceed to the trial of Gasca, for the crimes of having seized his ships, seduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding in their voyage to Spain. Cepeda, though acting as a judge in virtue of the royal commission, did not scruple to prostitute the dignity of his function by finding Gasca guilty of trea-

son, and condemning him to death on that account. Wild and even ridiculous as this proceeding was, it imposed on the low, illiterate adventurers, with whom Peru was filled, by the semblance of a legal sanction warranting Pizarro to carry on hostilities against a convicted traitor. Soldiers accordingly resorted from every quarter to his standard, and he was soon at the head of a thousand men, the best equipped that had ever taken the field in Peru.

Gasca, on his part, perceiving that force must be employed in order to accomplish the purpose of his mission, was no less assiduous in collecting troops from Nicaragua, Carthagena, and other settlements on the continent; and with such success, that he was soon in a condition to detach a squadron of his fleet, with a considerable body of soldiers, to the coast of Peru [April]. Their appearance excited a dreadful alarm; and though they did not attempt for some time to make any descent, they did more effectual service by setting ashore in different places persons who dispersed copies of the act of general indemnity, and the revocation of the late edicts; and who made known everywhere the pacific intentions, as well as mild temper, of the president. The effect of spreading this information was wonderful. All who were dissatisfied with Pizarro's violent administration, all who retained any sentiments of fidelity to their sovereign, began to meditate revolt. Some openly deserted a cause which they now deemed to be unjust. Centeno, leaving the cave in which he lay concealed, assembled about fifty of his former adherents, and with this feeble, half-armed band, advanced boldly to Cuzco. By a sudden attack in the night-time, in which he displayed no less military skill than valor, he rendered himself master of that capital, though defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Most of these having ranged themselves under his banners, he had soon the command of a respectable body of troops.

Pizarro, though astonished at beholding one enemy approaching by sea, and another by land, at a time when he trusted to the union of all Peru in his favor, was of a spirit more undaunted, and more accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, than to be disconcerted or appalled. As the danger from Centeno's operations was the most urgent, he instantly set out to oppose him. Having provided horses for all his soldiers, he marched with amazing rapidity. But every morning he found his force diminished, by numbers who

had left him during the night; and though he became suspicious to excess, and punished without mercy all whom he suspected, the rage of desertion was too violent to be checked. Before he got within sight of the enemy at Huarina, near the Lake of Titicaca, he could not muster more than four hundred soldiers. But these he justly considered as men of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were indeed the boldest and most desperate of his followers, conscious, like himself, of crimes for which they could hardly expect forgiveness, and without any hope but in the success of their arms. With these he did not hesitate to attack Centeno's troops [Oct. 20], though double to his own in number. The royalists did not decline the combat. It was the most obstinate and bloody that had hitherto been fought in Peru. At length the intrepid valor of Pizarro, and the superiority of Carvajal's military talents, triumphed over numbers, and obtained a complete victory. The booty was immense, and the treatment of the vanquished cruel. By this signal success the reputation of Pizarro was re-established; and being now deemed invincible in the field, his army increased daily in number.





PIZARRO'S VALOR, AND CARVAJAL'S SUPERIOR MILITARY TALENTS, GAIN THE VICTORY OVER CENTENO AT HUARINA



GOURDS

Bottle-shaped gourds, with incised and red colored ornaments. In the case of the larger one its upper half is used in place of a lid or covering.



HEAD-COVERING (TENDEMA)

into which the feather panache was inserted

FLAG-STAFF

with red and black wool tassel, attached to it, the cloth in which it was wrapped, to keep it dust free in the grave.



TABLET

made from reeds, over which a woven cotton fabric is stretched on which the figure of a human being is delineated. Used in place of our modern tombstones.

PERUVIAN ANTIQUITIES FROM THE NECROPOLIS AT ANCON. STUEBEL AND REISS.

CHAPTER LXXII.

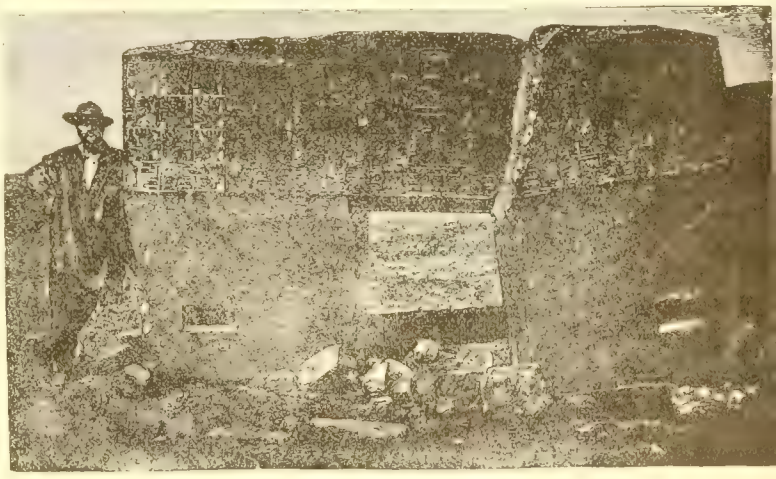
LANDING OF GASCA IN PERU. EXECUTION OF PIZARRO. DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY AND RETURN OF GASCA TO SPAIN.



CARVAJAL.

BUT events happened in other parts of Peru, which more than counter balanced the splendid victory at Huarina. Pizarro had scarcely left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his oppressive dominion, erected the royal standard, and Aldana, with a detachment of soldiers from the fleet, took possession of the town. About the same time, Gasca landed at Tumbez with five hundred men. Encouraged by his presence, every settlement in the low country declared for the king. The situation of the two parties was now perfectly reversed; Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were possessed by Pizarro; all the rest of the empire, from Quito southward, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the president. As his numbers augmented fast, Gasca advanced into the interior part of the country. His behavior still continued to be gentle and unassuming; he expressed, on every occasion, his ardent wish of terminating the contest without bloodshed. More solicitous to reclaim than to punish, he upbraided no man for past offenses, but received them as a father receives penitent children returning to a sense of

their duty. Though desirous of peace, he did not slacken his preparations for war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops in the fertile valley of Xauxa, on the road to Cuzco. There he remained for some months, not only that he might have time to make another attempt towards an accommodation with Pizarro, but that he might train his new soldiers to the use of arms, and accustom them to the discipline of a camp, before he led them against a body of victorious veterans. Pizarro, intoxicated with the success which had hitherto accompanied his arms, and elated with having again near a thousand men under his command, refused to listen to any terms, although Cepeda, together with several of his officers, and even Carvajal himself, gave it as their advice, to close with the president's offer of a general indemnity, and the revocation of the obnoxious laws. Gasca, having tried in vain every expedient to avoid imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, began to move towards Cuzco [Dec. 29] at the head of sixteen hundred men.



THE INCA GATE AT CUZCO

Pizarro, confident of victory, suffered the royalists to pass all the rivers which lie between Guamanga and Cuzco without opposition [1548], and to advance within four leagues of that capital, flattering himself that a defeat in such a situation as rendered escape impracticable would at once terminate the war. He then marched out to meet the enemy, and Carvajal chose his ground, and made the disposition of the troops with the discerning eye and profound knowledge in the art of war conspicuous in all his operations. As the two armies moved forward slowly to the charge [April 9], the appearance of each was singular. In that of Pizarro, composed of men enriched with the spoils of the most opulent country in America, every officer, and almost all the private men, were clothed in stuffs of silk, or brocade, embroidered with gold and silver; and their horses, their arms, their standards, were

adorned with all the pride of military pomp. That of Gasca, though not so splendid, exhibited what was no less striking. He himself, accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, the bishops of Quito and Cuzco, and a great number of ecclesiastics, marching along the lines, blessing the men, and encouraging them to a resolute discharge of their duty.

When both armies were just ready to engage, Cepeda set spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to the president. Garcilasso de la Vega, and other officers of note, followed his example. The revolt of persons in such high rank struck all with amazement. The mutual confidence on which the union and strength of armies depend, ceased at once. Distrust and consternation spread from rank to rank. Some silently slipped away, others threw down their arms, the greatest number went over to the royalists. Pizarro, Carvajal, and some leaders, employed authority, threats, and entreaties, to stop them, but in vain. In less than half an hour, a body of men, which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally dispersed. Pizarro, seeing all irretrievably lost, cried out in amazement to a few officers who still faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us rush," replied one of them, "upon the enemy's firmest battalion, and die like Romans." Dejected with such a reverse of fortune, he had not spirit to follow this soldierly counsel, and, with a tameness disgraceful to his former fame, he surrendered to one of Gasca's officers. Carvajal, endeavoring to escape, was overtaken and seized.

Gasca, happy in this bloodless victory, did not stain it with cruelty. Pizarro, Carvajal, and a small number of the most distinguished and notorious offenders, were punished capitally. Pizarro was beheaded the day after he surrendered. He submitted to his fate with a composed dignity, and seemed desirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was suitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defense. When the sentence adjudging him to be beheaded was pronounced, he carelessly replied, "One can die but once." During the interval between the sentence and execution, he discovered no sign either of remorse for the past, or of solicitude about the future; scoffing at all who visited him, in his usual sarcastic vein of mirth, with the same quickness of repartee and gross pleasantry

as at any other period of his life. Cepeda, more criminal than either, ought to have shared the same fate; but the merit of having deserted his associates at such a critical moment, and with such decisive effect, saved him from immediate punishment. He was sent, however, as a prisoner to Spain, and died in confinement.



THE END OF CARVAJAL

In the minute details which the contemporary historians have given of the civil dissensions that raged in Peru, with little interruption, during ten years, many circumstances occur so striking, and which indicate such an uncommon state of manners, as to merit particular attention.

Though the Spaniards who first invaded Peru were of the lowest order in society, and the greater part of those who afterwards joined them were persons of desperate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders who contended for superiority, not one man acted as a hired soldier, that follows his standard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru considered himself as a conqueror, entitled, by his services, to an establishment in that country which had been acquired by his valor. In the contests between the rival chiefs, each chose his side as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortunes, and disdained to degrade himself by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their sword, not to the pre-eminence in office, or nobility of birth, that most of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation; and each of their adherents hoped, by the same means, to open a way for himself to the possession of power and wealth.

But though the troops in Peru served without any regular pay, they were raised at immense expense. Among men accustomed to divide the spoils of an opulent country, the desire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardor of pursuit augmented in proportion to the hope of success. Where all were intent on the same object, and under the dominion of the same passion, there was but one mode of gaining men, or of securing

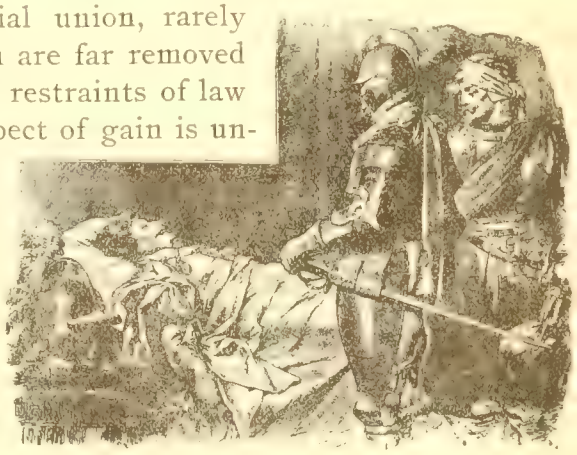
their attachment. Officers of name and influence, besides the promise of future establishments, received in hand large gratuities from the chiefs with whom they engaged. Gonzalo Pizarro, in order to raise 1,000 men, advanced five hundred thousand pesos. Gasca expended in levying the troops which he led against Pizarro nine hundred thousand pesos. The distribution of property, bestowed as the reward of services, was still more exorbitant. Cepeda, as the recompense of his perfidy and address, in persuading the court of royal audience to give the sanction of its authority to the usurped jurisdiction of Pizarro, received a grant of lands which yielded an annual income of a hundred and fifty thousand pesos. Hinojosa, who by his early defection from Pizarro, and surrender of the fleet to Gasca, decided the fate of Peru, obtained a district of country affording two hundred thousand pesos of yearly value. While such rewards were dealt out to the principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional shares were conferred upon those of inferior rank.

Such a rapid change of fortune produced its natural effects. It gave birth to new wants, and new desires. Veterans, long accustomed to hardships and toil, acquired of a sudden a taste for profuse and inconsiderate dissipation, and indulged in all the excesses of military licentiousness. The riot of low debauchery occupied some; a relish for expensive luxuries spread among others. The meanest soldier in Peru would have thought himself degraded by marching on foot; and at a time when the prices of horses in that country were exorbitant, each insisted on being furnished with one before he would take the field. But though less patient under the fatigues and hardships of service, they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever; and animated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to display all their ancient valor.

Together with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally distinguished. Civil discord never raged with a more fell spirit than among the Spaniards in Peru. To all the passions which usually envenom contests among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerness to seize the valuable forfeitures, expected upon the death of every opponent, shut the door against mercy. To be wealthy was of itself sufficient to expose a man to accusation, or to

subject him to punishment. On the slightest suspicions, Pizarro condemned many of the most opulent inhabitants in Peru to death. Carvajal, without searching for any pretext to justify his cruelty, cut off many more. The number of those who suffered by the hands of the executioner, was not much inferior to what fell in the field; and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal trial.

The violence with which the contending parties treated their opponents was not accompanied with its usual attendants, attachment, and fidelity to those with whom they acted. The ties of honor, which ought to be held sacred among soldiers, and the principle of integrity interwoven as thoroughly in the Spanish character as in that of any nation, seem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for decency, and the sense of shame, were totally lost. During their dissensions, there was hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally espoused, betray the associates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The viceroy Nuñez Vela was ruined by the treachery of Cepeda and the other judges of the royal audience, who were bound by the duties of their function to have supported his authority. The chief advisers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro's revolt were the first to forsake him, and submit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gasca by the man whom he had singled out among his officers to intrust with that important command. On the day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans, in sight of the enemy, threw down their arms without striking a blow, and deserted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Instances of such general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them together in social union, rarely occur in history. It is only when men are far removed from the seat of government, where the restraints of law and order are little felt, where the prospect of gain is unbounded, and where immense wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity, the rapaciousness, the perfidy, and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru.



THE ADHERENTS OF PIZARRO ATTACK THE DE ATA CHIEFTAIN

On the death of Pizarro, the malcontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity seemed to be perfectly re-established. But two very interesting objects still remained to occupy the president's attention. The one was to find immediately such employment for a multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers, with which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions. The other, to bestow proper gratifications upon those to whose loyalty and valor he had been indebted for his success. The former of these was in some measure accomplished by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to prosecute the conquest of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the discovery of the vast regions bordering on the river de la Plata. The reputation of those leaders, together with the hopes of acquiring wealth, and of rising to consequence in some unexplored country, alluring many of the most indigent and desperate soldiers to follow their standards, drained off no inconsiderable portion of that mutinous spirit which Gasca dreaded.

The latter was an affair of greater difficulty, and to be adjusted with a more attentive and delicate hand. The *repartimientos*, or allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be distributed, in consequence of the death or forfeiture of the former possessors, exceeded two millions of pesos of yearly rent. Gasca, when now absolute master of this immense property, retained the same disinterested sentiments which he had originally professed, and refused to reserve the smallest portion of it for himself. But the number of claimants was great; and whilst the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own services, and estimated the recompense which he thought due to him, the pretensions of each were so extravagant that it was impossible to satisfy all. Gasca listened to them one by one, with the most patient attention; and that he might have leisure to weigh the comparative merit of their several claims with accuracy, he retired, with the archbishop of Lima and a single secretary, to a village twelve leagues from Cuzco. There he spent several days in alloting to each a district of lands and number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their past services and future importance. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce storm of clamor and rage, which he foresaw would burst out on the publication of his decree, notwithstanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he set out for

Lima, leaving the instrument of partition sealed up, with orders not to open it for some days after his departure.

The indignation excited by publishing the decree of partition [Aug. 24] was not less than Gasca had expected. Vanity, avarice, emulation, envy, shame, rage, and all the other passions which most vehemently agitate the minds of men when both their honor and their interest are deeply affected, conspired in adding to its violence. It broke out with all the fury of military insolence. Calumny, threats, and curses, were poured out openly upon the president. He was accused of ingratitude, of partiality, and of injustice. Among soldiers prompt to action, such seditious discourse would have been soon followed by deeds no less violent, and they already began to turn their eyes towards some discontented leaders, expecting them to stand forth in redress of their wrongs. By some vigorous interpositions of government, a timely check was given to this mutinous spirit, and the danger of another civil war was averted for the present.

1549.] Gasca, however, perceiving that the flame was suppressed rather than extinguished, labored with the utmost assiduity to soothe the malcontents, by bestowing large gratuities on some, by promising *repartimientos*, when they fell vacant, to others, and by caressing and flattering all. But that the public security might rest on a foundation more stable than their good affection, he endeavored to strengthen the hands of his successors in office, by re-establishing the regular administration of justice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and simplicity into the mode of collecting the royal revenue. He issued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppression, and to provide for their instruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labor. Having now accomplished every object of his mission, Gasca, longing to return again to a private station, committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, and set out for Spain [Feb. 1, 1550]. As, during the anarchy and turbulence of the four last years, there had been no remittance made of the royal revenue, he carried with him thirteen hundred thousand pesos of public money, which the economy and order of his administration enabled him to save, after paying all the expenses of the war.

He was received in his native country with universal admiration of his abilities, and of his virtue. Both were, indeed, highly conspicuous. Without army, or fleet, or public funds; with a train so simple, that only three thousand ducats were expended in equipping him, he set out to oppose a formidable rebellion. By his address and talents he supplied all those defects, and seemed to create instruments for executing his designs. He acquired such a naval force as gave him the command of the sea. He raised a body of men able to cope with the veteran bands which gave law to Peru. He vanquished their leader, on whose arms victory had hitherto attended, and in place of anarchy and usurpation, he established the government of laws, and the authority of the rightful sovereign. But the praise bestowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After residing in a country where wealth presented allurements which had seduced every person who had hitherto possessed power there, he returned from that trying station with integrity not only untainted, but unsuspected. After distributing among his countrymen possessions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the disposal of a subject in any age or nation, he himself remained in his original state of poverty; and at the very time when he brought such a large recruit to the royal treasury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts, which he had contracted during the course of his service. Charles was not insensible to such disinterested merit. Gasca was received by him with the most distinguishing marks of esteem; and being promoted to the bishopric of Palencia, he passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, respected by his country, honored by his sovereign, and beloved by all.

Notwithstanding all Gasca's wise regulations, the tranquillity of Peru was not of long continuance. In a country where the authority of government had been almost forgotten, during the long prevalence of anarchy and misrule, where there were disappointed leaders ripe for revolt, and seditious soldiers ready to follow them, it was not difficult to raise combustion. Several successive insurrections desolated the country for some years. But as those, though fierce, were only transient storms, excited rather by the ambition and turbulence of particular men, than by general or public motives, the detail of them is not the object of this his-

tory. These commotions in Peru, like every thing of extreme violence, either in the natural or political body, were not of long duration; and by carrying off the corrupted humors which had given rise to the disorders, they contributed in the end to strengthen the society which at first they threatened to destroy. During their fierce contests, several of the first invaders of Peru, and many of those licentious adventurers whom the fame of their success had allured thither, fell by each other's hands. Each of the parties, as they alternately prevailed in the struggle, gradually cleared the country of a number of turbulent spirits, by executing, proscribing, or banishing their opponents. Men less enterprising, less desperate, and more accustomed to move in the paths of sober and peaceable industry, settled in Peru; and the royal authority was gradually established as firmly there as in the other Spanish colonies.

The following note is called for, first: By the descriptive title under the picture of the mummies from the Necropolis at Ancon, page 630, wherein Mr. Prescott is quoted, and makes the statement: that human sacrifices were performed during the reign of the Incas. Second: By the charge brought forward by the accusers of the unfortunate Atahualpa (page 661) that he commanded the offering of human sacrifices; and third, by the sub-title of the illustration on page 659: *above one thousand victims being doomed to accompany his father, Huana Capac, to the tomb,* also cited by Prescott, "Conquest of Peru," Vol. I, Chapter I., upon the strength of which the illustration is based.

NOTE.—The Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, in his *Comentarios Reales* Liber III, Chap. xx, declares most positively that the Inca people "worshipped no other gods but the sun, although there are not wanting persons who state the contrary." The public worship was a Sun-worship. Some reverence was paid to the moon, the three brightest planets, and the Pleiades, but this was but accessory to the adoration of the orb of day. This worship was celebrated chiefly at four great festivals at the solstices and equinoxes each year. At these festivals there were sacrifices of llamas or alpacas, and their lambs; rabbits, birds, maize (corn), the strength sustaining herb coca, the exhilarating chica, or maize beer, and of fine cloths. As for human sacrifices, Garcilasso assures us, and with evident knowledge of the subject, that there was nothing of the sort under the Incas. In the times before the Inca supremacy, and among many of the peoples whom the Incas conquered, there were human sacrifices accompanied by cannibalism; but both these practices were sternly suppressed by the Incas. If some Spanish writers assert that there were human sacrifices in Peru, it shows that they do not exercise proper discrimination. Within the vast Inca dominion there were included a number of peoples with whom such sacrifices had long been customary, and it might well be that the Incas had not completely succeeded in stamping out the abomination. "I am witness," says the good Gar-

cilasso, "to having heard my father (his father was a Spaniard, his mother of Inca blood) and his contemporaries frequently compare the states of Mexico and Peru; and in speaking of these sacrifices of men, and of the practice of eating human flesh, they praised the Incas of Peru, because they neither practised nor permitted such acts." Mr. Prescott (Conquest of Peru, Book I, Chapter 3) was inclined to admit that human sacrifices were performed, though very rarely, under the Incas, and quoted five contemporary authorities (including Cieza) against Garcilasso. But Mr. Markham has shown that Cieza and others were misled by supposing that the words *yuyac* and *huahua* signified "men" and "children," whereas, as applied to the victims of sacrifice, these words signified "adult beasts" and "lambs." Mr. Markham also quotes seven other important contemporary authorities (not mentioned by Prescott), in support of Garcilasso; so that the question appears to be settled in his favor.

The duties and ceremonies of the Sun-worship were in charge of quite a hierarchy of ministering priests, confessors, sacrificers, hermits, and soothsayers, at the head of all the high priest, or "*Villac Umu*," and above him the Inca. The ministering priests received confessions and served as mouth-pieces of oracles. The hermits dwelt in solitary places, and were, in some instances if not always, organized into a kind of celibate monastic brotherhood, with a chief hermit at the head.

To these remarkable coincidences, with various customs in the Old World may be added the coincidence of the keeping of the sacred fire. Each year at the autumnal equinox a new fire was kindled by collecting the sun's rays on a burnished mirror, and this fire was kept alive through the year by consecrated maidens (*aella-cuna*) analagous to the Roman vestal nuns. These vestals lived in convents presided over by matrons (*mama-cuna.*) If the fire happened to go out it was an evil omen. If a nun broke her vow of chastity she was buried alive, just as in Rome. The Peruvian system of vestal-nuns was a much more extensive affair than in Rome. In Rome there were six priestesses of Vesta, who were treated with most signal deference. In Peru an *aella-cuna* was treated with much deference, as a kind of superior being, but the number of them was very large, every temple of the Sun generally had such a convent attached to it. Their vow of perpetual celibacy meant that they were the Sun's wives; whence it was quite natural that the punishment for infidelity should be burial in the dark grave out of the offended husband's sight. The Inca as representative of the Sun, was husband of all these consecrated women. The Inca did not visit them, but sent and took from them as many concubines as he wished; those who were not thus taken remained virgins. It was absolutely required that the nuns at Cuzco should be of pure Inca blood; and as every reigning Inca had two or three hundred enumerated children, the race seemed to be in no danger of dying out.

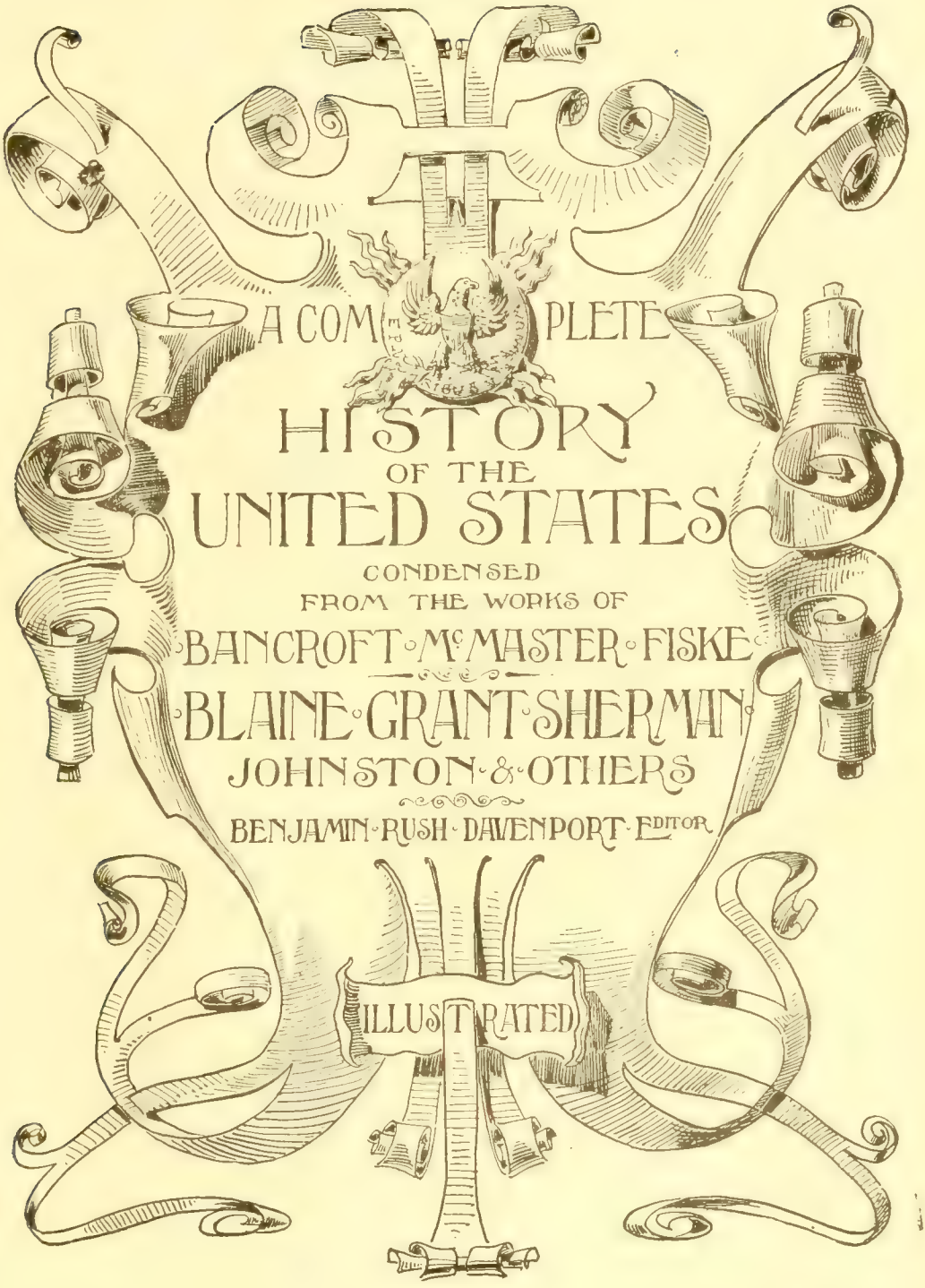
The Inca was regarded as the human representative or incarnation of the solar deity. He was the Sun, made flesh and dwelling among men. Great pains were taken to keep the lineage of this august person as narrowly definite as possible. The Inca could have but one legitimate wife, and it was imperatively required that she should be his full sister — the child of the same father by the same mother. The children of the Inca by this incestuous marriage, were thus as completely and narrowly royal in blood as possible, and the eldest Son was the legitimate heir to the kingdom.—Extracts from John Fiske's "The Discovery of America." Vol. II. pages. 340—347.

Book IV.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

After the engraving by the Baron Desnoyers, made by him when Franklin acted as our Ambassador at the court of Versailles.


A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES
CONDENSED
FROM THE WORKS OF
BANCROFT · McMASTER · FISKE
BLAINE · GRANT · SHERMAN
JOHNSTON · & · OTHERS
BENJAMIN · RUSH · DAVENPORT · EDITOR
ILLUSTRATED

Complete History of the United States.

OF the aboriginal inhabitants of North America—the races who built the mounds of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and the ancient pueblos and cave dwellings of Arizona and New Mexico—we have no knowledge save that derived from their scattered and moldering monuments.

Almost equally shadowy is the Norse legend that tells how Leif, son of Erik, a Viking rover from Iceland, about 1000 A. D., discovered, to the west of Greenland, a forest clad shore to which he gave the name of Vinland.



VIKING BOAT, OR DRAGON.
FOUND IN THE MOOR IN JUTLAND.

The authentic annals of America begin with the famous voyage of Christopher Columbus, "the most memorable maritime enterprise in the history of the world."* On October 12, 1492, Columbus, who had been dispatched by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain to discover a westward route from Europe to Asia, reached one of the Bahamas—probably Watling Island. Thence he sailed on to Cuba and Hayti, which he believed to be outlying islands of southern Asia, and whose native inhabitants he called Indians. Wherever he landed he raised the flag of Spain.

The great discovery of Columbus was followed up by other navigators. In 1497 John and Sebastian Cabot, under the patronage of Henry VII. of England, found the continent of North America, "probably in the latitude of about fifty-six degrees, along the dismal cliffs of Labrador."† They took possession of the newly discovered land in the name of the English king.

Spain took the leading part in the exploration of the New World. Under her flag the northern coast of South America was

* Bancroft's History of the United States. † Ibid.

discovered by Amerigo Vespucci, from whom the continent took its name. In 1513 Balboa reached the Pacific Ocean, and Ponce de Leon found a land which he called Florida, because he sighted it "on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida." * Ferdinand de Soto, also in the Spanish service, discovered the Mis-



BURIAL OF DE SOTO IN THE YELLOW FLOODS OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

sissippi River in 1542, in the waters of which he found his last resting place.

France, too, was active in sending out expeditions. In 1524 Verrazani coasted from the Carolinas to New England, and ten years later Jacques Cartier entered the St. Lawrence. In 1603 Champlain followed Cartier, and penetrated what is now northern New York.

In 1609 Henry Hudson, sailing under the flag of Holland, discovered the Hudson River.

On these discoveries Spain, England, France, and Holland based conflicting claims to the territory of the New World, which

* Bancroft's History of the United States.

were only finally settled after nearly two hundred years, and much fighting.

"The United States were severally colonized by men in origin, religious faith, and purposes as various as their climes."* The earliest permanent settlement in North America was that of St. Augustine, Florida, founded in 1565 by a Spanish expedition under Pedro Melendez.



THE OLD GATE AT ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA.

The first English colony was Virginia, whose earliest settlement was on Roanoke Island, to which Sir Walter Raleigh took a body of emigrants in 1584. Raleigh's enterprise proved a failure, but in 1607 an expedition sent out by the London Company built Jamestown, on the James River. This plantation prospered under the government of Captain John Smith, Lord De La Ware, and their successors. At Jamestown, in 1619, the first African slaves brought to America were purchased from a Dutch vessel.

New York, which "united the richest lands with the highest adaptation to foreign and domestic commerce,"† was founded by the Dutch, who shortly after Hudson's voyage planted the settlement of New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, and Fort Orange, now Albany. In 1664 these were surrendered to the British, and the name of New Amsterdam was changed to New York.

Massachusetts was colonized by a company of Puritans, whose



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

* Bancroft's Hist. United States. † Ibid.

emigration was "the result of implacable differences between Protestant dissenters in England and the established Anglican church."* Driven from England by religious persecution, they crossed the Atlantic in the little ship Mayflower, and landed at Plymouth. They were followed by another body, which founded Salem and Charlestown. These settlements formed the Massachusetts Bay colony, originally distinct from the Plymouth colony. The former also made a settlement at Boston in 1630.



CHARLES II. OF ENGLAND.
PAINTING BY PETER LELY ENGRAVED BY G. VERTUE, 1736.

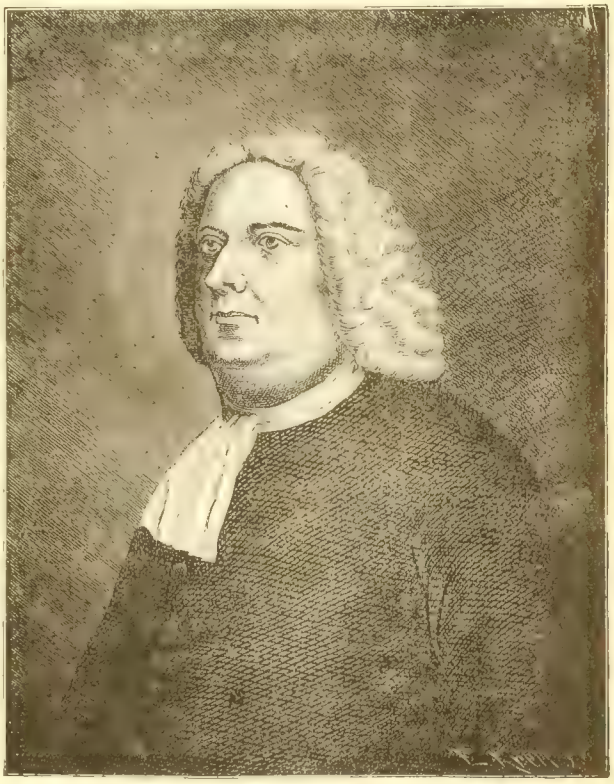
Hartford and Windsor, the first settlements of Connecticut, were founded by pioneers from Massachusetts in 1633. A few years later the infant colony passed through a severe struggle with the Indians, known historically as the Pequod War.

In 1636 Roger Williams, a preacher of Salem, was banished from Massachusetts for his independence of religious belief. He found refuge with the Narragansett Indians, and bought from them a tract of land on which he founded the plantation of Providence. Two years later another company founded Rhode Island, and in 1644 the two settlements were united.

* Bancroft's History of the United States.

In 1623 a post was established near what is now Portsmouth, New Hampshire. This was united with the Massachusetts colony, together with a few outlying settlements in Maine, until New Hampshire was, fifty years later, created a separate province.

Maryland was founded by Leonard Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore, as a Roman Catholic colony. The first settlement was planted in 1634 at St. Mary's, near the mouth of the Potomac. A dispute at once arose with Virginia, which, according to its charter, "extended two hundred miles north of Old Point Comfort, and therefore included the soil which forms the State of Maryland."* William Clayborne, who asserted the claim of Virginia, seized the government of the new colony, but was ultimately expelled.



WILLIAM PENN.
AFTER THE PAINTING BY GODFREY KNELLER (1659-1723).

Delaware was first settled by Swedish emigrants, who established themselves on the Delaware River, below Philadelphia, and named their territory New Sweden. Their settlements were captured by the Dutchmen of New Amsterdam, under Peter Stuyvesant, shortly before New Amsterdam was itself conquered by the British.

In 1663 Charles II. granted the land between Florida and Virginia to Lord Clarendon, who named it Carolina. Settlers from Virginia had already planted, at the mouth of the Chowan River, the Albemarle colony, which was the nucleus of North Carolina. South Carolina was first opened up by the Carteret colony, which founded Charleston in 1670. Its members were Englishmen and French Huguenots.

New Jersey was claimed by the Dutch as a part of the territory of New Amsterdam. They had built a log fort at Camden, on the Delaware, in 1623, but the settlement of the country began when

* Bancroft's History of the United States.

Charles II. granted the land between the Hudson and Delaware rivers to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, in 1664.

The colonization of Pennsylvania also dates from a grant of Charles II., given to William Penn in 1681, in payment of a debt due to his father, Admiral Penn. Penn laid out Philadelphia, buying the land from the Indians, and bringing to it two thousand Quakers from England. Delaware was united to his territory, but was finally separated from it in 1703.



A WAMPANOAG INDIAN IN FULL WAR PAINT.

The last of the thirteen colonies was Georgia. In 1732 George II. empowered James Oglethorpe to found, on the tract between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, a colony for those who had been imprisoned for debt. Other immigrants gathered there, coming from Scotland and Germany; and in 1736 John and Charles Wesley, the founders of Methodism, went there to preach. The colony was not established without hostilities with the Spaniards at St. Augustine.

But the northern colonies became involved in more serious wars. The settlers of New England were constantly harassed by the Indians. In King Philip's War, fought in 1675, the power of the Wampanoags and Narragansetts was broken. In King William's War, which lasted from 1689 to 1697, the aborigines were assisted by the French.

French colonists had founded Quebec in 1608, and their fur traders and missionaries had pushed up the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi valley. Two Jesuits, Père Marquette and Père Joliet, discovered the upper course of the Mississippi. In 1682 Lasalle sailed down the Ohio and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. The vast region through which he passed he claimed for France, and named it Louisiana, in honor of King Louis XIV. New Orleans and Mobile were founded by French settlers a few years later.



LOUIS XV. OF FRANCE

The uncertainty of intercolonial boundaries, and the frequent wars between the parent countries, led to the long conflict that forms most of the English colonies' annals for nearly a hundred years. "The history of the colonies, except for the great and romantic struggle with New France, would have been almost destitute of striking incidents."* Queen Anne's War (1702 to 1703) and King George's War (1744 to 1748), in both of which the French were assisted by the Indians, produced no important results.

The decisive struggle began in 1754, arising from a dispute between the Ohio Company and the French, into whose territory the Company had entered to trade in furs. The military career of George Washington began at this time, he being dispatched by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia with a letter to the French commander on the Ohio. The latter's reply was defiant, and two expeditions were sent against him—the first a regiment of Virginians, the second a British force under Braddock. Both were driven back from Fort Duquesne (on the present site of Pittsburgh), but in 1759 the war was decided by the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, at the head of a British expedition. Peace was signed in 1763, France abandoning all her territory in America, except the two islets of St. Pierre and

* Fiske's American Revolution, chapter 1.



BRADDOCK MORTALLY WOUNDED AT FORT DUQUESNE. (SEE PRECEDING PAGE.)

Miquelon, off Newfoundland, which she retains to-day. Her settlements east of the Mississippi were ceded to England, and the land west of the Mississippi to Spain, in return for the surrender of Florida to England.

The next great event in American history was the Revolution

of the thirteen colonies against England. Discontent against the mother country had been growing gradually, arising mainly from the unjust fiscal policy enforced by the British Parliament. The colonies were prohibited from exporting goods to any country but England. Duties were exacted upon the goods they imported, and their efforts to establish their own manufactures were crushed.

In 1765 the passage of the Stamp Act brought matters near to a crisis. This law required all documents needed in the colonies to be written upon stamped paper, which was to be bought from officers of the British revenue service. The measure aroused great public indignation in America. Six colonies united in a memorial of protest, wherein they "took their stand on the principle that as free-born Englishmen they could not rightfully be taxed by the House of Commons unless they were represented in that body." *

In 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed, but a few months later Parliament imposed a duty on all glass, paper, paints, and tea brought into America. Great opposition being manifested against these taxes, a body of British troops, under General Gage, was quartered in Boston. As the excitement in the colonies continued, the duties were ultimately removed with the exception of that on tea, which was retained as an assertion of the principle that Parliament's power over America was supreme.

For the same reason the tea tax was violently denounced in the colonies. "When our liberty is gone," said Samuel Adams, a leading citizen of Boston, "history and experience will teach us that an increase of inhabitants will be but an increase of slaves." † This feeling led to the Boston Tea Party—"an event so great that even American historians have generally failed to do it justice." ‡ On Dec. 16, 1773, a party of men, disguised as Indians, boarded some ships that lay in Boston harbor, and threw their cargoes of tea overboard.

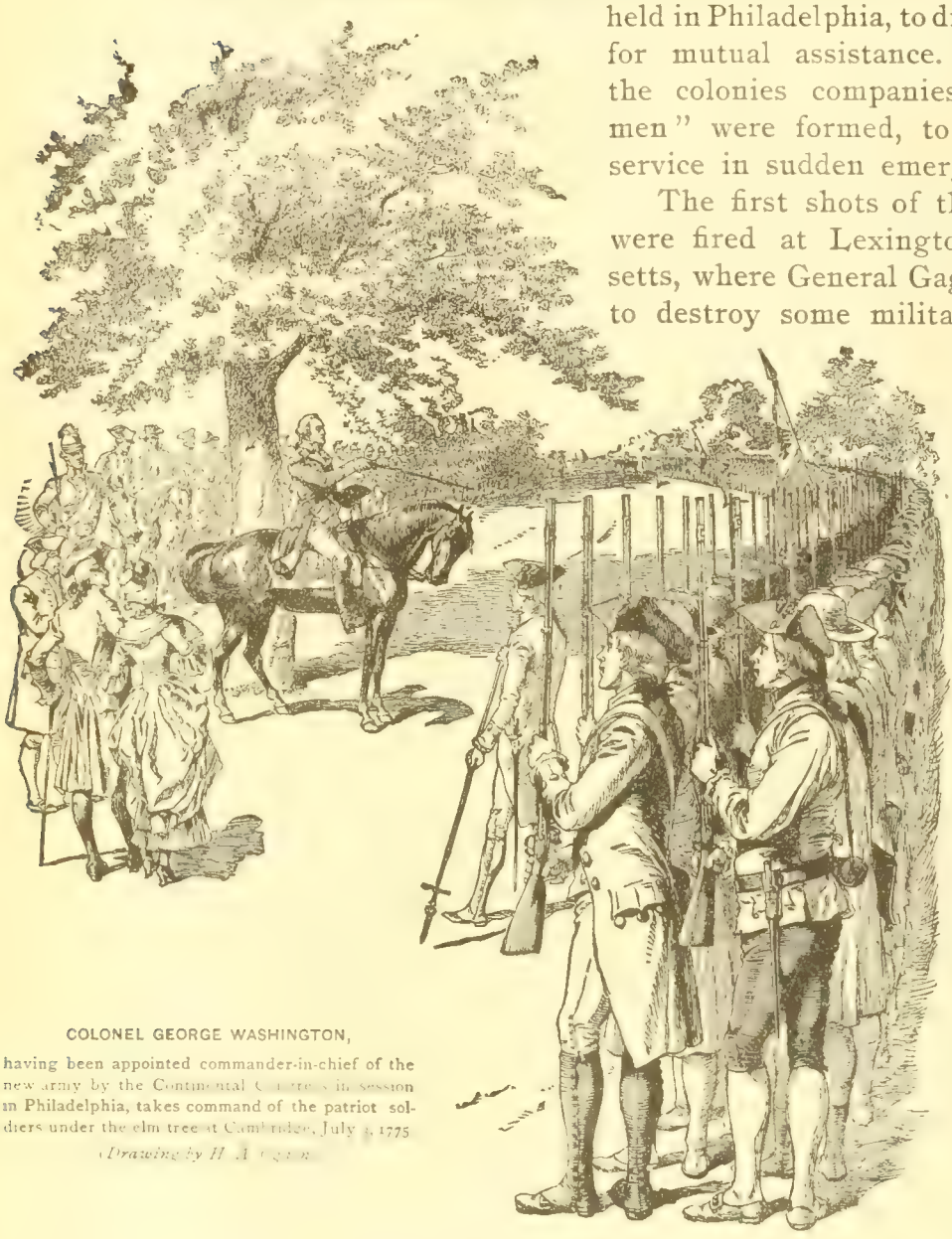
Parliament retaliated by closing the port of Boston. The custom house was removed to Salem, and General Gage was appointed military governor of Massachusetts. The other colonies loyally supported the Bostonians, and Virginia proclaimed a fast upon the day when their port was closed.

On the 5th of September, 1774, fifty-three delegates, sent by all

* Fiske's American Revolution, Chapter 1. † Bancroft's History of the United States.
‡ Fiske's American Revolution, Chapter 2.

the colonies except Georgia, met in the first Continental Congress, held in Philadelphia, to discuss schemes for mutual assistance. Throughout the colonies companies of "minute men" were formed, to be ready for service in sudden emergency.

The first shots of the Revolution were fired at Lexington, Massachusetts, where General Gage, on his way to destroy some military stores collected by the patriots at Concord, met armed resistance from the minute men, on the 19th of April, 1775. The colonial forces gathered at Cambridge, opposite Boston, and occupied Bunker Hill, whence they were driven by the British in the first serious fight of the war, fought on the 17th of June, 1775 — a battle "characterized, on both the British and the American sides, by heroism rather than by military skill or prudence." * Meanwhile, Ethan Allen had captured the British forts at Ticonderoga and Crown



COLONEL GEORGE WASHINGTON,

having been appointed commander-in-chief of the new army by the Continental Congress in session in Philadelphia, takes command of the patriot soldiers under the elm tree at Cambridge, July 3, 1775

(*Drawing by H. A. Ogden.*)

* Fiske's American Revolution, Chapter 2.



SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1776.

PAINTED BY TRUMBULL.

Point, on Lake Champlain; and the Second Continental Congress had met and appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of the colonial troops.

In March, 1776, the British evacuated Boston, and in June, their attack, under General Clinton, on Charleston, S. Carolina, proved a failure. On the 4th of July, the Continent'l Congress, still in session at Philadelphia, finally severed its allegiance to England by adopting the Declaration of Independence, drawn up by Thos. Jefferson, a delegate from Virginia.



HE RETREAT OF THE CONTINEN AL FORCES FROM LONG ISLAND AFTER THEIR DEFEAT ON THE 27TH OF AUGUST.
(DRAWING BY H. A. OGDEN

King George's government now realized that the rebellion of the Colonies was a serious affair. An army of twenty-five thousand men, under Lord Howe, landed on Staten Island, defeated General Putnam in the Battle of Long Island, and drove Washington out of New York. With only three thousand men, the American commodore retreated through New Jersey, pursued by the British under Cornwallis.

During the winter of 1776–77 Washington twice crossed the Delaware, and made successful attacks upon the British at Trenton and at Princeton. But he was in need of men, money, and munitions of war, and when, in September, the British, landing in Ches-



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE. (PAINTING BY LEUTZE.)

apeake Bay, marched upon Philadelphia, he was unable to prevent the capture of the colonial capital. The winter of 1777–78, during which Washington was in winter quarters at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, was the darkest period of the Revolution. "Well might Thomas Paine declare, 'These are the times that try men's souls!'" *

Meanwhile, however, the patriots had gained an important success in the north. General Burgoyne, invading New York by way of Lake Champlain, with a force of British troops, Hessians, and Indians, captured Ticonderoga, but was defeated by General Starke and General Gates, and on October 17 capitulated to the

* Fiske's American Revolution, Chapter 5.

latter his surrender being called a convention, "a soothing phrase well remembered by British historians." *

Early in 1778 the British evacuated Philadelphia and retreated to New York, followed by Washington. The indecisive battle of Monmouth was fought during their retreat across New Jersey.



WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE.

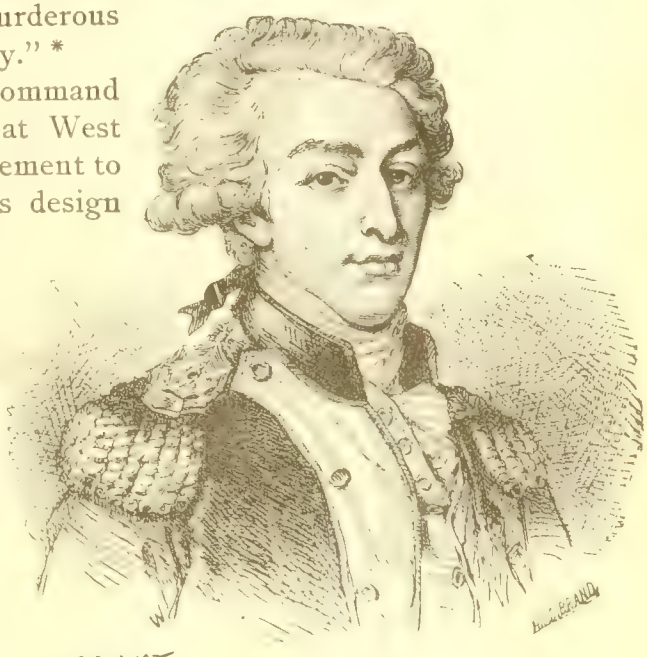
"These are the times that try men's s[illegible] Thomas Paine. (*Drawing by H. A. Ogden.*)

In February, 1778, Benjamin Franklin, sent to Europe to represent the colonies, signed a treaty of alliance with France. In accordance with this treaty, which was a very important addition to the strength of the patriots, a French fleet arrived in July, and sailed to attack the British force at Newport. It was driven back by a storm. In December a British expedition captured Savannah, Georgia.

The year 1779 witnessed much desultory fighting at various

* Fiske's American Revolution, Chapter 7.

points, but was chiefly distinguished by the exploits of Paul Jones, who, commanding the privateer *Bon Homme Richard*, harried the coast of England, and captured the British frigate *Serapis*, after "one of the most obstinate and murderous struggles recorded in naval history." *



MARQUIS MARIE JOSEPH PAUL DE LA FAYETTE, WHO CAME OVER IN THE FRENCH FLEET, TO OFFER H S SWORD N DEFENSE OF LIBERTY.

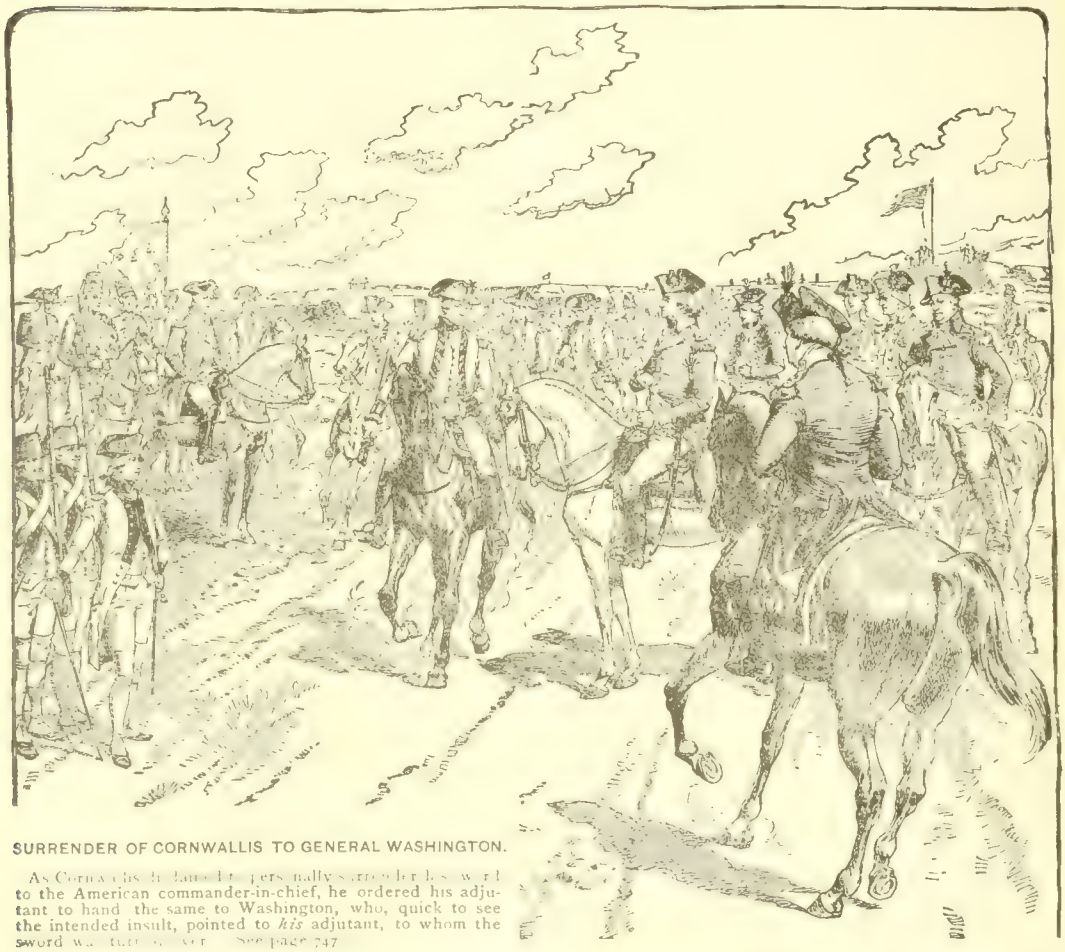
In 1780 Benedict Arnold, in command of the important American post at West Point, entered into a traitorous agreement to surrender it to the British. His design was detected through the arrest of André, a British spy; but Arnold escaped and joined the enemy. Charleston was also captured by the British under Clinton. A series of battles in the Carolinas and Virginia ensued, between the invaders, commanded by Cornwallis, and the Americans under Generals Gates, Morgan, and Greene. In October, Cornwallis, intrenched at Yorktown, was surrounded by an army composed of Americans under Washington and a French force under Rochambeau, together with a French fleet of which De Grasse was admiral. On the 19th of October Cornwallis surrendered with eight thousand men.

After this disaster the British government made no further attempt to reconquer the colonies. A treaty of peace was negotiated, and finally signed on the 3rd of September, 1783, by which England recognized their independence, their boundaries being the Great Lakes on the north, the Mississippi on the west, and on the south Florida. Florida was re-ceded to Spain — "an event which was accounted by our forefathers a great gain to the new republic." †

The colonies had now established their independence, but their political, social, and financial affairs were in great disorder. The Continental Congress had incurred a vast debt which it had no

* Fiske's American Revolution, Chapter 2. † Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress. Vol. I, Chap. 1.

means of paying. Its paper currency was terribly depreciated. "To say that a thing was 'not worth a continental' became the strongest possible expression of contempt."* At one time during



SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

As Cornwallis [illegible] personally surrender his sword to the American commander-in-chief, he ordered his adjutant to hand the same to Washington, who, quick to see the intended insult, pointed to *his* adjutant, to whom the sword was [illegible]. See page 747.

the war "it took ten paper dollars to make a cent."† There were serious dissensions between the colonies, and great popular distress and discontent, which in Massachusetts broke out into Shay's Rebellion. Under such discouraging circumstances took place "the most cheering act in the political history of mankind, when thirteen republics, of which at least three reached from the sea to the Mississippi, formed themselves into one federal commonwealth."‡

* Fiske's American Revolution, Chapter 19. † Bancroft's History of the United States.
‡ Bancroft's History of the United States.

The last British troops sailed from New York on the 25th of November, and "the same day that witnessed the departure of Sir Guy Carleton from New York also witnessed the entry into that city of the army of the States."* Thereupon Washington took a



WASHINGTON BIDS FAREWELL TO HIS OFFICERS AFTER RESIGNING HIS COMMAND OF THE ARMY.

formal leave of his troops and retired to his home at Mount Vernon, Virginia. He and other leading patriots continued to urge the reconstitution of the government, and the union of the colonies in a strong and stable confederation. In September, 1786, a convention of delegates was summoned at Annapolis, Maryland, to frame a plan for a more perfect union; but as only five states sent representatives the convention was adjourned until the following May.

* McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Chapter 2.

In that month (May, 1787) delegates from all of the thirteen colonies except Rhode Island met in Philadelphia. The convention sat for four months, choosing Washington as its president, and finally drafted and agreed upon a federal constitution. This instrument, which became the Constitution of the United States, provided for a legislative body, entitled Congress, and consisting of two chambers, a Senate and a House of Representatives; an executive department, with a President at its head; and the federal judiciary of the Supreme Court.

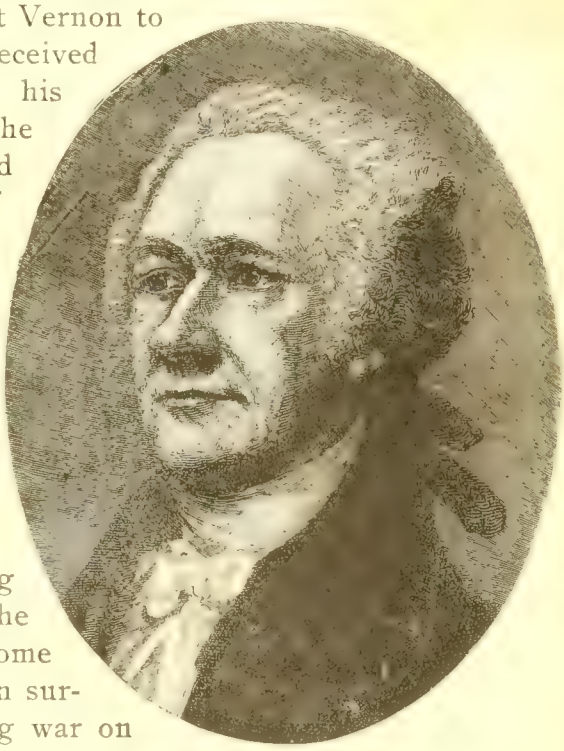
While the constitutional convention was in session at Philadelphia, the Continental Congress held its last sitting in New York -a sitting signalized by the organization of a government for the Northwestern Territory — the vast tract of land, hitherto claimed by Virginia, between the Ohio river, the upper Mississippi, and the Great Lakes, which now forms the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. General Arthur St. Clair was appointed the first governor of the Territory, with his headquarters at the settlement of Marietta, on the Ohio.

The constitution framed at Philadelphia met with a by no means ready acceptance. In some of the colonies it "called forth the fiercest resistance that selfish interests could organize." * New York, unwilling to surrender to a central government the great revenues that might be raised at her port, "of the thirteen States was the most stubborn in opposition." † The constitution was to become operative when accepted by nine States. Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey ratified it in December, 1787; Georgia and Connecticut in January, 1788; Massachusetts in February, Maryland in April, South Carolina in May, and New Hampshire, the ninth State, on the 21st of June. Virginia and New York followed, but North Carolina held aloof until November, 1789, and Rhode Island to the 29th of May, 1790.

The United States was now fully established as a Nation. "It is estimated that at the opening of the Revolutionary War there were in the country, both white and black, 2,750,000 souls." ‡ The total population had now increased to about three and a quarter millions. The area of the Union was eight hundred thousand square miles.

* Bancroft's History of the United States. † Ibid.
‡ McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Chapter 1.

New York had been designated as the seat of the federal government. The first election for President was held on the 6th of April, 1789, when the electors chosen by the several States named George Washington as President, and John Adams of Massachusetts as Vice President. General Washington, who was now in his fifty-eighth year, journeyed from Mount Vernon to New York for his inauguration, being received with a great, popular ovation along his route. On the 30th of April he took the oath of office on the portico of the old City Hall, which stood at the corner of Wall and Broad streets.

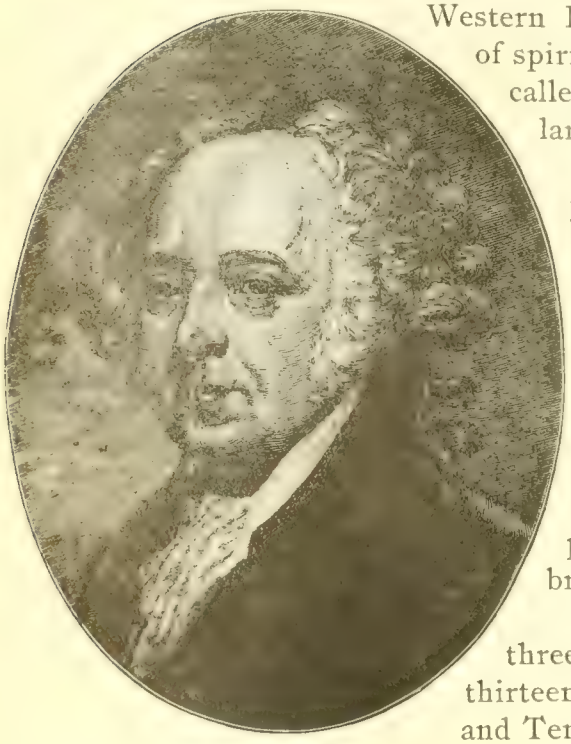


ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

The leading members of Washington's first cabinet were Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General, and General Henry Knox, Secretary of War. Able men were needed for the guidance of the government. The treasury was empty. Spain was excluding American ships from the mouth of the Mississippi. England had retained some forts in the West that should have been surrendered, and the Indians were waging war on the pioneers of the Northwestern Territory and had defeated Governor St. Clair. The outbreak of the French Revolution had caused friction with the new republican government of France, whose ambassador in America, M. Genet, had fitted out vessels of war in American ports, to be used against England, and had defied Washington's command to respect the neutrality of the United States.

All these international difficulties were removed by diplomacy. The offending French minister was withdrawn. In 1795 a treaty was concluded with Spain, and in the same year John Jay negotiated another with England. The Indian troubles in the West were ended by an expedition commanded by General Anthony Wayne, who conquered the savages in a battle on the Maumee river.

The regulation of the Federal finances was the work of Alexander Hamilton. He funded the debt of the United States, and in 1791 established a mint and the United States Bank in Philadelphia, which was then the largest city and chief financial centre of the country, and had recently been created the capital—for in 1790 the government was removed to it from New York. To defray the charges of the national debt, duties were levied upon imported goods, and an internal revenue tax imposed upon the distillation of whisky. These taxes were not entirely popular. Western Pennsylvania rose against the taxation of spirits, and the Whisky Rebellion, as it was called, was only suppressed by calling out a large force of militia.



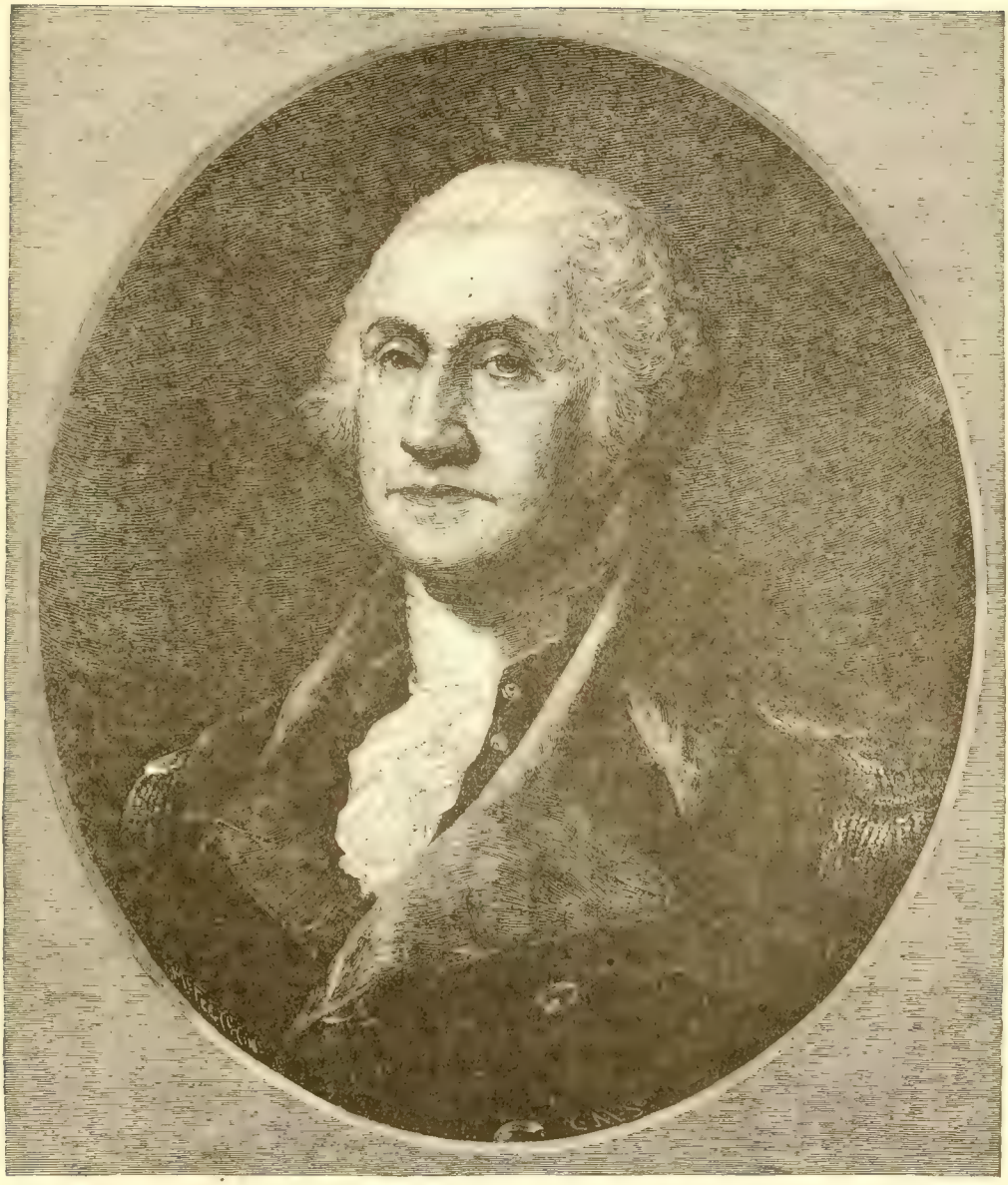
JOHN ADAMS.

When Washington's term of four years in the Presidency expired, he was elected for a second time, John Adams being also re-elected Vice-President. Washington's second inauguration took place at Philadelphia on the 4th of March, 1793. On the approach of the expiration of his second term he issued a Farewell Address and refused to be a candidate for a third, thereby setting a precedent that has never since been broken.

During Washington's administration three new States were added to the original thirteen—Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), and Tennessee (1796).

The political sentiment of the nation was divided into two schools or parties. The Republicans, of whom the Democrats are the modern successors, supported the rights of the individual States as against those of the general government. The Federalists, who somewhat faintly correspond to the Republicans of to-day, held that the Federal power should be further extended.

The Federalists had a majority of the electors who chose Washington's successor, and they named John Adams, of Massachusetts. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, who was the author of



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THIS SPLENDID PORTRAIT OF "PATER PATRIÆ," IS COMED NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME AFTER THE FAMOUS ETCHING BY THE FRENCH ARTIST HENRY LEFORT. THE ETCHER TOOK AS HIS MODEL THE THREE-QUARTER FACE, HEAD, AND EPAULETTED CONTINENTAL UNIFORMED BUST OF THE PORTRAIT BY GILBERT STUART,-OF WHICH WASHINGTON ALLSTON WROTE: "A NOBLER PERSONIFICATION OF WISDOM AND GOODNESS, REPOSING IN THE MAJESTY OF A SERENE CONSCIENCE, IS NOT TO BE FOUND ON CANVASS."

the Declaration of Independence, and had served as Washington's Secretary of State, was the candidate of the Republicans, and as he received the second highest number of votes he became Vice-President, according to the rule then prevailing. Adams and Jefferson were inaugurated in Philadelphia on the 4th of March, 1797.

The chief incident of John Adams' uneventful Presidency was a brief war with France. The friction with the unstable government of that country had continued. War was finally precipitated by a demand from the Directory, then in power at Paris, that the United States should pay the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, before the questions at issue should be considered. Congress declared war, and organized an army, of which Washington was appointed commander-in-chief. The only actual hostilities that took place, however, were two fights at sea between French and American frigates, the latter being victorious on each occasion. In 1800, the Directory having been overthrown by Napoleon Bonaparte, who established himself as First Consul of the French republic, the war was ended by a treaty of peace that left the Corsican dictator free to pursue his plans of conquest on the continent of Europe.



NAPOLEON AS CONSUL.

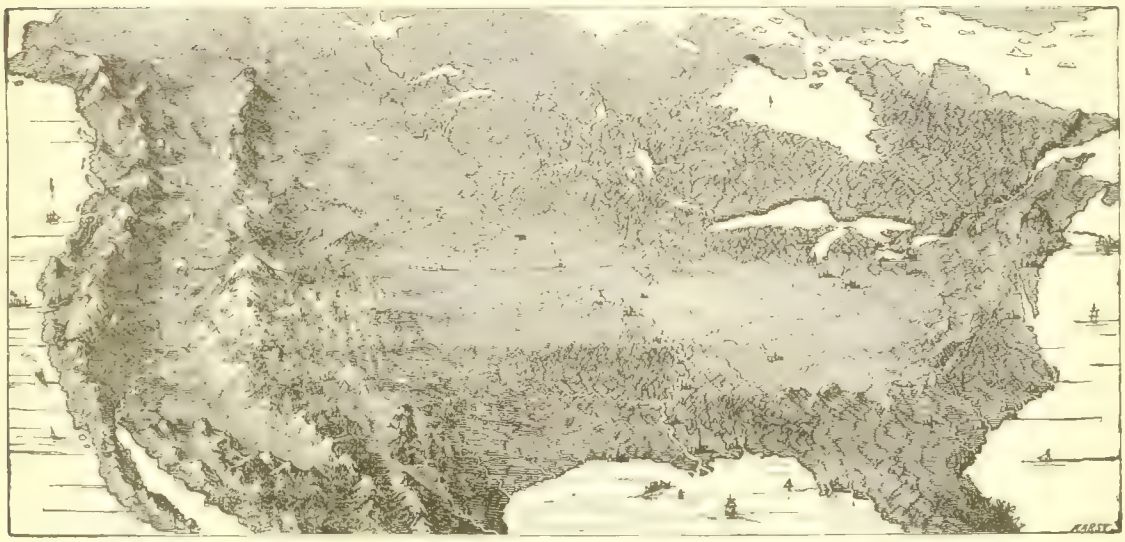
Shortly before the conclusion of peace George Washington died at Mount Vernon, on the 14th of December, 1799.

Toward the close of his administration President Adams incurred much unpopularity through the passage, at his instance, of the Alien and Sedition laws, which gave the government power to expel disloyal foreigners and punish all disaffected persons. These

acts were denounced as unconstitutional by the Republicans, who were victorious in the Presidential election of 1800. Their leading candidates, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, received an equal number of votes in the electoral college. The matter being referred to the House of Representatives, Jefferson was elected.

In this year (1800) the seat of the Federal government was removed from Philadelphia to a new city established on territory ceded by Virginia and Maryland, and named Washington. In 1802, Ohio, the seventeenth State, was admitted to the Union.

The great event of Jefferson's administration was the purchase of Louisiana, which then included all the land west of the Missis-



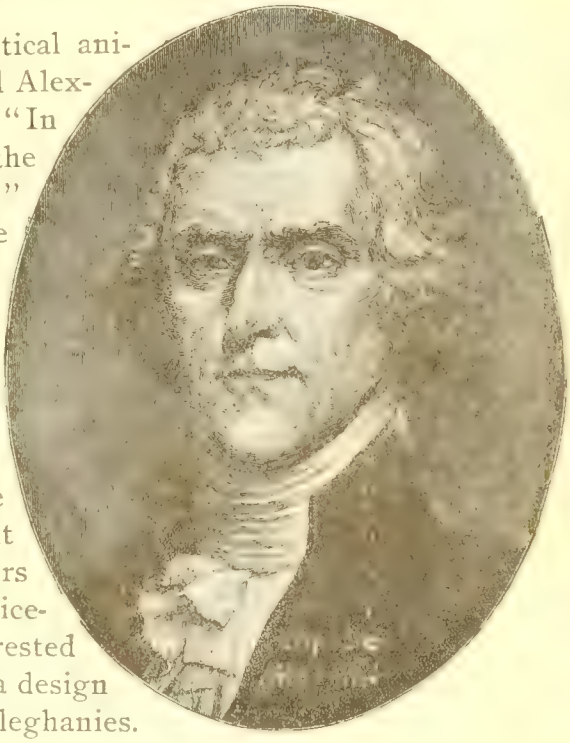
BIRDSEYE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, SHOWING THE GREAT MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

sippi, stretching indefinitely westward. This vast territory, ceded by France to Spain in 1763, passed back to the French in 1800. In 1803, Jefferson, anxious to secure control of the mouth of the Mississippi, instructed Livingston, the American minister at Paris, to make a proposal for the purchase of New Orleans. Napoleon, needing money for his war against Austria and Prussia, offered to sell the whole of Louisiana to the United States. The offer, though unexpected, was accepted, the price agreed on being "sixty millions of francs, or, as was calculated, $11,250,000," * besides the payment of certain claims which brought the total to nearly $15,000,000.

* McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Chapter 13.

There was some short-sighted criticism of this heavy outlay, but "the mass of the people pronounced the purchase a bargain."*

In 1801 an effort was made to punish the pirates of the north African coast, who had inflicted great damage upon American shipping in the Mediterranean. Commodore Preble attacked Tangiers in 1803, but the frigate Philadelphia, blockading Tripoli, was captured by the pirates, and her crew was held in slavery until rescued by Decatur six months later. In 1804 Tripoli was bombarded and the Bey forced to sue for peace.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

In that same year the bitter political animosity between Vice-President Burr and Alexander Hamilton culminated in a duel. "In the early sunlight of a July morning the two were rowed across the Hudson river" from New York, "and met under the rocky heights of Weehawken."† Hamilton was shot and killed — an event that caused great public sorrow, and ruined Burr's career. In the ensuing election, while Jefferson was re-elected President, Burr was succeeded by George Clinton of New York. Before this election a constitutional amendment had been passed, whereby the electors voted separately for President and Vice-President. Two years later Burr was arrested on a charge of treason, and accused of a design of founding an empire west of the Alleghanies. He was not convicted.

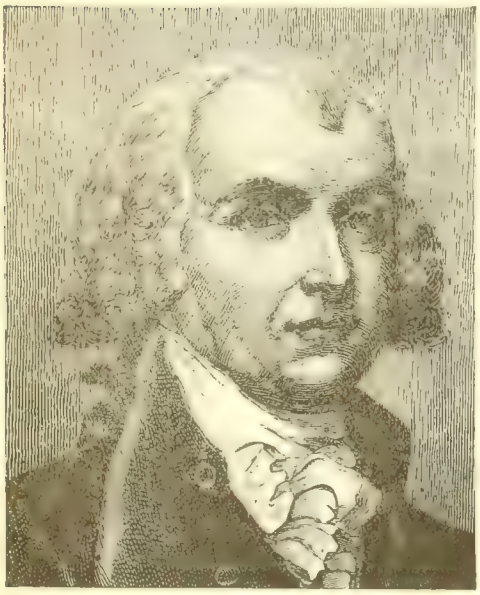
In 1807 Robert Fulton's first steamer, the Clermont, made its famous voyage from New York to Albany, marking the invention of steam navigation.

The Napoleonic wars, which at this time were making Europe a great battle-field, seriously affected the United States. England, whose navy under Nelson had become mistress of the seas, claimed the so-called Right of Search over American vessels. Her men-of-war constantly stopped and boarded them, and impressed men from their crews, claiming that the men she took were British citizens.

* McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Chapter 13. † Ibid.

The American frigate Chesapeake was fired upon, in 1807, by the British man-of-war Leopard, and four of her seamen forcibly captured as deserters.

Americans also suffered from the blockades proclaimed by France and England. By the Orders in Council of 1807 the latter prohibited all trade with France and her allies. Napoleon retaliated with the Milan Decree, declaring an embargo against England and her colonies. American merchant vessels attempting to trade with either of the combatants were liable to seizure by the cruisers of the other. Congress did not mend matters by passing a law to prevent American ships from leaving the ports of the United States. The shipping industry, then very extensive, was seriously injured.



JAMES MADISON.

Amid this political confusion Jefferson's presidency ended. Following the example of Washington, he declined a third term, and in the election of 1808 James Madison of Virginia, was chosen to succeed him, while Clinton was re-elected Vice President. Madison was one of the most distinguished leaders of the Republican party, and had been Jefferson's Secretary of State throughout the latter's Presidency.

The relations of the United States toward France, and especially toward England, continued to be strained. In 1810 Napoleon issued a special decree against American trade, and though this was shortly afterward revoked, both French and English men-of-war repeatedly seized American vessels. English ships even entered American ports to do so, and in 1811 shots were exchanged between the British cruiser Little Belt and the American frigate President. Altogether, between 1803 and 1812, nine hundred American ships were seized or searched by the British, and six thousand American sailors impressed into the British service

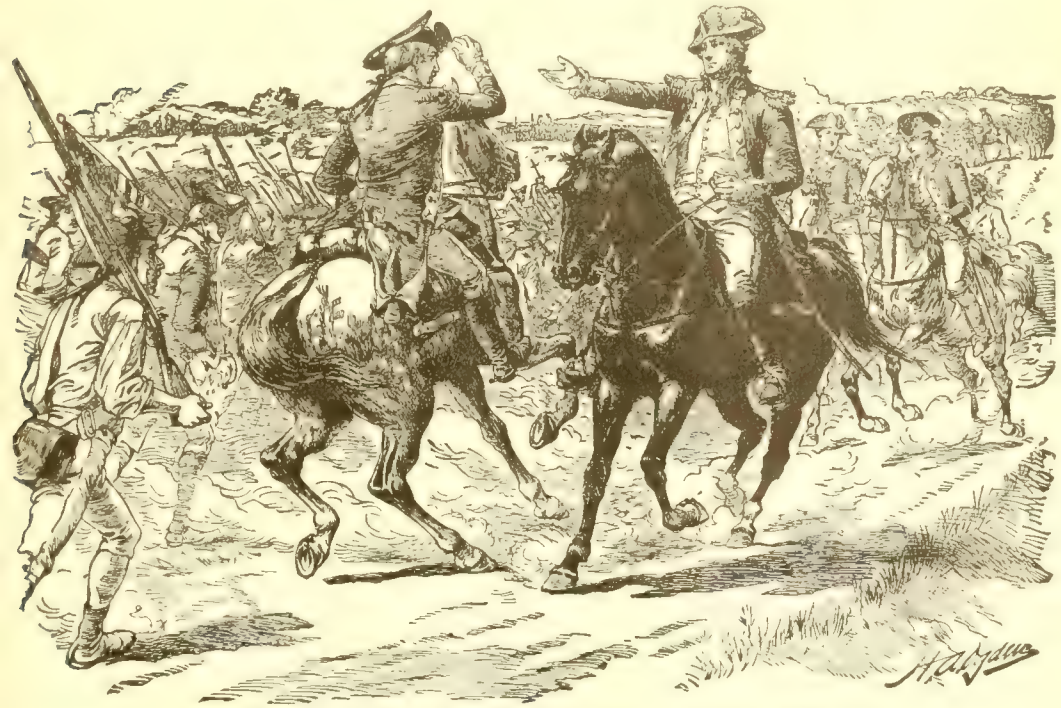
In 1811 there was a great rising of the Indians in the Northwestern Territory, under the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, whose headquarters were at the confluence of the Tippecanoe and Wabash rivers, in Indiana. General William Henry Harrison was sent

to attack him, and met his messengers, who promised that on the next day Tecumseh would come to sign a treaty. That night the Indians assaulted General Harrison's camp, but in the fight that followed, called the Battle of the Tippecanoe, they were defeated and crushed.

In June, 1812, Louisiana was admitted into the Union as a new State. In the same month war was declared against England.

The first fighting took place on the Northwestern frontier. General Hull, governor of Michigan Territory, moved into Canada. His troops were defeated at Brownstown, and he was driven back across the St. Clair River to the fort at Detroit. He was pursued by a British force under General Brock, who had been joined by Tecumseh and his Shawnees. At Brock's first attack upon Detroit, Hull ran up a white flag, surrendering the fort with its garrison and its stores. For this cowardly act, which occurred on the 16th of August, 1812, Hull was afterward court-martialed and sentenced to be shot, but was pardoned by President Madison. The British had also captured Fort Mackinaw, and were now in possession of the whole of Michigan.

Almost equally disastrous was an attempted invasion of Canada



43 GOVERNOR HULL, AFTER HIS DEFEAT AT BROWNSTOWN, WITHDRAWS HIS TROOPS TO FORT DETROIT.

at Queenstown, on the Niagara River. A body of New York militia, under General Van Rensselaer, was stationed at Lewiston, on the American side. A detachment crossed the river, attacked the British force at Queenstown, and drove them back; but reinforcements coming up, and the rest of the New York men refusing to go to their comrades' assistance, the invaders were killed or captured almost to a man.

But while the American flag met with disasters on land, at sea it achieved creditable successes. No important naval battles were fought, but the British frigate Guerriere was captured and burned by the United States frigate Constitution in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Later in the year the Constitution took a second British frigate, the Java, off the coast of Brazil. Captain Decatur, of the frigate United States, captured a third, the Macedonian, near the Azores. The sloop Wasp met and took the British brig Frolic, off North Carolina, but was in turn captured by an English man-of-war. American privateers were commissioned in great numbers, and did great damage to British commerce, seizing three hundred vessels within a year.

The successes over a nation whose boast it was that for fifty years she had never met defeat on the ocean gave great satisfaction in the United States. Popular approval of President Madison's policy was testified by his re-election in the fall of 1812.

In 1813 General Harrison, the victor of Tippecanoe, was placed in command of the army in the Northwest. His campaign opened disastrously. General Winchester, the leader of his advanced guard, was surrounded on the Maumee River and captured, with a thousand men, by the British and Indians under General Proctor. Proctor then besieged Harrison at Fort Meigs, but was driven off by the arrival of twelve hundred Kentuckians. In July Proctor renewed his attack, but was again unsuccessful, and was also repulsed from Fort Stevenson, at Lower Sandusky.

In September a fleet of nine small vessels, hastily equipped by the Americans, encountered the six British ships that had hitherto had control of Lake Erie. The latter were defeated and captured, and Perry, the American commander, sent to General Harrison the message, "We have met the enemy and they are ours!" Harrison's army was now carried across the lake to invade Canada. Proctor hurried back to the defense of the British settle-

ments. The two forces met on the Thames River, where, on the 5th of October, Proctor was defeated, and his Shawnee ally, Tecumseh, was killed. This success restored Michigan to the United States, and relieved the Northwestern Territory from fear of invasion.

Meanwhile General Dearborn, in April, had crossed Lake Ontario and captured York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada. Not attempting to retain the town, he next attacked Fort George, the British post on the Niagara River. The commander of the fort blew up his magazines and retreated, but in the ensuing battle, at Burlington Heights, the Americans were taken by surprise and forced to withdraw. A detachment of six hundred of Dearborn's men was surrounded and captured at Fort George.

After this disaster Dearborn was recalled, and was succeeded by General Wilkinson, who planned an expedition against Montreal. In the battle of Chrysler's Farm, fought near the rapids of the St. Lawrence, he was successful, but he was unable to reach Montreal, going into winter quarters near St. Regis.

There were also hostilities against the Indians in the Southwest in 1813. In August the Creeks captured Fort Mims, on the Alabama River, and massacred its inhabitants. Other settlements were attacked, and, though troops from Tennessee and Georgia were called out, the Creek War was not ended until General Jackson inflicted a crushing defeat on the Indians at the Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River, in March, 1814.

The chief naval actions of 1813 were the sinking of the British brig Peacock by the American sloop Hornet, and the capture of another British brig, the Boxer, by the Enterprise. On the other hand, the Chesapeake, commanded by Captain Lawrence, met the British frigate Shannon, off Boston, and was taken after a short fight, in which Lawrence was killed. His last words were "Don't give up the ship!"

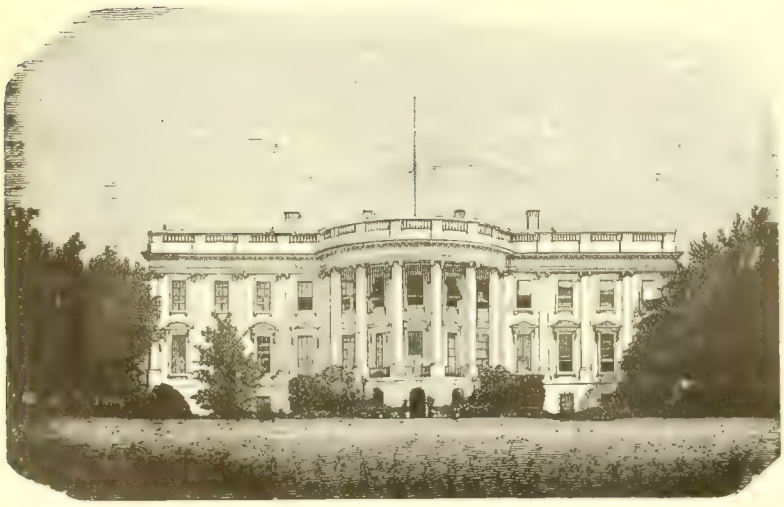
The battles of 1814 were the most important of the war. In June General Brown crossed the Niagara River with five thousand men, took Fort Erie, and on the 14th of July met and defeated a British force under General Riall, at Chippewa. On the 25th the two armies met again in the hard fought battle of Lundy's Lane. The Americans captured a hill on which the British had planted

a battery, and held it against repeated assaults; but though successful, their loss was so great that on the following day they were forced to retreat. In the battle the commander of the American advance guard, Winfield Scott, "was seriously wounded in the shoulder."* During the summer the British, under General Drummond, besieged Fort Erie, which the Americans held until November, when its commandant, General Izard, blew it up and withdrew from Canada.

In September a British expedition of twelve thousand men, under General Prevost, invaded the United States by way of Lake Champlain, and attacked Plattsburg, which was defended by General Macomb, with three thousand men, and a squadron of vessels under Commodore McDonough. On the 11th of September, Prevost, attempting to cross the Saranac River, was driven back with heavy loss.

A British expedition against Baltimore and Washington was more successful. A fleet, under Admiral Cochrane, entered Chesapeake Bay in August, and landed a force of 4,500 men on the Patuxent River, fifty miles from Washington. The capital was defended only by a body of militia under General Winder, and Commodore Barney's few small vessels; and "the British commander, General Robert Ross, boasted that he would wipe out Barney's fleet and dine in Washington the next Sunday."† Marching upon the capital, Ross defeated its defenders at Bladensburg on the 24th of August, entered the city, burned the Capitol and the White House, and returned to the British fleet.

Admiral Cochrane then moved toward Baltimore. He bombarded Fort McHenry, and there was a skirmish on land at North Point, in which General Ross was killed. The fleet then withdrew.



THE WHITE HOUSE AT WASHINGTON

Another British expedition in August occupied Pensacola, in

* Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Scott).

† Ibid (Bladensburg).



BATTLE BETWEEN THE ESSEX, UNDER CAPTAIN PORTER, AND TWO ENGLISH SHIPS IN THE OFFING AT VALPARAISO, MARCH, 1813.

Florida (at this time Spanish territory), and moved thence against Fort Bowyer, at the mouth of Mobile Bay. Major Lawrence, in command of the post, repelled the attack with heavy loss. General Jackson, who was at the head of military operations in the South, pursued the invaders to Pensacola and drove them out.

New Orleans was the next point of attack. In December the British ships entered Lake Borgne and threatened New Orleans. They captured a flotilla of American vessels, and landed an army of twelve thousand men on the banks of the Mississippi, below New Orleans. Among these soldiers were "some of the best of Wellington's troops that fought on the Spanish peninsula," * and their commander was General Pakenham, who was known as the Hero of Vittoria, from the important part he had played in that battle, fought in Spain the year before.

General Jackson had but half as many men, mostly hastily levied and untrained militia. He intrenched himself in a strong position four miles below the city, where, to attack him, the enemy must move along a narrow and exposed space. Pakenham, who regarded Jackson's forces as nothing better than "a handful of backwoodsmen," ordered his men to assault. They did this in the face of a terrible fire, which mowed down their ranks and finally routed them.

In this battle of New Orleans "the British lost 2,600 men, killed, wounded, and made prisoners; while the Americans, sheltered by their breastworks, lost only eight killed and thirteen wounded. The history of human warfare presents no parallel to this disparity in loss." † Pakenham himself was among the slain. General Lambert, who succeeded him, at once retreated to his ships.

The only notable sea fight of 1814 was that in which the American frigate Essex was captured by two British vessels off Valparaiso.

On the 14th of December, 1814, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, in Belgium, by British and American commissioners. In those days news traveled slowly, and it was three weeks after the signature of the treaty that the battle of New Orleans was fought. Intelligence of the conclusion of peace reached America

* Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (New Orleans). † Ibid.

on the 11th of February, 1815, and was thereupon proclaimed by the President. At sea, fighting went on much later. In February the frigate Constitution captured two British sloops off Lisbon. In March the Hornet sank the British brig Penguin near the Cape of Good Hope. In June, four months after the proclamation of peace, the Peacock took the British vessel Nautilus in the Straits of Sunda.

The end of the war was hailed with great joy in America. The Federalist party had all along opposed a war policy, and it had been especially unpopular in New England. Just before the peace, a convention of New England Federalists met to protest against the continuance of hostilities and to set forth their grievances. The delegates were charged by their political opponents with intending to desert the Union and make a separate peace with England. The commerce of the country had been greatly injured. The paper currency was much depreciated, and little gold was in circulation. But the New England States had suffered most heavily. Their coasts had been blockaded and devastated, their fisheries suppressed, and their coasting vessels swept from off the sea. So completely was their ocean trade destroyed that the lighthouses along their shores had been ordered to extinguish their signals, because they were of service to none but British ships.

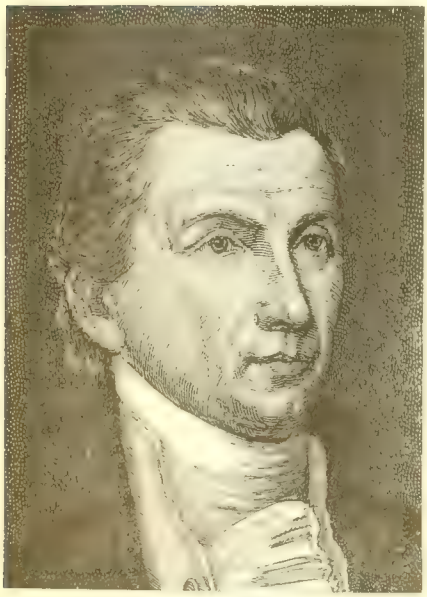
The land operations of the American forces during the "war of 1812," as the second war against Great Britain is generally termed, were directed mainly toward repelling British invasions, and to attacking Canada. The commanders who won the greatest distinction were Generals Jackson and Harrison, both of whom became Presidents; Brown and Winfield Scott, afterwards commander-in-chief of the army; and Macomb, the victor of Plattsburg. The sea-fights of the war, though fewer and less important, were more signally creditable to the flag than were the land battles.

The American navy performed another notable achievement in June, 1815, when Decatur, with nine ships, occupied the harbor of Algiers, and compelled the piratical Dey to release all the Americans among the slaves captured by his cruisers.

The last important event of Madison's administration was the admission to the Union of Indiana, the nineteenth State, in December, 1816. In the following March he retired from office, having gained the reputation of one who "had done much in the establish-

ment of the nation on a firm foundation,"* and went into private life.

"Before the close of Madison's administration, the Federal party had so much declined in strength that a nomination for office by the Republican party was equivalent to an election."† In the preceding year the Presidential nomination had fallen upon James Monroe, of Virginia, who was elected, with Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, as Vice-President. Monroe had performed high public service as an officer in the Revolutionary War, a Congressman, and as Secretary of War under Madison. His eight years' administration was marked by peaceful relations with foreign powers. Its most important domestic event was the beginning of the agitation of the Slavery question.



JAMES MONROE.

In December, 1817, the western half of the Mississippi Territory was created into a State, the eastern being formed into Alabama Territory. In this latter there was immediately afterward an Indian rising, the Creeks renewing their attacks on white settlers, and being assisted by the Seminoles of Florida. General Gaines, in command of the troops in Alabama, could not suppress the outbreak, and General Jackson called out the Tennessee militia. He attacked and took the Indian villages, and then, finding that the rising had been instigated from beyond the frontier of Spanish territory, he "did not hesitate to march across the line, capture Pensacola, and seize the Barrancas,"‡ a neighboring fort.

This invasion of Florida created great indignation in Spain. Her government had for some time been more or less unfriendly to America, for she "had always been dissatisfied with Bonaparte's transfer of Louisiana to the United States."§ In the following year, however, the matter was adjusted, and all occasion for future difficulties at this point removed, by a treaty "which, with many gains, entailed some signal losses on the United States."‖ Spain agreed to sell Florida for five million dollars—"an acquisition which proved of great value to us from every point of view."¶

* Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Madison). † Ibid. (Monroe).
‡ Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. I, Chap. 1. § Ibid. ‖ Ibid. ¶ Ibid.

On the other hand, although "the whole of Texas was fairly included in the Louisiana purchase," * the United States now agreed to consider the Sabine River as its southwestern boundary, thus ceding Texas to Mexico.

In December, 1818, Illinois, the twenty-first State, was admitted to the Union. At the same session of Congress a bill was introduced to constitute the Territory of Missouri into a State. The House of Representatives inserted a clause providing that there should be no slavery in the State. The Senate struck it out, and there ensued a long struggle on "the Missouri question, as it was popularly termed." † In 1820 this was settled by the adoption of a compromise, which provided that Missouri should be allowed to come in as a slave State, but that no slavery should be permitted in any State thereafter to be formed north of the latitude of thirty-six and a half degrees, the southern boundary of Missouri.

The question had been discussed with great bitterness, the representatives of the North antagonizing slavery, in opposition to those of the South, where slave labor was believed to be necessary for the great agricultural industries of cotton, tobacco, and rice. But the compromise having been adopted, both parties "accepted the result, and for the next twenty years no agitation of the slavery question appeared in any political convention, or affected any considerable body of the people." ‡

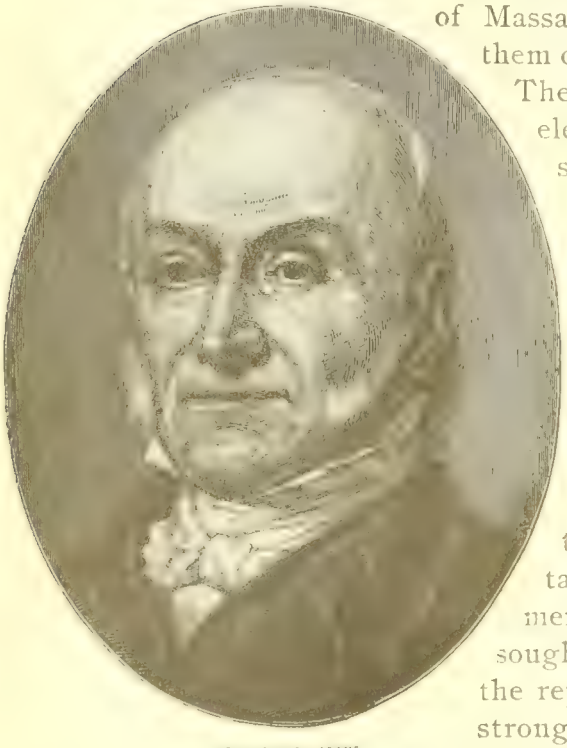
Meanwhile Alabama (1819) and Maine (1820) had been admitted as States. The tariff question had also risen into prominence. In 1816 a bill levying moderate duties on imports had been passed by the influence of the South, and against the wishes of the Northern representatives. The opinions prevalent in the two sections had since become reversed. The Northern States favored an increase of duties, but the Southerners prevented it.

In 1822 there were revolts throughout Mexico and South America against the dominion of Spain, to whom almost all South and Central America, with the exception of Brazil, had hitherto been subject. The United States Government recognized the independence of the newly-formed states, and in 1823 President Monroe formulated what "has since been recognized as a part of the settled policy of the Republic," § when he declared in his

* Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress. Vol. I, Chap. 1. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
§ Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Monroe Doctrine).

message to Congress that "the American continents are not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." This sentence has become historic as "the Monroe doctrine."

President Monroe and Vice President Tompkins were re-elected in 1820. As their second term drew to a close four candidates were nominated for the Presidency—General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and William H. Crawford of Georgia, by the Republicans; John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, by the opposition. None of them obtained a majority of the electoral vote. The House of Representatives thereupon elected John Quincy Adams, who was the son of President John Adams, and "a ripe scholar, an able diplomatist, a life-long opponent of human slavery, and an eloquent orator."* He had served as a foreign minister, as a senator, and as Secretary of State under Monroe. His Vice-President was John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

The administration of John Q. Adams was uneventful. The chief question in domestic politics was that of the tariff, which was debated with great vehemence. The Northern and Middle States sought to increase the duties on imports, and the representatives of the South opposed them strongly. The great champion of a higher tariff was Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, who "was the leader of the friends of the administration."† Ultimately, in 1828, a bill was passed which imposed high protective duties.

In February, 1826, the government purchased from the Creeks their lands in Georgia, and removed the Indians to a tract west of the Mississippi. This was the beginning of the formation of the Indian Territory.

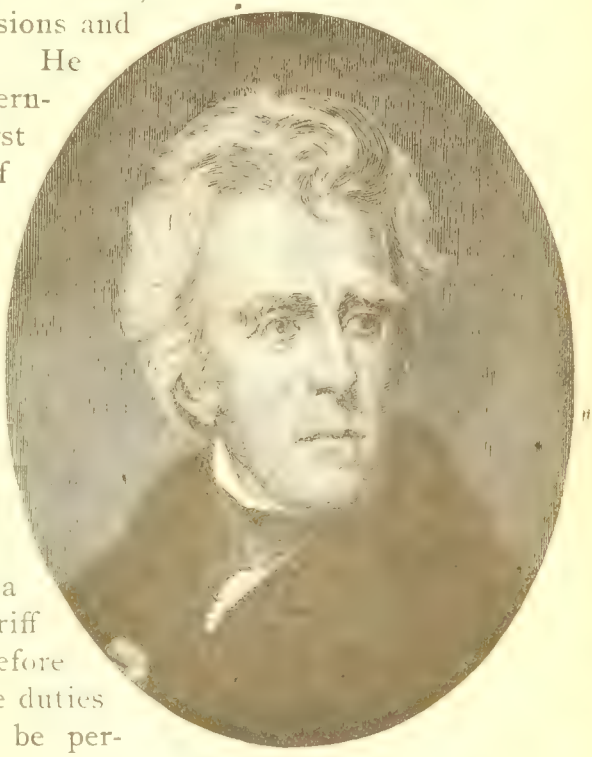
In the same year, on the 4th of July, exactly fifty years from

* Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (John Q. Adams). † Ibid. (Webster).

the day when they had signed the Declaration of Independence, two Ex-Presidents, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, died.

In 1828 President John Q. Adams was re-nominated by the Whigs, but was defeated by General Andrew Jackson, the candidate of the Democrats, as the old Republican party was now termed. John C. Calhoun was re-elected Vice-President.

General Jackson, the victor of New Orleans, had had a long and distinguished military career. He "possessed great firmness and decision of character; was honest and true; not always correct in judgment; often rash in expressions and actions; a patriot of purest stamp."* He took up the administration of the government with fearless energy. In his first annual message he attacked the Bank of the United States, a powerful, but as he believed, an unconstitutional institution. The bank's charter was about to expire, and President Jackson urged that it should not be renewed. Congress passed a bill to re-charter the bank, but the President defeated it by a veto.



ANDREW JACKSON

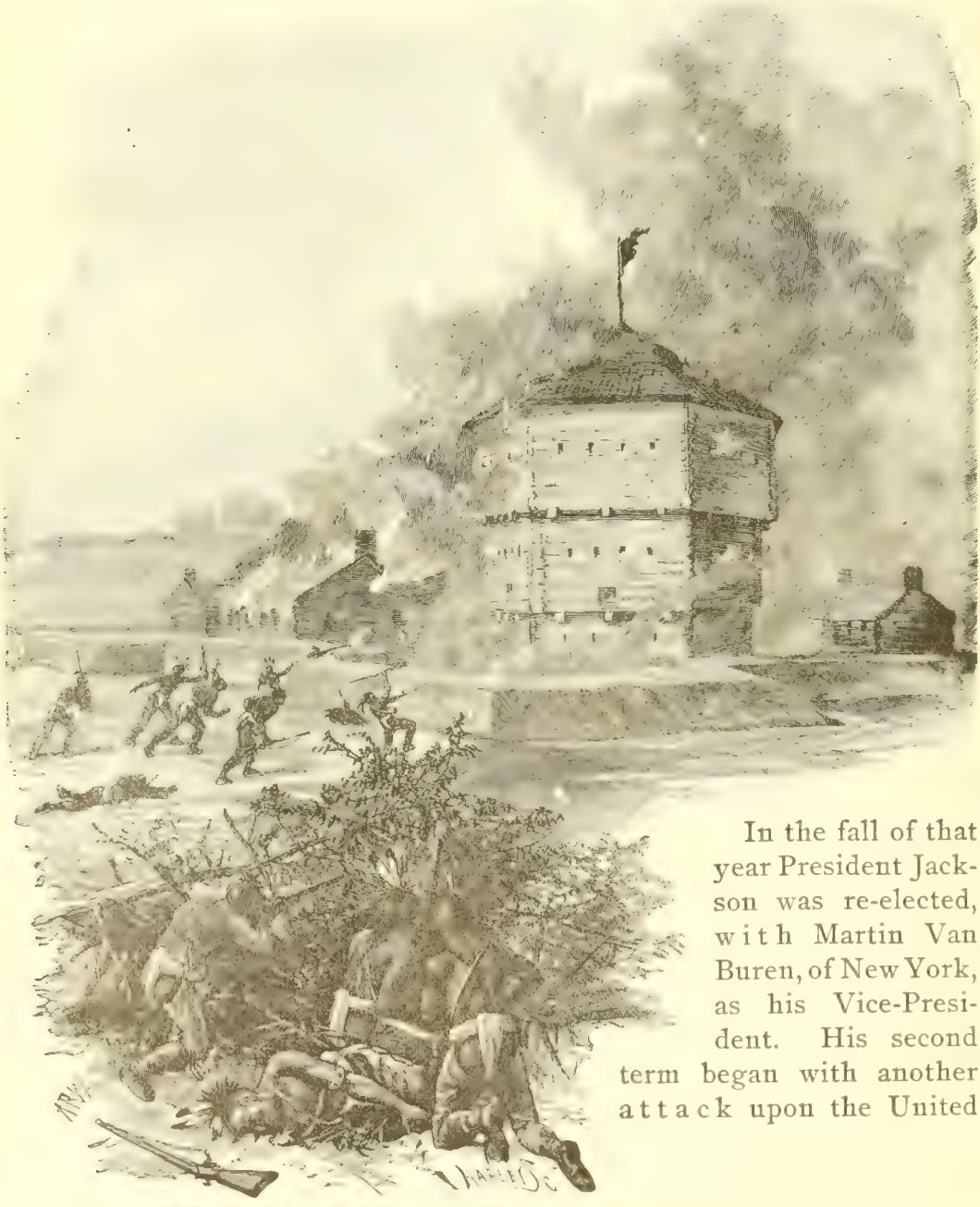
In 1832 a further increase of the tariff caused great indignation in the South. The State of South Carolina went so far as to declare that the tariff laws were unconstitutional, and therefore null and void; that the collection of the duties in the port of Charleston would not be permitted; and threatened that South Carolina would leave the Union. "The doctrine of State sovereignty and supremacy, and that the Union was a compact of States that might be dissolved by the secession of any one of them, independent of all action on the part of the others, was honestly held by Mr. Calhoun,"† who was the leader of the movement.

President Jackson issued a proclamation against the "nullifiers," and promptly sent troops to Charleston, under General Scott. The question was settled without bloodshed. In 1833 Henry Clay

* Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Jackson). † Ibid. (Calhoun).

introduced a bill for the gradual lowering of the tariff, and the discontent in South Carolina was allayed.

In 1832 the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians, in what is now the State of Wisconsin, broke out into rebellion, led by the chief Black Hawk. There was some fighting before the hostiles were suppressed and deported to the newly formed Indian Territory.



THE ATTACK UPON FORT KING BY THE INDIAN FORCES OF OSCEOLA.

In the fall of that year President Jackson was re-elected, with Martin Van Buren, of New York, as his Vice-President. His second term began with another attack upon the United

States Bank, from which he ordered all public moneys to be removed.

In 1834 there arose a dispute with the French government, which had agreed to pay five million dollars as an indemnity for the damage done to American vessels during the wars of Napoleon, but had withheld payment. Jackson's urgent demand prevented further delay.

In 1835 the Seminole Indians of Florida began a war which lasted for seven years, and cost the government forty million dollars. Major Dade, marching with 117 men to reinforce the garrison of Fort Drane, was surrounded by the Indians, and only four of his soldiers escaped. On the same day Fort King was attacked, and its commander, General Thomson, killed, by the crafty Seminole chief, Osceola. The Indians were defeated by General Gaines and by Governor Call of Florida in 1836, but they refused to submit, and retreated into the Everglades, where pursuit was impossible.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

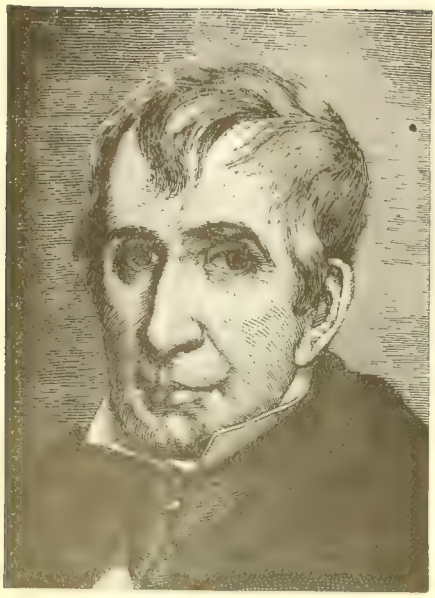
After fifteen years had passed since the admission of a State, Arkansas was allowed to enter the Union in June, 1836, and Michigan in January, 1837. This was in accordance with the recognized custom by which, to preserve the balance of the sections, a Northern and a Southern State were created at or near the same time. "Kentucky and Vermont, Tennessee and Ohio, Mississippi and Indiana, Alabama and Illinois, Missouri and Maine, Arkansas and Michigan, Florida and Iowa, came into the Union in pairs."*

In March, 1837, Jackson retired from the Presidency. "Never were the affairs of the republic in its domestic and foreign relations more prosperous than at the close of his term of office."†

At the election of the preceding fall Martin Van Buren, the Vice-President, had been elected to succeed Jackson. The opposition party, which now was called the Whig Party, had divided its

* Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. I, Chap. 3.

† Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Jackson).



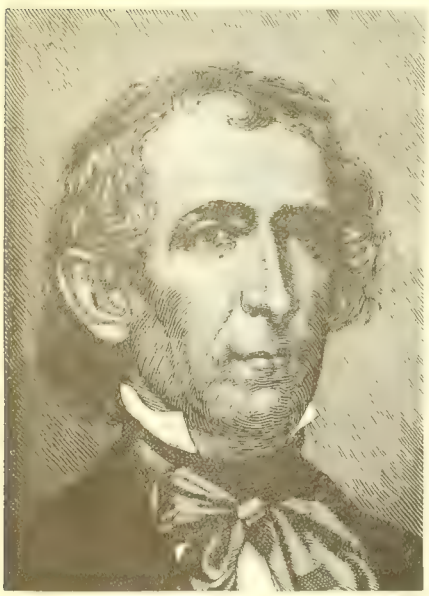
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

vote between four candidates, of whom General William H. Harrison of Ohio, received the most support.

Van Buren's administration began with a financial panic, following a period of excessive speculation. Industries were stopped, and bankruptcy was epidemic. An extra session of Congress was called, but could do little to remedy matters. The sub-treasury system was an expedient proposed at this time by the President.

In the same year (1837) a rebellion in Canada excited much sympathy in the United States, and might have led to a war with England had not the President taken prompt measures to prevent the sending of any assistance to the rebels.

Osceola, the leader of the hostile Seminoles, was captured by General Jessup in October, 1837. This, however, did not end the war; nor did Colonel Zachary Taylor's victory over the Indians at Lake Okeechobee, on Christmas Day, 1838. The struggle was not finally ended until 1842.

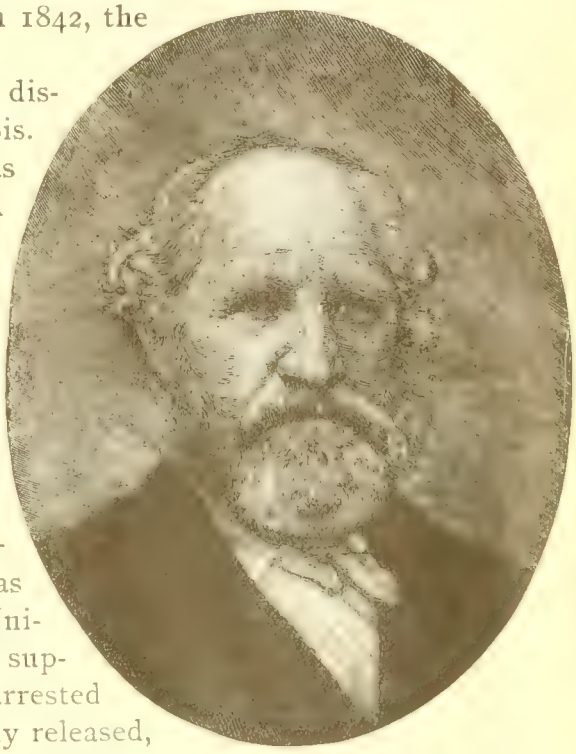


JOHN TYLER.

The general depression of business during Van Buren's Presidency, and the discontent thus caused, contributed largely to his defeat when renominated by the Democrats in 1840. The successful candidate was General William H. Harrison of Ohio, the nominee of the Whigs, celebrated as the victor of Tippecanoe and for his services in the war of 1812. He died just a month after his inauguration, and was succeeded by the Vice-President, John Tyler, of Virginia.

Congress again met in special session to deal with the disturbed finances of the country. Among other measures, it passed a bill to re-establish a national bank. President Tyler vetoed the bill, a step that aroused great indignation among the Whigs, who accused him of breaking his pledges. "Mr. Clay led the attack upon him openly and savagely, and pursuing him so violently that in September, five months after Tyler's

accession, every member of his cabinet resigned except Mr. Webster,"* who remained in office to complete the negotiation of the Ashburton treaty, defining the boundary between Maine and Canada. This question at one time threatened to cause a war with England, but was finally settled in 1842, the frontier being fixed as it now exists.



SAM. HOUSTON

In 1843 and 1844 there were local disturbances in Rhode Island and in Illinois. The constitution of Rhode Island was still the old charter of the colony, granted nearly two hundred years before. According to its provisions, the right of suffrage was restricted by a property qualification. This brought about a bitter controversy between the "suffrage party," who demanded a free vote, and the "law and order party," which defended the existing constitution. In 1843 each party elected a governor, and the suffragists, under Thomas W. Dorr, attacked the State arsenal. United States troops were called upon to suppress the brief civil war. Dorr was arrested and convicted of treason, but was shortly released, and the State constitution was amended to remove the property qualification.

The disturbance in Illinois was less serious. The polygamous Mormon sect had established itself at Nauvoo, in that State. In 1844 its leader, Joseph Smith, was lynched by a mob, and in the following year his followers were forcibly expelled from Illinois. They marched westward into the Rocky Mountains, and settled in the Salt Lake Valley.



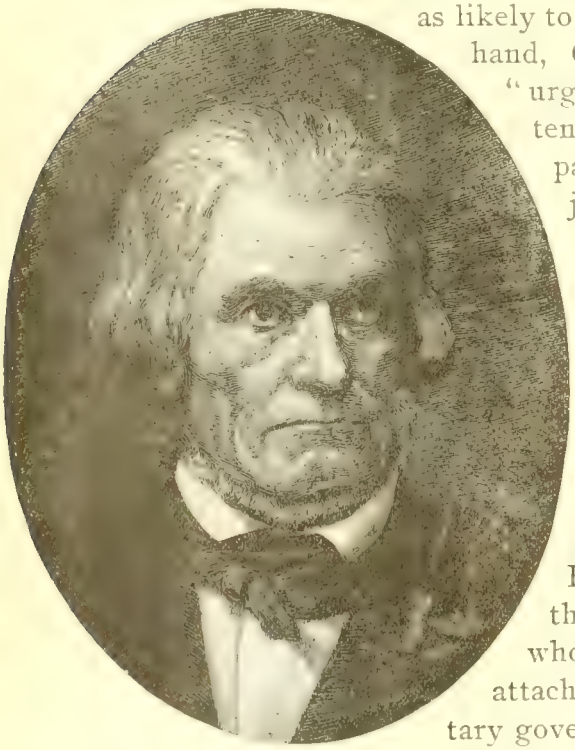
THE ALAMO

Texas, which by the treaty with Spain in 1819 had been ceded to Mexico, had seceded from that country in 1835. A Mexican army under Santa Anna captured the Alamo, a fort in San Antonio, and massacred its defenders, but was defeated at San Jacinto by the Texans, com-

* Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. I, Chap. 2.

manded by Sam Houston. Texas was then organized as a republic, with Houston as its President, and though its "independence had never been conceded by Mexico," * it had been recognized by the United States and other powers. "The Americans who, in a spirit of adventure, migrated to Texas after that province had revolted from Mexico, became the controlling power in the young republic," † and in April, 1844, it applied for admission into the Union.

The question of the admission of Texas caused great excitement in the United States. It was generally opposed in the North as likely to lead to war with Mexico. On the other hand, Calhoun, the great Southern leader, "urged the scheme of annexation with intense earnestness," ‡ and the Democratic party favored it. In July the Senate rejected a treaty admitting Texas, but the question became the principal issue in the ensuing Presidential campaign. Popular excitement was increased by a dispute with England for the possession of the Territory of Oregon.



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

The Democrats nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee, "chiefly because he was strongly in favor of the annexation of Texas;" § the Whigs selected Henry Clay of Kentucky. In spite of the great personal popularity of Mr. Clay, whose followers "had the profound personal attachment which is only looked for in hereditary governments, where loyalty becomes a passion," ‖ Mr. Polk was successful. There was also an Abolitionist candidate in the field, James G. Birney of New York, who polled about sixty thousand votes, "largely at the expense of the Whig party." ¶

Regarding the election of Polk as "an unquestionable verdict from the people in favor of the annexation," ** Congress, just before the expiration of President Tyler's term, passed the necessary act.

* Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. I., Chap. 3. † Ibid., Chap. 2. ‡ Ibid.

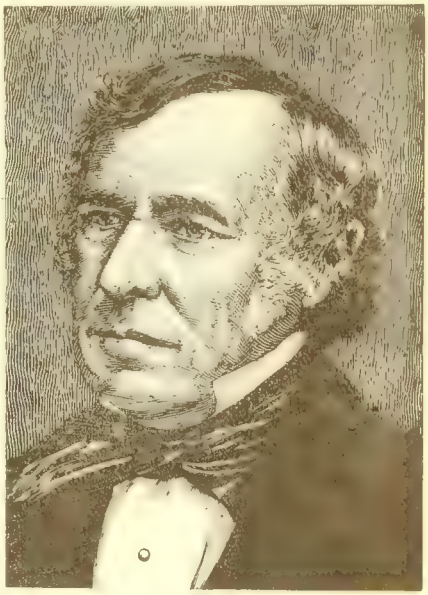
§ Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Polk).

‖ Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. I, Chap. 2. ¶ Ibid. ** Ibid.

Florida and Iowa were admitted as States two days later (March 3, 1845).

The year 1844 is also memorable for the construction, between Washington and Baltimore, of the earliest electric telegraph, the invention of S. F. B. Morse.

President Polk's administration began with two international difficulties. That with England, on the Oregon question, was settled by a treaty fixing the northwestern boundary at latitude 49°. The Democratic campaign cry had been "54° 40′ or fight," but it had become clear "that the English government would have gone to war rather than surrender the territory north of the forty-ninth parallel." *



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

The annexation of Texas led to the Mexican War. "According to the persistent claim of the Mexican government, the Nueces river was the western boundary of Texas," † while the Texans asserted that their territory extended to the Rio Grande. Early in 1846 General Zachary Taylor, who had entered the disputed tract, came into collision with Mexican troops, and on the 24th of April "the first blood was shed in that contest between the two republics which was destined to work such important results in the future and fortunes of both." ‡

The first serious conflict occurred on the 8th of May, 1846, at Palo Alto, where "General Taylor, marching with less than 2,300 men towards Fort Brown, encountered about 6,000 Mexicans under General Arista," § and defeated them. The forces met again on the following day at Resaca de la Palma, with the same result. On the 11th of May Congress declared war and called for 50,000 volunteers.

General Winfield Scott was commander-in-chief of the United States army; but "the plans submitted by him for a campaign in Mexico were disapproved by the administration" ‖ as being unnecessarily hazardous. "Taylor was therefore left in command," ¶ and

* Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. I, Chap. 3. † Ibid, Chap. 4.
‡ Ibid, Chap. 4. § Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Palo Alto).
‖ Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 9. ¶ Ibid, Chap. 9.

advanced across the Rio Grande. In September he captured Monterey, capital of the province of Nuevo Leon, and agreed to an eight weeks' armistice to discuss terms of peace.

Meanwhile Colonel Fremont, who had been at the head of an exploring expedition in the Rocky Mountains, had driven the Mexicans from most of California. Monterey, Los Angeles, and other posts on the coast, were captured by Commodores Sloat and Stockton in July and August, 1846. In December General Kearny arrived in California as commander of the Army of the West, having marched overland from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. On the way he occupied Santa Fé, and detached Colonel Doniphan to strike southward into Mexico. On Christmas Day Doniphan defeated 4,000 Mexicans under General de Leon at Bracito, and in the spring of 1847 he joined Taylor's army.

In 1847, negotiations for peace having failed, it was decided to try General Scott's plan for an invasion of Mexico, by landing at Vera Cruz and marching upon the capital. With this in view Scott withdrew from Taylor the best portion of his troops. Thereupon Santa Anna moved up with nearly 20,000 Mexicans to attack Taylor's remaining force of 5,000 men, which was "composed almost entirely of volunteers who had not been in battle before." * The armies met at Buena Vista, where Taylor won a brilliant victory, forcing Santa Anna to withdraw (February 23 and 24, 1847).

General Scott landed at Vera Cruz in March with 12,000 men—"a very small army with which to penetrate two hundred and sixty miles into an enemy's country and to besiege the capital." † Events showed the wisdom of his plans, however, for "in a campaign of about six months he became the conqueror of Mexico." ‡ After capturing Vera Cruz, with its fort of San Juan de Ulloa, "as soon as transportation enough could be got together to move a division, the advance was commenced." § A Mexican force was drawn up to meet Scott at Cerro Gordo, at the foot of the mountains. "Santa Anna had selected this point as the easiest to defend against an invading army," ‖ but Scott outflanked him and signally defeated him (April 18, 1847). In May the Americans

* Grant's Memoirs, Chapter 9. † Ibid, Chapter 10.

‡ Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Scott).

§ Grant's Memoirs, Chapter 10. ‖ Ibid, Chapter 10.

entered Puebla, where they halted to rest and await reinforcements.

Leaving Puebla on the 7th of August, Scott's army crossed the mountains and saw before it the valley and city of Mexico. This was defended by extensive fortifications and about 32,000 Mexican soldiers. To avoid the strongest of the enemy's works, Scott ordered a detour to the south, and approached the city from that direction. The fortified camp at Contreras and the fortress of San Antonio were captured on August 20th by the divisions of General Smith and General Worth. On the same day the heights of Cherubusco, occupied by the Mexicans, were attacked and carried after a sharp struggle. In these operations "the strategy and tactics displayed by General Scott were faultless."* His loss was eleven hundred, while the enemy lost four thousand killed and wounded and three thousand prisoners.

General Scott was now within three miles of the city of Mexico. Santa Anna applied for an armistice, which was granted, and negotiations for peace were again attempted. Mr. Trist, who was with Scott as commissioner for the government, demanded that "Texas was to be given up absolutely by Mexico, and New Mexico and California ceded to the United States for a stipulated sum to be afterward determined."† Santa Anna rejected the proposal, and fighting was resumed. On September 8th General Worth captured the Mexican post at Molino del Rey, and on the 13th the strong fortress of Chapultepec was attacked and stormed, leaving the Americans in command of the city of Mexico. "During the night Santa Anna with his army left the city,"‡ after "liberating all the convicts confined in the town,"§ and on the following day Scott's army entered it and raised the American flag over the government buildings.

Santa Anna moved upon Puebla, where General Scott had left Major Childs, in charge of eighteen hundred sick and wounded. Childs held the town against Santa Anna until General Lane arrived with reinforcements and drove him off. Meanwhile negotiations had been opened with a "temporary government established at Queretaro,‖ which resulted in the conclusion of a treaty of peace, signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the 2d of February, 1848.

* Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 11. † Ibid., Chap. 11. ‡ Ibid., Chap. 11.
§ Ibid., Chap. 11. ‖ Ibid., Chap. 12.

By its terms Mexico accepted the demands previously made by the United States, recognizing the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas, and receiving fifteen millions of dollars for New Mexico and California. On the 4th of July, 1848, President Polk proclaimed the end of the war, which had been a brilliant one for the American army. Our soldiers had repeatedly vanquished thrice and four times their numbers of the enemy. It should be remembered, however, that "the Mexican army of that day was hardly an organization." *

At the beginning of 1848 there were not more than fifteen thousand settlers in the territory of California. In February of that year gold was discovered there, the first nugget being found by one Marshall, at Captain Sutter's mill, on a branch of the Sacramento River, in Coloma County. The discovery created world-wide excitement, and there was a rush of immigration to the gold fields. The Forty-niners, as the gold seekers of 1849 were called, had to reach California by Cape Horn, by the Isthmus of Panama, or by a difficult and dangerous journey across the great plains and the Rocky Mountains; but they flocked to California in such numbers that its population increased to 100,000, and it sought admission as a State. Wisconsin, the thirtieth State, had just secured admission (May, 1848), but the application of California led to a serious political conflict.



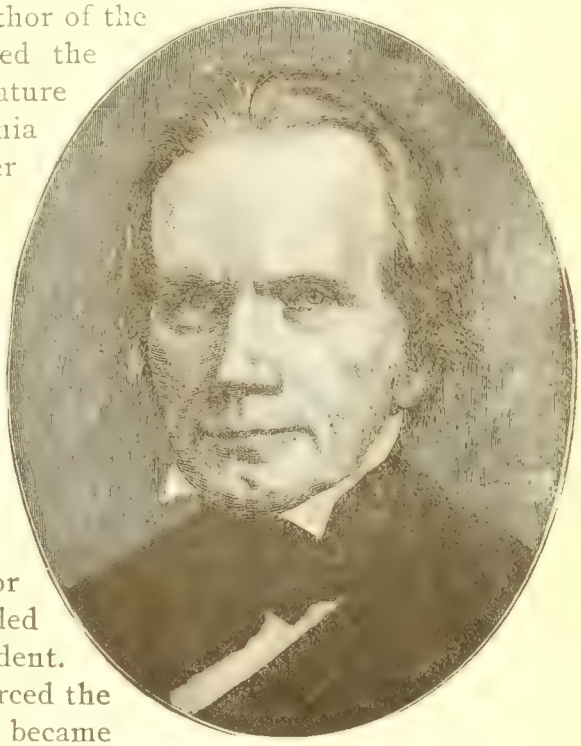
JAMES K. POLK.

For the Presidential election of 1848 the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and William Butler, of Kentucky. The Whigs named General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, one of the heroes of the Mexican war, for President, and for Vice-President Millard Fillmore, who had served as a Congressman and as Controller of his State, New York, "with rare ability and fidelity." † Ex-President Martin Van Buren was the candidate of the Free Soilers, whose platform demanded the prohibition of slavery in all the Territories of the United States The canvass resulted in the election of Taylor and Fillmore.

* Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 12.

† Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Fillmore).

President Taylor had a "blunt, honest, and stern character, that endeared him to the masses of the people."* His brief administration was mainly occupied by the dispute over the admission of California. The constitution provisionally adopted had a clause forbidding slavery, and this was opposed by the representatives of the Southern States in Congress. The question was debated with a vehemence that foreshadowed the civil war, until in May, 1850, the Senate appointed a committee to devise a plan of compromise. Henry Clay, the great Whig statesman, was chairman of the committee, and the chief author of the bill it drew up, which was nicknamed the Omnibus Bill, on account of the varied nature of its provisions. It admitted California with a free constitution. On the other hand, it provided for the arrest and return to their masters of all slaves who might escape to a free State. At the same time, it abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, and created the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, slavery being prohibited in the former but not in the latter. The bill was accepted by Congress, and became a law in September, 1850.



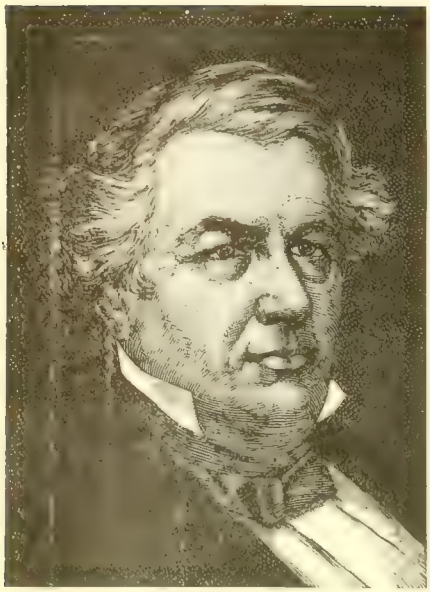
HENRY CLAY.

On the 9th of July President Taylor died after a brief illness, and was succeeded in office by Mr. Fillmore, the Vice-President. President Fillmore conscientiously enforced the provisions of the Omnibus Bill; but it became evident that the compromise was only partially successful, and that the views of the extremists on both sides were irreconcilable.

In 1851 our relations with Spain were imperiled by a filibustering invasion of Cuba, organized by one Lopez, who enlisted five hundred men in the South and Southwest. On landing in Cuba, Lopez's expedition was captured by the Spaniards, and some of its members were shot.

Another difficulty with England arose in the following year.

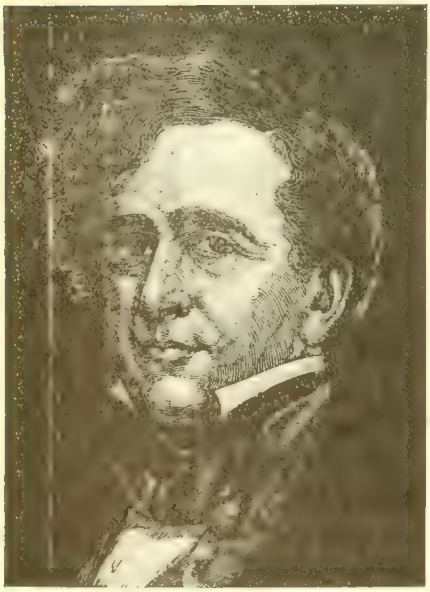
* Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 2.



MILLARD FILLMORE

It had been agreed in 1818 that American vessels should not fish within three miles of the Canadian shore. The Canadians claimed that by the treaty the Americans had no right to enter the gulfs and bays of the coast. Our fishermen held that they might do so, providing they kept three miles from land. In 1852 the dispute became so serious that British and American war-ships were ordered to the Canadian coast. The difficulty was arranged, however, without hostilities, although the question was not finally settled.

In the Presidential campaign of that year the Democratic candidates were Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, and William R. King of Alabama. The Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott of New Jersey, the conqueror of Mexico, and William A. Graham of North Carolina. Both of these leading political parties indorsed the Omnibus Bill, though it was thoroughly popular with neither. It was openly opposed by the Free-Soilers, whose candidate for the Presidency was John P. Hale of New Hampshire. Mr. Pierce, who had served with distinction in the Mexican war and in the United States Senate, was successful, receiving a large majority of the electoral vote.



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Two great statesmen died in 1852 — Henry Clay, the Whig leader, and Daniel Webster, the Massachusetts Senator. Webster's fame was as an orator and jurist. The speech he delivered in the Senate, in reply to Hayne of South Carolina, is "considered the most correct and complete exposition ever given of the true powers and functions of the national government." *

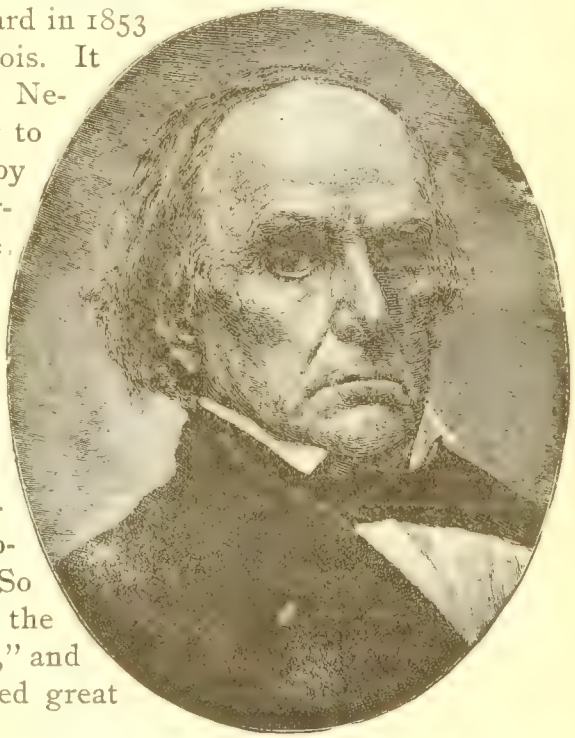
In March, 1853, President Fillmore retired from office, "leaving the country in a state of peace within and without, and every department of industry flourishing," † although the bitterness of political partisanship was very great. The earliest acts of his successor's ad-

* Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Webster). † Ibid. (Fillmore).

ministration were the creation of the Territory of Arizona, and the sending out of expeditions to survey a route for a railroad to the Pacific coast.

Commodore Perry, who had been despatched to Japan by President Fillmore to endeavor to open that country to American commerce, reached Jeddo with his squadron in the summer of 1853. He succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the emperor, by which America was the first western nation to be admitted to Japanese ports.

The conflict of parties in and out of Congress was renewed by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, brought forward in 1853 by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. It created the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and left the question of slavery to be decided by their inhabitants, or by "Squatter Sovereignty," as it was generally termed. This was contrary to the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which prohibited slavery in all territories north of latitude 36° 30′. Nevertheless, in spite of strenuous opposition, the bill passed through Congress and became a law in May, 1854.



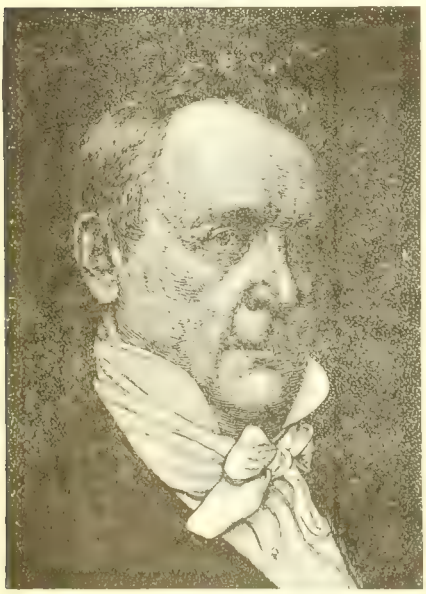
DANIEL WEBSTER.

A violent struggle ensued in Kansas between the advocates and the opponents of slavery in the Territory. So much blood was shed in the contest that the Territory was termed "Bleeding Kansas," and the civil war of its hostile parties created great excitement throughout the country.

The conflict in Kansas was still in progress when the time came for the election of 1856. In the summer the Democrats nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for Vice-President, and indorsed the Kansas-Nebraska act. The Whig party had become disintegrated, the great majority of its members having joined the new Republican party. This had sprung into existence on the issue of slavery, and declared that all the Territories should be free—the doctrine of the old Free-Soilers. The Republican candidates were John C. Fremont, of California, whose successful

explorations in the far West had won him the sobriquet of the "Path-finder," and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey. The small American, or "Know-Nothing" party, which advocated the restriction of foreign immigration, nominated ex-President Fillmore. At the polls Buchanan and Breckinridge were victorious.

President Buchanan's term of office was marked chiefly by the alarming increase of sectional animosities. The Fugitive Slave Law—that part of the Omnibus Bill compromise which provided for the arrest of escaped slaves—was extremely unpopular in the North. The opponents of slavery maintained a system known as the "Underground Railroad," by which slaves were secretly aided to escape. Several Northern legislatures met the Federal law with Personal Liberty Bills, securing a trial to fugitive negroes. These bills, in turn, aroused much indignation in the South, where they were regarded as being in violation of the Constitution.



JAMES BUCHANAN.

In 1857 the Mormons of Salt Lake City, led by Brigham Young, expelled a United States judge from Utah, and openly defied the Federal authorities. Troops were sent to suppress the rebellion, which subsided upon their arrival.

Minnesota was admitted as a State in May, 1858, and Oregon in the following February. This finally destroyed the balance in the number of free and slave States, long maintained by the admission of States in pairs, a Northern and a Southern State being created at about the same time. There were now eighteen Northern and fifteen Southern States, giving the former a majority of six in the Senate. In the House of Representatives its majority was sixty, owing to the rapid expansion of population in the North, whither immigrants were flocking in rapidly increasing numbers.

In October, 1859, occurred an incident that greatly embittered the feeling between North and South. John Brown, a Free-Soil extremist in Kansas, organized a raiding party of twenty-one men and seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, with the avowed object of causing a rising of the slaves. In this he was unsuccessful. After holding the arsenal for two days, he was attacked by a body of State and National troops, and his men,

except two, who escaped, were killed or captured. Brown was tried by the State of Virginia, convicted, and hanged.

The one great issue of the Presidential campaign of 1860 was the slavery question. The foreign relations of the country were at this time uniformly peaceful. "The long series of irritating and dangerous questions which had disturbed the relations of the United States and Great Britain, from the time of the Declaration of Independence, had reached final and friendly solution." * But while foreign affairs were on so satisfactory a footing, the political prospect at home was a troubled one.

In April, the Democratic nominating convention met at Charleston, S. C. The delegates of extreme Southern views, finding themselves unable to control the convention, left it in a body, and nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. The delegates who remained in the convention named Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, while a third section, which termed itself the Union party, put forward John Bell, of Tennessee. While the Democrats were thus hopelessly split, the Republicans were united for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President. The result was the election of Lincoln in November.

Throughout the canvass Southern extremists had threatened that if Lincoln should be elected the South would leave the Union, and declared that they would not tolerate the administration of a President who was avowedly opposed to slavery. When the result of the election was known they proceeded to prove that they meant what they said. On the 17th of December a convention met at Charleston, which, on the 20th, declared that South Carolina was no longer one of the United States. Six others—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas,—took similar steps before the end of January, and on the 4th of February a convention met at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed a new government under the name of the Confederate States of America. It elected Jefferson Davis, up to that time United States Senator from Mississippi, President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President.

Almost all the United States forts and posts throughout the Southern States had fallen into the hands of the secessionists, with

* Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. I, Chapter 26.

a vast quantity of arms and stores, valued in all at nearly twenty millions of dollars. The government at Washington did nothing. The President's cabinet was largely composed of Southern sympathizers. General Cass, the Secretary of State, who favored an active policy, was forced to resign by the President's apathy.

Neither section understood the other. The general opinion in the North was that the South would not take up arms when it had four millions of slaves in its population. The South believed that the North would not fight for the maintenance of the Union. But meanwhile the country was drifting into civil war.

On the 9th of January, 1861, the steamer Star of the West, despatched to relieve Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor—one of the few Southern forts still held by the Federal government—was fired upon and driven off. Even after this overt act of hostility, President Buchanan adopted no decided plan of action. He declared that he had "no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the Federal government and South Carolina." *

In January, 1861, Kansas, where the anti-slavery party had finally been victorious, was admitted into the Union as a State.

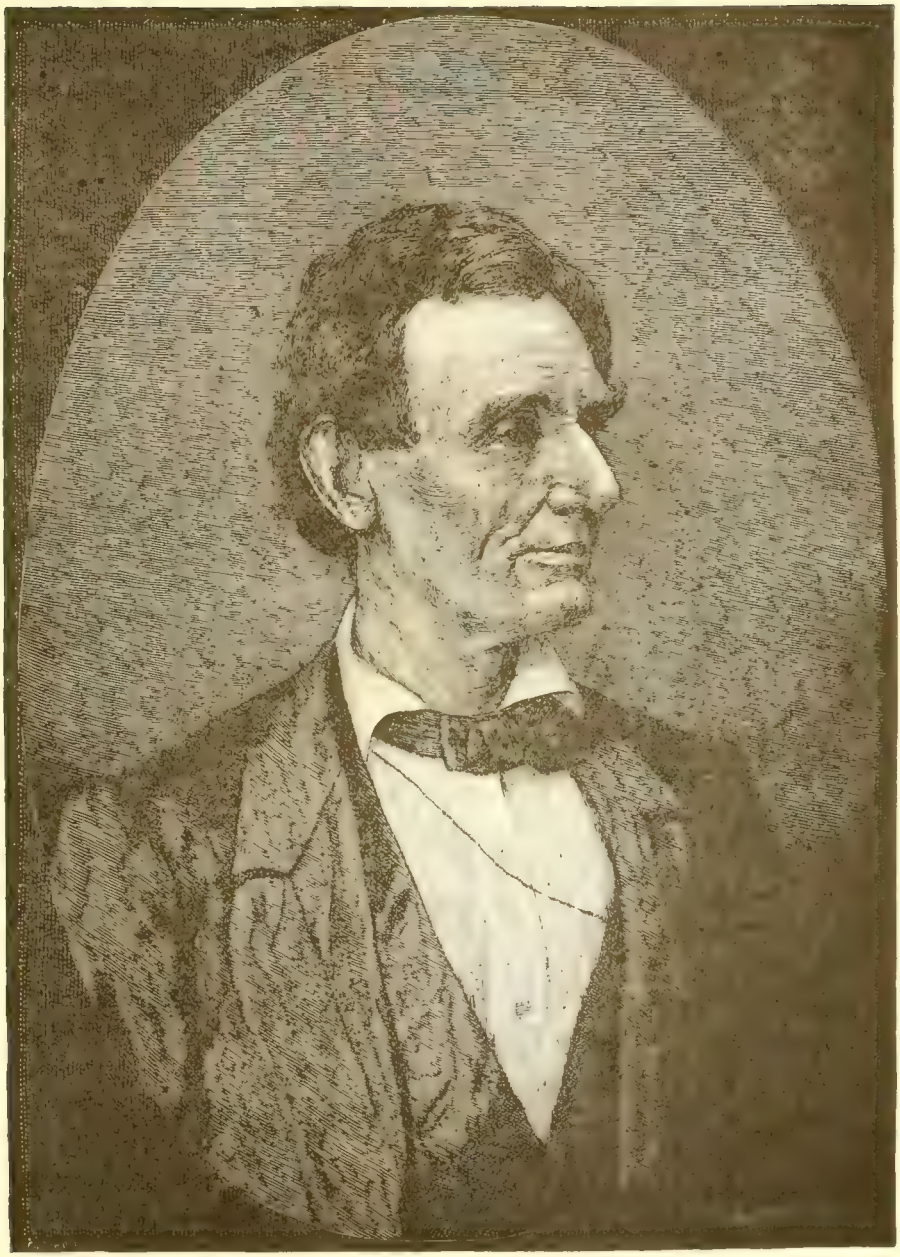
Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, the President elect, and one of the most remarkable figures of American history, was a man of humble origin. Born in Kentucky in 1809, he grew to manhood in what was then the backwoods of Indiana. At twenty-one, moving to Illinois, he became the keeper of a store. Then, a self-taught lawyer, he was elected to the State Legislature and to Congress. He was brought into national prominence by his unsuccessful contest against Stephen A. Douglas for a seat in the Senate.

Since his election to the Presidency, so bitter had been the speeches of his extreme opponents, that fears were entertained for his personal safety on his journey to Washington. But after making "a quick and secret night journey through Baltimore to the Federal capital," † he was inaugurated without disturbance on the 4th of March, 1861. For his cabinet, "Mr. Lincoln chose his ablest friends," ‡ the most noted members being William H. Seward, Secretary of State; Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War; and Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury.

Expecting that Fort Sumter would be reinforced by the Fed-

* Nicolay & Hay's Lincoln, Vol. III, Chapter 5.

† Ibid, Vol. III, Chapter 20. ‡ Ibid, Vol. III, Chapter 22.



A. Lincoln

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BEFORE HIS ELECTION IN 1860.

eral government, the Confederate forces at Charleston decided to attack it. On the 12th of April, "at about half-past four, as the dim outline of Fort Sumter began to define itself in the morning twilight," * the bombardment began, and on the 13th Major Anderson, commanding the fort, surrendered it. The news that the Confederates had thus made "active, aggressive war upon the United States" † caused great excitement throughout the country. President Lincoln at once issued a call for 75,000 volunteers, to serve three months, and the summons met with a ready response in the North.

The fall of Sumter heightened the enthusiasm of the South. On the 17th of April Virginia passed a secession ordinance. Bodies of State militia were immediately despatched to seize the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and the great navy yard at Norfolk. The commander of the arsenal abandoned it, after firing the buildings and destroying a part of the stores. The same course was taken by the Federal officers at the Norfolk navy yard, the war ships there being sunk or burned, and the cannon spiked. The Confederates, however, captured an immense amount of guns and stores, and afterwards raised some of the sunken vessels.

Three more States followed their Southern sisters out of the Union—Arkansas, May 6; North Carolina, May 20; and Tennessee, June 6. This raised the number of the Confederate States to eleven.

The first volunteer regiment to arrive in Washington was the Sixth Massachusetts. While passing through Baltimore on its way to the capital, on the 19th of April, it was attacked by a mob, and "lost four men killed and thirty-six wounded." ‡ Other regiments rapidly followed, and on the 3rd of May the President issued a call for eighty thousand additional troops, to serve for three years, "swelling the entire military establishment of the nation to an army of 156,861, and a navy of 25,600." §

At this time "Lieutenant-General Scott commanded the army in chief." ‖ The conqueror of Mexico, although a Virginian, and though he personally "deprecated war," ¶ had adhered to the Federal cause. So quickly had the Northern States answered President

* Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. IV, Chapter 3. † Ibid, Vol. IV, Chapter 3.

‡ Ibid, Vol. IV, Chapter 6. § Ibid, Vol. IV, Chapter 14.

‖ Sherman's Memoirs, Chapter 8. ¶ Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. IV., Chapter 5.

Lincoln's call that "all fears for the safety of the capital had ceased, and quite a large force of regulars and volunteers had been collected in and about Washington." *

On the 23rd of May, a brigade commanded by General Irwin McDowell crossed the Potomac and occupied Alexandria. After two months of drilling and organizing the recruits, "the cry of 'On to Richmond!' forced General Scott to hasten his preparations and order a general advance about the middle of July." † As yet the Federal troops were "far from being soldiers." ‡ General Sherman, who was under McDowell, asserts that on the march, "with all his personal efforts, he could not prevent the men from straggling for water, blackberries, or any thing on the way they fancied." §

Richmond had been selected as the capital of the seceded States, whose government was to assemble there on the 20th of July. At the beginning of the month the Confederates "had two armies in front of Washington; the one at Manassas Junction, commanded by General Beauregard; the other, commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston, was at Winchester." ‖ On the 21st of July McDowell attacked Beauregard. The ensuing battle of Bull Run was "one of the best planned battles of the war, but one of the worst fought." ¶ Johnston arriving to reinforce Beauregard, McDowell's troops became panic-stricken and fled in disorder. Had the Confederate army pursued them, it might have entered the Federal capital. Indeed, Johnston's "failure to capture Washington received strong and general condemnation in the South." **

Meanwhile hostilities had begun at other points. General George B. McClellan, who after serving in the Mexican war had retired, and had become "president of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad," †† was placed in command of a Union force in western Virginia. He defeated the Confederates at Philippi on June 3, and at Rich Mountain on July 11. He was then called to Washington to take command of the army there. General Rosecrans, who succeeded him in Western Virginia, won the battles of Carnifex Ferry and Cheat Mountain, and drove the Confederates from that part of the State west of the Alleghany Mountains.

* Sherman's Memoirs, Chapter 8. † Ibid, Chapter 8. ‡ Ibid, Chapter 8.
§ Ibid, Chapter 8. ‖ Ibid, Chapter 8. ¶ Ibid, Chapter 8.
** Johnston's Narrative of Military Operations, Chapter 2.
†† Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. IV, Chapter 16.

Kentucky and Missouri, although slave holding States, had not joined the Confederacy. The sympathies of their citizens were divided. General Polk, ordered by the Richmond government to occupy Kentucky, blocked the Mississippi by fortifying Columbus. In Missouri, the secession party made a great effort to carry the State out of the Union. "Governor Jackson, having decided on revolution, formed at St. Louis a nominal camp of instruction under the State Militia laws," * where he designed to assemble a Confederate army. But the camp was broken up by General Lyon, who defeated Jackson's forces at Booneville on June 17, 1861. Jackson was again defeated by Colonel Siegel at Carthage on July 5th. General Lyon was killed at Wilson's Creek on the 10th of August, and the Confederate General Price on September 20th captured 2,600 Union troops at Lexington. In November, General Halleck, a man "not only practically accomplished in his profession as a soldier, but also distinguished as a writer on military art and science," † was appointed to command the Federal army of the West, and drove Price southward toward Arkansas.

A brigade of Halleck's army was stationed at Cairo, "the military key of the Mississippi Valley." ‡ From this point 3,000 men under General Ulysses S. Grant were sent to attack the Confederate camp at Belmont, on the Mississippi opposite Columbus, but retreated after fighting "a drawn battle," § November 7, 1861.

On taking command at Washington, General McClellan busied himself during the fall and winter in drilling and organizing his army of recruits. The only battle fought during the remainder of the year was that of Ball's Bluff, on the Potomac, in which 1,900 Union troops under Colonel Baker were defeated with heavy loss by General Evans, October 21.

At sea, the Federal government had in April proclaimed a blockade of all the Southern ports. Almost all the forts and defenses on the coast had been seized by the Confederates at the outbreak of the war. Fort Pickens, at Pensacola, had been held by its commander. The fortifications at Hatteras Inlet were captured by Commodore Stringham and General Butler in August, and in November the important harbor of Port Royal, South Carolina, was taken.

* Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. IV, Chapter 11. † Ibid, Vol. V, Chapter 5.
‡ Ibid, Vol. IV, Chapter 10. § Ibid, Vol. V, Chapter 7.

In October the Richmond government despatched two commissioners, Mason and Slidell, to treat with the French and British governments. After running the blockade from Charleston, they reached Cuba, and took passage for England on the British ship Trent. Captain Wilkes, in the United States steamer San Jacinto, stopped the Trent, seized Mason and Slidell, and carried them to Boston. His action, of doubtful legality, caused great excitement in England, and "seriously threatened to embroil the nation in a war with Great Britain." * Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, at once declared that Captain Wilkes had acted without authority, and the two commissioners were allowed to sail for England from Boston. Their missions proved entirely fruitless.

The year 1862 "brought stirring events to the armies in the West." † The fighting opened in Kentucky. General Sherman, ordered to Louisville in the preceding fall, had complained that his "force was out of all proportion to the importance of the position." ‡ A large army had now been stationed in that section, under General Buell. Two of Buell's subordinates, Colonel Garfield and General Thomas, won the battles of the Big Sandy and Mill Spring, respectively, in January, 1862.

General Grant, in command of a brigade of Halleck's army, had suggested to that officer that, "if permitted, he could take and hold Fort Henry, on the Tennessee," § an important Confederate position. He was ordered to advance on the fort, while a fleet of gunboats, under Commodore Foote, was ordered to attack it from the river. Before Grant reached the fort it had surrendered to the gunboats, February 6.

Most of its garrison had escaped to Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River, twelve miles away. General Grant, "knowing the importance of the place," ‖ pushed on to attack it. He was obliged to wait until February 14 before the gunboats could steam down the Tennessee to Cairo, and up the Cumberland to Fort Donelson. The fort was a strong post. To reduce it Grant had "15,000 men, including eight batteries," ¶ while it was "probable that the Confederate force was 21,000." ** On the 15th the defenders attempted to break Grant's lines, but were repulsed, and their

* Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. V, Chapter 2. † Ibid., Vol. V, Chapter 7.
‡ Sherman's Memoirs, Chapter 8. § Grant's Memoirs, Chapter 21.
‖ Ibid., Chapter 21. ¶ Ibid., Chapter 21. ** Ibid., Chapter 22.

Generals, Floyd and Pillow, fled with a part of the garrison. Next day General Buckner, on whom the command had devolved, offered to treat with Grant, who returned the famous message, "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." * Buckner thereupon surrendered the fort, with 12,000 men—the greatest success yet achieved by the Federal forces.

Owing to a misunderstanding with Halleck, Grant was for a time, after the capture of Fort Donelson, "virtually under arrest and without a command," † although he "had done so much that General Halleck should have been patient." ‡ He was, however, speedily reinstated, and moved his forces southward toward Corinth, "the great stragetic position being the Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers, and between Nashville and Vicksburg." §

At this time "all the Confederate troops west of the Alleghany Mountains, with the exception of those in the extreme South," ‖ were commanded by General Albert Sidney Johnston, "a man of high character and ability, but vacillating and undecided in his actions." ¶ After the fall of Fort Donelson, General Johnston "abandoned Nashville and fell back into northern Mississippi." ** On April 6, 1862, he suddenly attacked Grant's army, which was at Shiloh Church, near Pittsburg Landing, on the Tennessee. The ensuing battle of Shiloh "was the severest battle fought in the West during the war," †† and one that has been the subject of a great deal of controversy." ‡‡ The Union forces, whose "effective strength was 33,000," §§ were during the first day driven back, after some desperate fighting in which General Johnston was killed. On the 7th Grant was reinforced by General Lewis Wallace, who "did not arrive in time to take part in the first day's fight." ‖‖ The Federal troops recovered their lost ground and drove the Confederates from the field—a success which "gave the men that achieved it great confidence." ¶¶

Meanwhile "the Army of the Mississippi, commanded by Major-General John M. Pope, was moving directly down the Mississippi River, against that portion of the Confederate line which,

* Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 22. † Ibid., Chap. 23. ‡ Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 9.
§ Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 24. ‖ Ibid., Chap. 23. ¶ Ibid., Chap. 25. ** Ibid., Chap. 23.
†† Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 25. ‡‡ Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 9.
§§ Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 25. ‖‖ Ibid., Chap. 24. ¶¶ Ibid., Chap. 25.

under Generals Polk and Pillow, had fallen back from Columbus, Kentucky, to Island No. 10 and New Madrid."* Pope, who, "though still a young man, was a veteran soldier," and "had served with great distinction in the Mexican war,"† captured Island No. 10, with 5000 prisoners, on the 7th of April, 1862. The Union gunboats captured Fort Pillow on June 4, and two days later Memphis surrendered to them.

In August the Confederates made another attempt to conquer Kentucky. "Two Confederate armies, under General Kirby Smith and General Braxton Bragg, penetrated"‡ into that State from eastern Tennessee. Smith defeated a Union force at Richmond, Kentucky (August 30), and Bragg captured a body of 4500 men at Mumfordsville (September 17). After threatening Cincinnati and Louisville, the two Confederate armies united at Frankfort, and on the 8th of October met Buell's forces in the severe battle of Perryville. Buell had the best of the fight, but Bragg's troops "retired in good order,"§ and took a vast quantity of captured stores into Tennessee.

After the battle of Shiloh General Halleck "reorganized and rearranged the whole army"‖ on the Tennessee, reinforcing Grant's troops with those of General Pope. Corinth, evacuated by the Confederates, was occupied on the 30th of May. Halleck was then summoned to Washington to become general in chief, and was succeeded by Grant, who prepared to move against the Confederate stronghold at Vicksburg, Mississippi. He sent Sherman down the Mississippi with 40,000 men and Admiral Porter's gunboats, while he himself pushed forward by land. But the Confederate General Van Dorn got into Grant's rear, cut off his supplies at Holly Springs, and forced him to retreat. Sherman embarked at Memphis, landed north of Vicksburg, and attacked the works at Chickasaw Bayou, where he was decisively repulsed (December 29, 1862).

Meanwhile General Rosecrans, in command at Corinth, had been attacked (October 4) by Generals Price and Van Dorn, but had driven them off with heavy loss. He then marched against Bragg, who had just retreated from Kentucky. They met in the bloody battle of Stone River, near Murfreesboro (December 31, 1862, to January 2, 1863), which although "a negative victory so far as con-

* Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 10. † Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. VI, Chap. 1.
‡ Sheridan's Memoirs, Vol. I, Chap. 11. § Ibid. ‖ Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 10.

cerned the result on the battle-field," * was on the whole a Federal success, and "West Tennessee and Kentucky were never again seriously threatened by the armies of the Confederacy." †

In Missouri there was fighting during the early part of 1862 between the Confederates under Price, McCullough, and Van Dorn, and a Union force under General Curtis, whose "strength throughout the campaign was about fifteen thousand men." ‡ The latter was victorious in the important battle of Pea Ridge, fought in Arkansas, March 7.

Early in the year a Federal fleet and army assembled at Ship Island, off the mouth of the Mississippi, to operate against the southern coast of the Confederacy. "New Orleans, being the most important prize, both military and political, became the principal objective point," § and in April the attack was begun. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Farragut, a man "sixty years of age, forty-eight of which had been spent in the naval service." ‖ On the 24th of April he ran past Forts St. Philip and Jackson, which defended the entrance to the Mississippi, attacked and destroyed a Confederate squadron, and on the following day reached New Orleans, of which the troops under General Butler at once took possession. Farragut went on to Baton Rouge, and, passing Vicksburg, joined the squadron of the upper Mississippi at Memphis.

In January, 1862, an expedition under General Burnside sailed to attack Roanoke Island, on the North Carolina coast. It was completely successful, capturing the island, destroying the Confederate fleet in Albemarle Sound, and taking Fort Macon and Newbern. In March another expedition, from Port Royal, took Jacksonville, Florida, Brunswick, Georgia, and other towns on the coast.

On the 8th of March the Federal fleet that lay in Hampton Roads, off Fortress Monroe, was attacked by the Merrimac. This was one of the ships sunk at the surrender of the Norfolk navy yard. The Confederates had raised her, covered her deck with railroad iron, fitted her with a ram, and named her the Virginia. She now rammed and sank the Union ship Cumberland, and drove

* Sheridan's Memoirs, Vol. I, Chap. 13.

† Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. VI, Chap. 13.

‡ Sheridan's Memoirs, Vol. I, Chap. 13.

§ Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. V, Chap. 15. ‖ Ibid.



ADMIRAL FARRAGUT, WITH HIS VICTORIOUS SQUADRON, REACHES NEW ORLEANS, AFTER CAPTURING FORTS ST. PHILIP AND JACKSON.

the Congress ashore. At sunset she returned to Norfolk. On the following day, returning to complete the destruction of the Federal fleet, she was met by the Monitor, an iron turret ship of novel construction, which had just arrived from the North. In the duel that followed, the Merrimac was disabled and driven back to Norfolk.

In April, the capture of Fort Pulaski by the Federals, under General Hunter, closed the port of Savannah.

Of all the campaigns of 1862 the most important was fought



ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE MONITOR AND MERRIMAC IN HAMPTON ROADS ON MARCH 8, 1862.

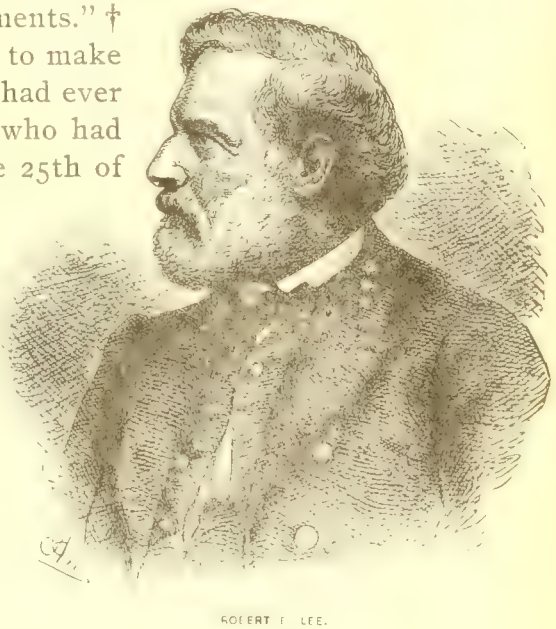
in northern and eastern Virginia. On the 10th of March McClellan crossed the Potomac, but after advancing a short distance he decided "that operations would best be undertaken from Old Point Comfort, between the York and James rivers." * The bulk of his army was transported thither by April 2, and he moved up the peninsula between the rivers, toward Richmond. At Yorktown Magruder, with 10,000 Confederate troops, held him at bay for a month, but evacuated the place on May 4. McClellan then advanced rapidly, winning the battles of Williamsburg (May 5) and West

*Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. V, Chapter 10.

Point (May 9). At the end of the month his advance guard was only seven miles from Richmond.

Confederate forces were hastily collected from all quarters for the defense of their capital. The navy yard at Norfolk was destroyed and abandoned, the Virginia, or Merrimac, being blown up. With all the troops he could gather General Joseph E. Johnston attacked McClellan at Seven Pines and Fair Oaks (May 31 and June 1), but was defeated and severely wounded.

Notwithstanding his success, McClellan delayed moving upon Richmond. He overrated his opponent's strength, "as was generally done by the opposing commanders during the war,"* and "kept up a continual cry for reinforcements." † His inactivity gave the Confederates time to make their army "stronger in numbers than it had ever been before." ‡ General Robert E. Lee, who had succeeded Johnston, attacked him on the 25th of June in the first of the "seven days' battles." Though he repelled Lee's assaults on the first two days, McClellan fell back toward the James River. On the 27th, at Gaines' Mill, he was heavily defeated. After two more indecisive battles he reached Malvern Hill, on the James, where Lee was driven back by the fire of the Union gunboats.



ROBERT E. LEE.

McClellan's Peninsula campaign had proved a failure. The stubborn "resistance of the Confederates compelled the Federal general to abandon his plan of operations," § and his army was withdrawn down the James.

At the same time General "Stonewall" Jackson, with 20,000 Confederate troops, had successfully defied the Union forces in the Shenandoah Valley. In May he captured a Union force at Front Royal, and chased General Banks out of the Valley. Banks only

* Johnston's Narrative of Military Operations, Chapter 1.

† Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. V, Chapter 23.

‡ Johnston's Narrative of Military Operations, Chapter 4.

§ Ibid, Chapter 5.

saved his command by a hasty retreat across the Potomac. Generals Shields and Fremont were sent against Jackson, who fell back before them and then defeated them separately at Cross Keys and Port Republic, June 8 and 9, 1862. He then moved to Richmond to join Lee.

At the beginning of August Lee marched northward toward Washington. On the 9th he met and defeated General Banks at Cedar Mountain. An army of 40,000 men under General Pope still lay between Lee and the Potomac, but fell back before the Confederates' advance. On August 26, Lee attacked the Federal force at Manassas Junction, and captured a great quantity of stores. The rest of the month was spent in severe but indecisive fighting at Centreville, Gainesville, and Chantilly, nearly opposite Washington. After losing 30,000 men in the campaign, Pope retreated across the Potomac.

The President had ordered a fresh levy of 300,000 troops (July 1, 1862) and the Federal forces at Washington were reorganized and greatly strengthened, McClellan succeeding Pope in the command. The time "for training and drilling was brief; for within a few days the news came that Lee had crossed the Potomac into Maryland." * The Confederate commander detached Jackson to attack Harper's Ferry, which was held by Colonel Miles with 13,000 men. Miles surrendered to Jackson, after a weak resistance, September 15. On the previous day McClellan had marched between the armies of Lee and Jackson and defeated the former at South Mountain.

Lee, whose situation was perilous, retreated towards the Potomac, halting near Sharpsburgh, Maryland, to await Jackson, who was hurrying back from Harper's Ferry. The Confederate forces had had time to reunite when McClellan attacked them at Antietam Creek. The battle, one of the bloodiest of the war, was indecisive, but on the next day Lee withdrew across the Potomac.

McClellan did not pursue him, and after six weeks of inactivity President Lincoln removed him from command, replacing him with General Burnside. Burnside moved forward, crossed the Rappahannock, and attacked Lee at Fredericksburg, where he was repulsed with great slaughter.

In September, 1862, President Lincoln had warned the se-

* [illegible], Vol. V., Chapter 7.



GENERAL PICKETT'S GALLANT CHARGE AGAINST THE UNION FORCES ON CEMETERY RIDGE, GETTYSBURG, JULY 3, 1863.

ceded States that unless they returned to their allegiance he would issue a proclamation declaring all slaves within their borders free. The proclamation was indeed "published in full by the leading newspapers of the country on the morning of September 23d."* On the 1st of January, 1863, it was formally issued.

After his defeat at Fredericksburg, General Burnside was succeeded in command of the Army of the Potomac by General Joseph Hooker. In April, 1863, the Federal forces made another attempt to reach Richmond, and again they met with disaster. After crossing the Rappahannock they were attacked by the Confederates at Chancellorsville, on the 2d and 3d of May, and defeated. "The losses were large on both sides,"† Hooker's being 17,000 men killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederates lost 12,000, among whom was General Jackson, mortally wounded through mistake by his own men.

Hooker retreated across the Rappahannock, while Lee moved forward and threatened Washington. Hooker marched rapidly to the defense of the capital, and the Confederates, instead of attacking it, advanced northward across Maryland into Pennsylvania.

The invasion of Pennsylvania caused great alarm in the North, and great efforts were made to strengthen the forces around Washington. Hooker was superseded by General George G. Meade, an officer who "had served with distinction on almost every battle-field of the Army of the Potomac."‡ Meade took up a strong position at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, with eighty thousand men, and on the 1st of July Lee attacked him with about the same number. The battle, the most decisive in the war, was fiercely fought for three days, and ended in the Confederates' defeat, with the loss of nearly half their army. On the 4th of July Lee withdrew his crippled force across the Potomac, and retreated beyond the Rapidan.

After his repulse from Chickasaw Bayou, in front of Vicksburg (December 29, 1862), Sherman, who thought that "Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas were the key to the whole interior,"§ speedily resumed the offensive. On January 10, 1863, he captured Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas River. A few days later "Admiral

* Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. VII, Chap. 8.

† Ibid., Vol. VII, Chap. 8. ‡ Ibid., Vol. VII, Chap. 4.

§ Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 12.

Porter was equally busy on the Yazoo River," * and Grant, who had now reached the scene of action, made several successive attempts upon the defenses of Vicksburg from the same side. But the Mississippi and its branches were "very high and rising," † and for three months Grant could not get near enough to strike. He then moved his army to the western bank of the river, and went down it to New Carthage, below Vicksburg, running his gunboats and transports past the Confederate batteries. Meanwhile he had despatched Grierson, with 1,700 cavalry, on a raid through Mississippi, to the rear of Vicksburg, which was successfully executed, and caused great damage to the communications of the Confederates.

On the 29th of April Grant attacked Grand Gulf, on the Mississippi, but was repulsed. The next day, however, he crossed at Bruinsburg, lower down, and defeated the Confederate commander, Pemberton, at Port Gibson. General Joseph E. Johnston was advancing toward Vicksburg with a second force, and Grant "prepared with his usual energy to prevent the two Confederate generals from effecting their junction." ‡ He met and defeated Johnston at Jackson (May 14), pushed in between him and Pemberton, and drove the latter into Vicksburg.

Twice Grant attempted to carry the works of Vicksburg by assault. He was twice repulsed, and settled down to a siege of the place. His position was so strong that Johnston made no attempt at relief, and "on the 3d of July, about 10 o'clock A. M., white flags appeared on a portion of the works." § On the 4th, the surrender of Pemberton and his army, which numbered about 30,000, was completed.

Four days later Port Hudson surrendered to the Federal troops under General Banks. "The Mississippi River was now wholly in the possession of the Union forces," ‖ an achievement that aroused "new hopes for the final success of the Union cause." ¶ Johnston's army at once "fell back to Jackson." ** A few days later the "evacuation of Jackson was decided on, and was accomplished before daybreak" †† of July 17, but Grant did not pursue.

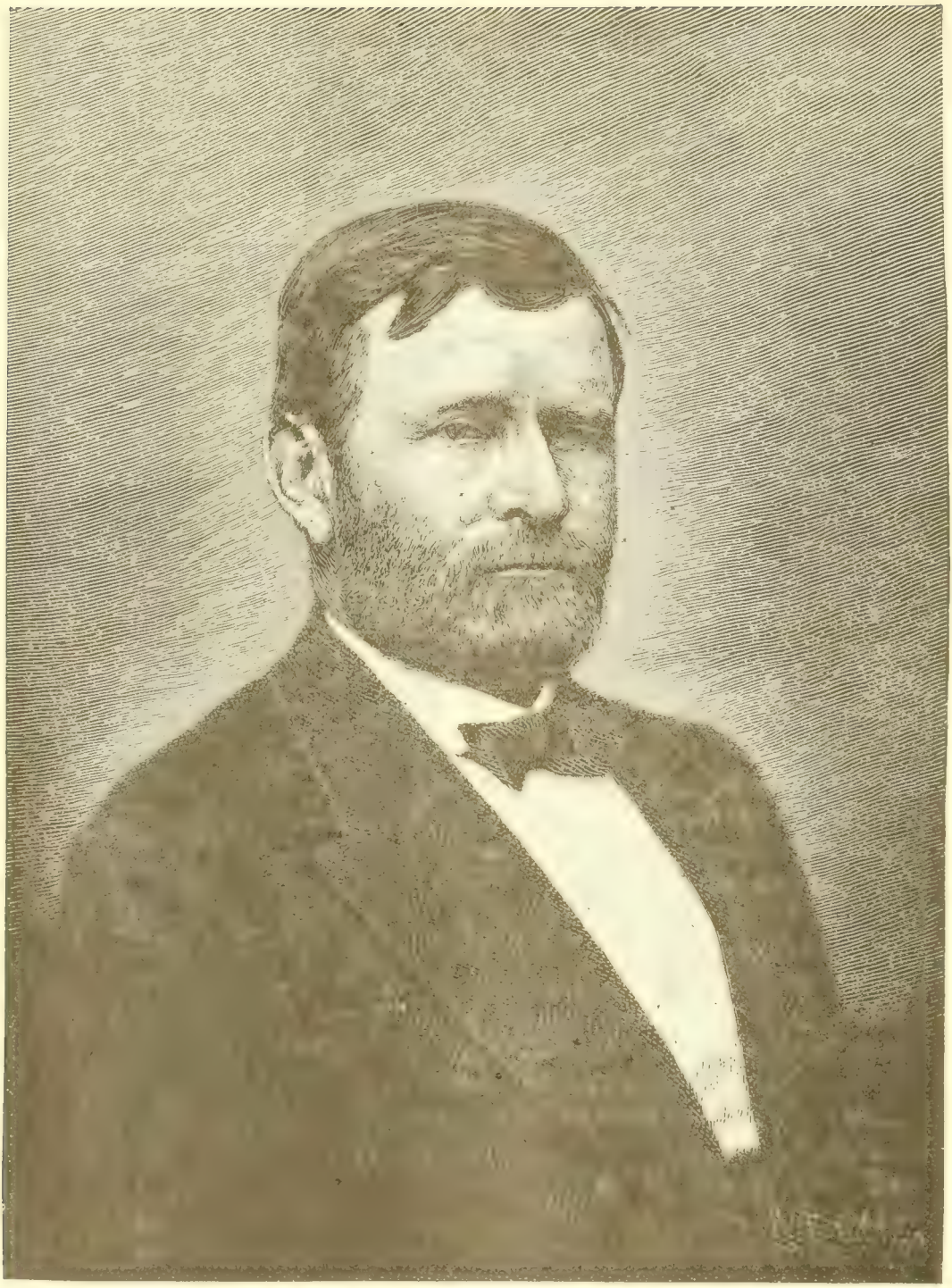
* Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 11. † Ibid., Chap. 12.

‡ Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. VII, Chap. 5.

§ Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 38. ‖ Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 13.

¶ Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 39.

** Johnston's Narrative of Military Operations, Chap. 7. †† Ibid., Chap. 8.



GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.

After the battle of Stone River, at the beginning of January, 1863, Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland lay inactive until June, facing that of Bragg. Rosecrans then advanced through Tennessee and occupied Chattanooga, Bragg falling back before him. On September 9 Rosecrans telegraphed to Washington that he expected no resistance from Bragg, but "it took but one day's marching to disconcert these confident expectations." * Bragg had been reinforced, and was prepared to resist Rosecrans' advance. On September 19, when the Union army had just entered Georgia, Bragg attacked it at Chickamauga Creek. It was defeated after a two days' battle, and would have been routed had it not been for the gallant stand made by General George H. Thomas. Bragg's report of the fight declared that he "had driven the enemy from the State of Georgia, and was still pursuing him." † General Sheridan states that it "left in the Cofederates' possession not much more than the barren results arising from the simple holding of the ground on which the engagement was fought." ‡

Rosecrans, who had lost 16,000 men, fell back to Chattanooga. Bragg occupied the heights above the town, and Rosecrans' situation became perilous. In this emergency "the Secretary of War directed General Grant to proceed immediately to the front" § and take command of the army at Chattanooga. Arriving in November, and being reinforced by Sherman and Hooker, Grant prepared to attack the Confederates, who "were looking upon the garrison of Chattanooga as prisoners of war." ‖ On the 24th Lookout Mountain was stormed by Hooker's division, and the following day Grant assaulted Missionary Ridge, and carried it, driving Bragg back into Georgia. In these battles Grant had "in round numbers about 60,000 men. Bragg had about half this number, but his position was supposed to be impregnable." ¶

On the 1st of January, 1863, the Confederate General Magruder captured the port of Galveston, Texas, together with a United States steamer and a great quantity of stores. Elsewhere in the Southwest the Federal forces were successful. The Confederates

* Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. VIII, Chap. 4.

† Johnston's Narrative of Military Operations, Chap. 8.

‡ Sheridan's Memoirs, Vol. I, Chap. 15.

§ Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. VIII, Chap. 4.

‖ Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 41. ¶ Ibid., Chap. 45.

were driven from Helena and Little Rock, Arkansas, by Generals Prentiss and Steele, and forced to retreat beyond the Red River. Throughout the summer there was guerilla warfare in the Indian Territory. Quantrell, who was little more than a bandit, raided the town of Lawrence, Kansas, and murdered 140 of its citizens.

Another raid was that of General Morgan, who with 3000 Confederate cavalry passed through Kentucky in June, and invaded Indiana and Ohio. His retreat was cut off by a Union force and by the gunboats on the Ohio, and on the 27th of July he was captured at New Lisbon, Ohio.

Charleston was attacked by two Federal expeditions in 1863. The first, under Admiral Dupont, was repulsed with heavy loss on the 7th of April. The second, under General Gillmore, effected a landing on Morris Island, demolished Fort Sumter, and captured Fort Wagner, thus closing the harbor (September 6).

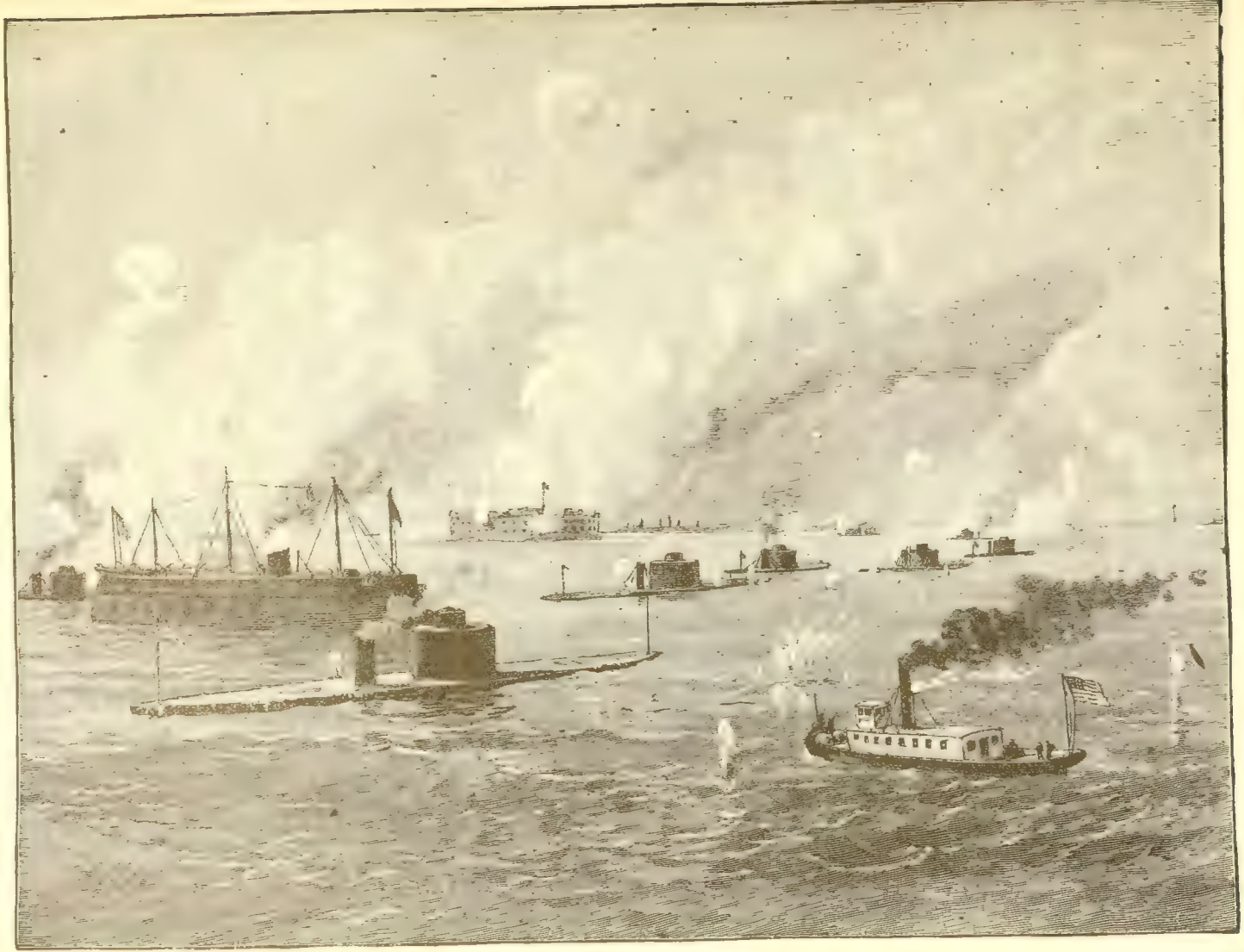
In June, 1863, Congress passed an act admitting West Virginia, whose citizens had opposed secession, into the Union as a separate State.

The great armies called for by the Federal government were, throughout the war, readily furnished by the North, except in one instance. In July, 1863, during Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, the drafting of troops in New York was resisted by rioters, who killed several negroes and destroyed much property. Governor Seymour, of New York, though he was himself "convinced of the illegality and impolicy of the draft," * took measures to suppress the riot, which ended after considerable loss of life.

The last fighting of the year 1863 took place around Knoxville, Tennessee, where in November a Federal force, under General Burnside, was closely beleaguered by General Longstreet. On November 29th Longstreet made a fierce attack on the defenses of the city, but was repulsed. Four days later, hearing that Grant had detached Sherman to relieve Burnside, he raised the siege and withdrew into Virginia.

"The winter of 1863-64 was unusually cold," † and military operations, except in the extreme South, were suspended. In February Sherman, who was stationed at Vicksburg, planned an expedition through northern Mississippi, in order "to prevent further molestation of boats navigating the Mississippi, and there-

* Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. VII, Chap. 2. † Ibid., Vol. VIII, Chap. 13.



NEW IRONSIDES.

BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER AND ADJACENT FORTS, IN THE HARBOR OF CHARLESTON, S. C., BY THE UNION FLEET UNDER ADMIRAL DUPONT, APRIL 7, 1863.

by to widen the gap in the Confederacy."* In spite of a defeat inflicted upon a part of his forces at Meridian by General Forrest, he returned to Vicksburg, after doing great damage to the Confederate communications. Forrest pushed on into Tennessee, captured Union City (March 24), fruitlessly assaulted Paducah, and on the 12th of April took Fort Pillow, near Memphis. Some negroes among its garrison were shot after the surrender.

In March another expedition from Vicksburg moved up the Red River, in Louisiana, with 10,000 troops under General Smith, and a gunboat squadron under Admiral Porter. After the capture of Natchitoches (March 21), General Banks joined the expedition with a force from New Orleans, and took command. Advancing toward Shreveport, he was attacked and severely defeated at Sabine Cross Roads (April 8), and fell back to Alexandria. The gunboats were caught above the rapids at Alexandria by the fall of the river, and must have been abandoned had not Colonel Bailey, a Wisconsin lumberman, constructed a great dam, that so deepened the water as to allow the fleet to pass. Meanwhile General Steele had moved from Arkansas to join Banks, at Shreveport Hearing of the latter's defeat, he fell back, severely pressed by the Confederates. The Red River expedition had ended in failure, and General Banks was superseded by General Canby.

At the beginning of March, Grant was summoned to Washington from the West, to take command of all the Federal forces. Sherman "accompanied him as far as Cincinnati on his way"† to the capital, to arrange plans for concerted action. Grant's intention was "to employ the full strength of the army in a simultaneous movement all along the line."‡ He himself designed to advance on Richmond with the Army of the Potomac, while Sherman struck at Atlanta with a force composed of the three Western armies—those of the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee. The main forces of the Confederacy were grouped before Richmond, under Lee, and in northern Georgia, under Johnston.

On the 7th of May, 1864, Sherman moved out of Chattanooga with 100,000 men. Johnston confronted him with 70,000 men, and a series of battles followed, Sherman gradually pushing forward. After two days of desperate fighting at Resaca, May 14

* Sherman's Memoirs, Chapter 14. † Ibid., Chapter 15.

‡ Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. VIII, Chapter 14.

and 15, Johnston fell back to Dallas, where Sherman defeated him and turned Allatoona Pass (May 25 to 28). At the end of May Sherman "had advanced over nearly a hundred miles of as difficult country as was ever fought over by civilized armies." * The wooded hills of Georgia were so defensible that Sherman reported that "the whole country was one vast fort." † There was heavy fighting at Lost Mountain on June 15, 16, and 17, and again on the 22d at Kenesaw Mountain, where Johnston had taken up a strong position. On the morning of June 27 Sherman ordered an attack. "By half-past eleven the assault was over and had failed," ‡ the Federal troops having been repelled by Johnston's "intrenched infantry, unsurpassed by that of Napoleon's Old Guard." § Sherman still pressed forward, however, and on the 10th of July he forced Johnston to retire within the fortifications of Atlanta.

The Richmond government, dissatisfied with Johnston's failure to arrest Sherman's advance, now removed him from his command, substituting General Hood. For some time the siege of Atlanta made "slow and steady progress," ‖ Sherman being "held in check by the stubborn defense" ¶ of the garrison. Near the end of July Hood three times attacked the Federal lines, but was three times driven back, and in the last of these battles (July 28) his forces were divided and he was compelled to abandon the city, retreating northward. On the 2nd of September Sherman entered Atlanta, where he rested to prepare for his intended march through Georgia to Savannah.

"While Sherman was planning his march to the sea, General Hood was devising a counter-scheme of invasion." ** He moved into Tennessee, where he was confronted by a Union force under General Thomas. On the 30th of November he defeated a part of Thomas' army, under General Schofield, at Franklin. Thomas withdrew to Nashville, and the Confederates were preparing to assault the city when he suddenly moved against Hood, defeated him and almost destroyed his army (December 15 and 16, 1864).

* Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 25.
† Ibid., Chap. 16. ‡ Ibid., Chap. 19.
§ Johnston's Narrative of Military Operations, Chapter 11.
‖ Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 18. ¶ Ibid., Chap. 20.
** Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. 10, Chap. 1.

On the 12th of November Sherman's railroad and telegraph communications with the rear were broken, and the army stood dependent on its own resources and supplies." * With 60,000 men he marched through Georgia, meeting little resistance, and reaching Savannah a month after leaving Atlanta. On the 13th of December he stormed Fort McAllister, and on the 21st entered the city, which had been evacuated by the Confederates. Here he remained for a month.



GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

Meanwhile Grant had "started upon the campaign destined to result in the capture of the Confederate capital and the army defending it." † Crossing the Rapidan, "on the 4th of May the army of the Potomac moved against Lee," ‡ who, on the 5th, attacked Grant in a tract called the Wilderness. "More desperate fighting has not been witnessed on this Continent" § than the three days' battle that ensued. The slaughter in both armies was great. On the Confederate side General Longstreet was wounded, and "his loss was a severe one to Lee." ‖

From the Wilderness Lee fell back to Spottsylvania Court House, where the fighting was renewed, Grant telegraphing to

* Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 20. † Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 50.
‡ Sheridan's Memoirs, Vol. I, Chap. 18.
§ Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 50. ‖ Ibid., Chap. 50.

Washington that he "proposed to fight it out on this line if it took all summer." At the same time Sheridan was despatched "to proceed against the enemy's cavalry," * and to break Lee's railroad communications. Grant then moved to the left, to outflank Lee, and on the 1st of June attacked the Confederate army at Cold Harbor. He was driven back from their intrenchments, and by a second assault, made two days later, "no advantage whatever was gained to compensate for the heavy loss." † He had, however, no difficulty in securing reinforcements, while the Confederates, whose resources were rapidly becoming exhausted, could no longer strengthen their forces. Crossing the James River, on the 18th of June he attacked Petersburg, but after four days' fighting was repulsed with heavy loss. He then intrenched himself before Petersburg and Richmond, where he remained during the rest of the year 1864.

Sheridan's raid on the railroads in the rear of Richmond was effectively carried out. Two other subsidiary movements of the Federal forces were less successful. General Butler, advancing toward Richmond from Fortress Monroe, was defeated at Bermuda Hundred (May 7), and an expedition sent to the Shenandoah Valley, under Generals Sigel and Hunter, after a defeat at Newmarket (May 15) and a victory at Piedmont (June 5), was forced to retreat into West Virginia. This left Washington unprotected, and Lee despatched 20,000 men under General Jubal Early to strike at the national capital.

Crossing the Potomac into Maryland, Early defeated General Wallace at Monocacy (July 9) and advanced within gunshot of Washington. If he "had been but one day earlier he might have entered the capital before the arrival of reinforcements." ‡ Finding Washington well defended, he retired into the Shenandoah Valley, pursued by General Wright. At Winchester Early turned on Wright, defeated him, and advanced through Maryland into Pennsylvania. After burning the town of Chambersburg (July 30) he retreated into Virginia.

In September Grant ordered Sheridan to the Shenandoah Valley, to drive off Early and "to destroy all the forage and subsistence the country afforded," § so as to prevent the possibility of

* Sheridan's Memoirs, Vol. I, Chap. 18. † Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 55. ‡ Ibid., Chap. 57.
§ Sheridan's Memoirs, Vol. I, Chap. 24.

Confederate raids from that quarter. On the 19th of September Sheridan routed the Confederates in "the battle of the Opequon, or Winchester, as it has been unofficially called," * and "sent Early's army whirling up the Shenandoah Valley." † On the 19th of October, Sheridan, having been temporarily called to Washington, Early attacked the Federal Forces at Cedar Creek, and drove them back. Sheridan, hurrying back to his post, was met by "the appalling spectacle of a panic-stricken army." ‡ He rallied his men, led them forward, and turned defeat into a complete victory, Early's troops being routed and scattered.



ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.

One of the lesser military movements of 1864 was General Seymour's expedition to the coast of Florida, which ended disastrously at the battle of Olustee (February 20), where the Federal force was defeated.

In July, Mobile, one of the most strongly fortified places of the Confederacy, was attacked by a fleet under Admiral Farragut and a land force commanded by General Granger. On the 5th of August, Farragut ran into Mobile Bay, passing Forts Morgan and Gaines at its entrance, and capturing the Confederate ram Tennessee. The forts soon afterward surrendered to General Granger.

One of the few Confederate ports that still remained open was that of Wilmington, North Carolina, which was defended by Fort Fisher. In December, 1864, an expedition under Admiral Porter and General Butler was despatched to reduce the fort, but after bombarding it they found it too strong to be carried by assault, and withdrew.

In April, 1864, the Confederates had captured Plymouth, North Carolina, with the formidable iron ram Albemarle. On the night of October 27 the Albemarle was sunk by a torpedo attached to it by Lieutenant Cushing, who crept up in a small steamer manned

* Sheridan's Memoirs, Vol. II, Chap. 1.

† Ibid., Vol. II, Chap. 1

‡ Ibid., Vol. II, Chap. 3.



SHERIDAN'S FAMOUS RIDE FROM WINCHESTER TO CEDAR CREEK, OCTOBER 19, 1864, WHERE HE RALLIED HIS PANIC-STRICKEN TROOPS AND TURNED DEFEAT INTO COMPLETE VICTORY.

"And there, through the flush of the morning light,
A steed as black as the steeds of night
Was seen to pass, as with eagle flight,
As if he knew the terrible need;
He stretched away with his utmost speed"—

—Thomas Buchanan Read

by a volunteer crew, only two members of which escaped. Plymouth surrendered four days later.

In 1864 the depredations of Confederate privateers were brought to a close, after the infliction of great damage upon American ocean commerce during the four years of the war. In May, 1861, the Sumter, commanded by Captain Semmes, sailed from New Orleans, and captured and burned a number of merchantmen before being blockaded at Cadiz by the United States ship Tuscarora. Semmes then discharged his crew and sold his vessel. The Nashville left Charleston in October, 1861, and returned, running the blockade, with a valuable cargo of stores from England. She was destroyed in the Savannah River by the Federal ironclads, in March, 1863.

Several of the Confederate cruisers were built in British ports. Such was the Florida, which sailed into Mobile Bay under British colors in August, 1862. In January, 1863, she ran through the blockade, and cruised in the Atlantic for three months, taking fifteen American ships. She was then captured in the harbor of Bahia, Brazil. The Georgia, built at Glasgow, was also captured in 1863. Most notorious and destructive of all was the Alabama, which sailed from Liverpool in 1862. Her builders had "made no special effort to dissemble her object and purpose,"* and the American minister in England had protested against her being allowed to put to sea. She cruised for two years, capturing sixty-five merchant ships, and destroying property valued at ten millions of dollars. Her captain was Semmes, who had commanded the Sumter. She never entered a Confederate port, and was finally blockaded by the Kearsarge in the harbor of Cherbourg, France. Being ordered by the French government to leave Cherbourg, the Kearsarge attacked and sank her (June 19, 1864).

In the summer of 1864 nominations were made for the Presidential election. During the first two years of the war the serious disasters suffered by the Union cause had created much dissatisfaction with the policy of the President; but the later successes of the Federal armies had made it clear that "nothing could prevent Lincoln's renomination."† The Republican convention coupled to his name that of Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, as their candidate for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated General George B.

* Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. VI, Chap. 3.

† Ibid., Vol. IX, Chap. 2.

McClellan, of New Jersey, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. At the polls Lincoln and Johnson received a large majority.

In October, 1864, Nevada, the thirty-sixth State, was admitted to the Union.

The year 1865 opened with the capture of Fort Fisher by a second expedition, commanded by Admiral Porter and General Terry. The fort was bombarded and taken by storm on the 15th of January, and on the 22nd of February the Union forces occupied Wilmington—a port that had been "of immense importance to the Confederates, because it formed their principal inlet for blockade runners." *

By this time "the Southern cause appeared hopeless to all intelligent and dispassionate Southern men." † The situation of Lee's army at Petersburg and Richmond was growing desperate under the pressure of Grant's superior strength. To oppose Sherman's northward march from Savannah there were only "scattered and inconsiderable forces." ‡ The Carolinas and Virginia were the only States that still remained to the Confederacy.

It was in the Shenandoah Valley "that the first gleams of the final victory shone upon the Union arms." § Sheridan was again ordered there by Grant in February, 1865, to strike at Lee's communications. At Waynesboro he met a Confederate force under Early, which he attacked and routed—a defeat that "finished Early as a military leader." ‖ After a successful raid Sheridan rejoined Grant before Petersburg in March.

Sherman moved from Savannah at the end of January, and marched through South Carolina to Columbia, the State capital, which he entered on the 17th of February. General Joseph E. Johnston was ordered by the Confederate government to collect the forces scattered through North and South Carolina, and to endeavor to arrest Sherman's progress. This, however, he was unable to do. The Federal army entered Goldsboro, North Carolina, on the 21st of March, after a severe engagement. Generals Schofield and Terry were bringing up reinforcements from the

* Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 61.

† Johnston's Narrative of Military Operations, Chap. 12.

‡ Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 22.

§ Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. IX, Chap. 7.

‖ Lossing's Cyclopædia of U. S. History (Sheridan's Raid).

coast, and their forces and those of Sherman "effected a junction in and about Goldsboro during the 22nd and 23rd of March."* Johnston had withdrawn his troops to Raleigh.

On the 25th of March, Lee attacked Grant's lines at Fort Steadman, but was repulsed, and a week later his position at Five Forks was assaulted and carried by Sheridan. Grant followed up this success by an attack all along Lee's front, and the Confederate defenses were pierced at several points. Lee's situation was now hopeless, and he evacuated Petersburg and Richmond, which were at once occupied by the Federal army (April 3, 1865).

Lee's retreating forces were closely pursued by Grant and Sheridan. "Let the thing be pressed,"† the President telegraphed to Grant on the 6th of April, and on the same day, at Sailor's Creek, Sheridan gained "a victory which led to the annihilation of one corps of Lee's army."‡ The end of the war was evidently at hand, although it was generally expected that either Sherman or Grant "would have to fight one more bloody battle."§ In order "to shift from himself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood,"‖ Grant sent a message to Lee, pointing out "the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia,"¶ and suggesting a surrender. Lee, in reply, inquired what terms Grant would offer, and several notes passed between the commanders. Meanwhile Sheridan had moved around Lee's army, and on the morning of April 9 attacked it from the rear, near Appomattox Court House. A white flag was displayed by the Confederate general, who requested a suspension of hostilities that he might have an interview with Grant. At that interview, which took place in the house of a Mr. McLean, it was arranged that Lee's soldiers "should lay down their arms, not to take them up again unless exchanged,"** and that they should "be allowed to return to their homes."†† Grant then telegraphed to the Secretary of War, at Washington, "General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia this afternoon on terms proposed by myself."‡‡

The surrender of Lee's army practically closed the war. John-

* Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 23.

† Sheridan's Memoirs, Vol. II, Chap. 8. ‡ Ibid., Vol. II, Chap. 7.

§ Sherman's Memoirs, Chap. 23.

‖ Grant's Memoirs, Chap. 66. ¶ Ibid., Chap. 66.

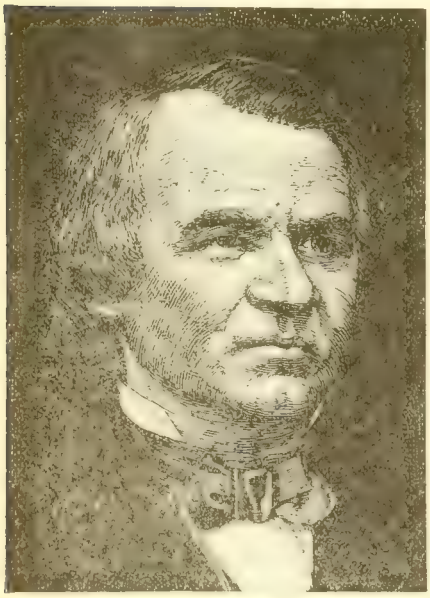
** Ibid., Chap. 67. †† Ibid., Chap. 67. ‡‡ Ibid., Chap. 67.



SHERIDAN'S ATTACK UPON LEE'S ARMY AT APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, APRIL 9TH, 1865.

ston had just evacuated Raleigh, and was retreating before Sherman, when he heard the news of Appomattox. He thereupon sent a message to Sherman proposing "to make a suspension of active operations." * Before the negotiations were concluded the country was shocked by the assassination of President Lincoln.

The 14th of April "was a day of deep and tranquil happiness throughout the United States." † The President, relieved of the terrible burden of the war, that evening attended Ford's theater in Washington. While there he was shot by Wilkes Booth, an actor, and "at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock on the morning of April 15" ‡ he expired. On the same morning Mr. Seward was wounded by another assassin who broke into his house. A few days later Booth was shot in a barn in Maryland where he had been hiding.



ANDREW JOHNSON.

Johnston's surrender was signed on the 26th of April, and no Confederate army remained in the field except inconsiderable forces beyond the Mississippi. Jefferson Davis, endeavoring to escape in that direction, was captured at Irwinsville, Georgia, on the 10th of May, and sent as a prisoner to Fortress Monroe. On the 26th of May the last of the Confederate forces in the southwest surrendered, and the civil war was over.

Three hours after the death of Lincoln "the oath of office as President of the United States was administered to Andrew Johnson by Chief Justice Chase." § Born in North Carolina of humble parentage, and unable to read and write until after his marriage, Johnson had risen to be United States Senator from Tennessee (1860) and military governor of the State (1862) before his election to the Vice-Presidency in 1864. His administration was at once confronted with several important questions.

On the 7th of April, 1865, Mr. Adams, the American minister at London, presented to the British government a claim for repara-

* Johnston's Narrative of Military Operations, Chap. 12.

† Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. X, Chap. 14.

‡ Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. II, Chap. 1.

§ Ibid., Vol. II, Chap. 1.

tion for the damages done to the commerce of the United States by the Alabama and other Confederate cruisers equipped in England. The diplomatic dispute that ensued was not settled for some years.

On the 1st of February Congress framed an amendment to the Constitution declaring that slavery should not exist within the United States. During 1865 this, the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, was ratified by all the States then in the Union.

The war had left a debt of almost two and three-quarter billions of dollars. To meet the interest heavy import duties and internal revenue taxes had been imposed. The country proved its ability to sustain the burden without difficulty, and, to increase confidence, Congress, in December, 1865, formally resolved that "the public debt ought and must be paid, principal and interest."

On the question of reconstruction, or the reorganization of the seceded States, serious differences arose between President Johnson and Congress. The former maintained, in opposition to the views of Congress, that no State could of its own act leave the Union, and that therefore the Confederate States need not and could not be readmitted.

An international question with France arose out of that country's attempt, during the civil war, to establish an empire in Mexico under the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. President Lincoln had protested against this European interference, and "no one will question the wisdom of the attitude assumed and consistently maintained" * by him and Secretary Seward. It was impossible to do more than protest while the country's entire energies were occupied in the prosecution of the war. On its conclusion the government demanded of Napoleon III. that his troops, which had placed Maximilian on the throne, should be withdrawn from Mexico. The French emperor acceded to the demand, with the result that Maximilian was dethroned by the Mexican republicans and shot (June 19, 1867).

In July, 1866, repeated attempts to lay a telegraph cable from Europe to America reached a successful conclusion. The enterprise was undertaken in 1857, mainly through the efforts of Cyrus W. Field, of New York, who persevered with his project in spite of four failures, which cost about six millions of dollars. The cable

* Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. VII, Chap. 14.



THE GREAT EASTERN LANDING IN TRINITY BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND, WITH THE END OF THE FIRST OCEAN CABLE.

ran from Valencia, in Ireland, to Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, a distance of 1,700 miles.

In March, 1867, Secretary Seward negotiated a treaty with Russia, whereby the latter agreed to sell Alaska to the United States for the sum of seven million dollars. This great northern territory, with an area of 577,000 square miles, was then almost unknown and thought to be of very little value, and "it required all Seward's skill and influence to accomplish the ratification of the Alaska purchase." * The Senate accepted it, however, on the 9th of April, 1867.

The disagreement between President Johnson and Congress was becoming more and more marked. He vetoed a bill establishing a military government in some of the Southern States, a bill admitting Nebraska to the Union, and the Reconstruction Bill, providing for the reorganization of the seceded States. All of these measures, however, were passed over his veto by a two-thirds vote, and in January, 1868, the House of Representatives ordered his impeachment. On being tried before the Senate, the President was acquitted, though only one vote was lacking of the two-thirds vote necessary for his conviction (May 23, 1868).

The settlement of affairs in the South made steady progress.

* Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, Vol. I, Chap. 13.

In May, 1867, Jefferson Davis, who had been imprisoned at Fortress Monroe for two years, was released on bail. He was never brought to trial. In September the President issued a proclamation of "amnesty to all engaged in the Rebellion," with a few exceptions. In June, 1868, the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and North and South Carolina were readmitted to the Union.

An Indian war, that had lasted for four years in Colorado and the Indian Territory, was terminated in the fall of 1868 by the battle of the Wacheta, in which the chief Black Kettle was defeated and killed by General Custer's cavalry.

As the Presidential election of 1868 approached, the Republican party placed in nomination General Ulysses S. Grant, the hero of the civil war, with Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, as their candidate for Vice-President. The Democrats selected Horatio Seymour, who, as Governor of New York during the war, "had been a great favorite of the peace party,"* and Frank P. Blair, of Missouri. At the election in November Grant was successful by a large majority, Seymour carrying New York and only five other States.



PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT.

General Grant, who thus became the eighteenth President of the United States, was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, in 1822. He was educated at West Point, entered the army, and served with credit as a subordinate officer under General Scott in Mexico. After the Mexican war he retired into civil life, but on President Lincoln's call for troops he at once volunteered for service.

Two months after Grant's inauguration the first transcontinental railroad was completed. This great enterprise, which had been six years in progress, was undertaken partly as a government work, in order to cement the distant Pacific coast to the rest of the Union. The line from the Missouri to San Francisco, nearly eighteen hundred miles in length, was built by two companies, the Union Pacific working westward, the Central Pacific eastward. The two met near Salt Lake, Utah, where the last spike was driven on the 10th of May, 1869.

* Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. II, Chap. 16.

To insure the civil status of the emancipated negroes, the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution was framed by Congress in February, 1869, and was ratified by the States during the following twelve months. It provided that the suffrage should not be restricted "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

In May, 1871, was signed the treaty of Washington, whereby the British government agreed to refer the claims arising from the Alabama affair to a tribunal of arbitration, whose settlement should be accepted as final. The tribunal was to consist of five members, named respectively by the President of the United States, the Queen of England, the President of Switzerland, the King of Italy, and the Emperor of Brazil. The court thus constituted met at Geneva in December, 1871, and after sitting for nine months it decided that Great Britain should pay to the United States $15,500,000 in gold. That sum was thereupon paid by the British government.

Another international question with England was settled by arbitration in 1872. The island of San Juan, lying between Vancouver's Island and the mainland, was claimed both by Great Britain and by the United States. On being referred by mutual agreement to the Emperor of Germany, the dispute was decided in favor of the United States.

In the summer of 1872 President Grant was renominated by the Republicans, with Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. A small section of the party, dissatisfied with Grant's administration, took the name of Liberal Republicans, and placed in nomination Horace Greeley, the celebrated founder of the New York Tribune, and Gratz Brown, of Missouri. The Democratic convention indorsed the Liberal candidates, but at the election in November Grant and Wilson were successful by a considerable majority.

Shortly before the election the city of Chicago was swept by a terrible conflagration, which destroyed property valued at $200,000,000, and left 100,000 people homeless (October 4 to 6, 1872). A little more than a year later there was a fire in Boston, second only to that of Chicago in its destructiveness. It burned over sixty acres of buildings, and caused a loss of $80,000,000, November 9 and 10, 1873.



MASSACRE OF GEN. CUSTER AND COMMAND ON THE LITTLE BIG HORN RIVER, JUNE 25, 1876, BY THE SIOUX INDIANS UNDER SITTING BULL. FROM A PAINTING BY A. R. WAUD.

The commercial expansion that followed the civil war culminated in a period of over-speculation, and this, in the fall of 1873, led to a disastrous financial panic. Business throughout the country was prostrated by widespread bankruptcy, and great industrial distress resulted. Four years passed before the effects of the crash disappeared.

Throughout Grant's second term there were more or less serious Indian troubles in the West. In 1872, the Modocs, occupying a reservation in California, went on the warpath, and murdered General Canby and Dr. Thomas, the government commissioners sent to confer with them. After a tedious campaign the rising was put down by United States troops, and the chief, Captain Jack, was hanged for the murder of the commissioners. The next outbreak was among the Sioux, in the Black Hills, on the border of Dakota and Wyoming. Gold had been discovered in their reservation, and the government had not been able to keep out the rush of gold-seekers. The Sioux, indignant at the invasion, rose in rebellion, and on June 25, 1876, they surrounded a body of 261 troopers, under General Custer, on the Little Big Horn River, and killed them. After this success Sitting Bull, the leader of the hostiles, fled into Canadian territory.

On the 10th of May, 1876, the Centennial Exposition in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, was opened by President Grant. For six years preparations had been in progress, the exhibition being designed to commemorate the centennial of American Independence, and illustrate the Nation's progress during the first hundred years of existence. It was the largest display of the kind that had been held up to that time, the covered space being sixty acres, and the cost of the buildings more than $4,000,000. It remained open for four months, the number of visitors being over ten millions, and the receipts for admission nearly $4,000,000. There were more than thirty thousand exhibitors, and thirty-three foreign countries were represented.

Colorado, the thirty-eighth State, was admitted to the Union on the 1st of August, 1876.

In the Presidential conventions of that year, the Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and William A. Wheeler, of New York; the Democrats, Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. The contest was very

close, and when Congress came to count the vote it was found that several States had sent conflicting certificates. To settle the dispute, which for a time caused great excitement, Congress appointed an Electoral Commission of fifteen members—five Senators, five Representatives, and five Judges of the Supreme Court. By a strict party vote, the Commission declared that Rutherford B. Hayes was elected to the Presidency.

The administration of President Hayes opened with the withdrawal from Louisiana and South Carolina of the Federal troops stationed there since the conclusion of the war, the President having declared in his inaugural address that the self-government of the Southern States should be completely restored.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

The greatest strikes ever known in America occurred in the summer of 1877. They were caused by a general reduction in the wages of railroad employees, and began on the Baltimore and Ohio lines, whence they spread to the men on other railroad systems and to the coal miners of Pennsylvania. There were serious riots at several points, and the running of trains was temporarily stopped throughout a great part of the country. The rioters were finally overpowered by State and Federal troops, after the destruction of much property and the loss of many lives.

Two notable financial events took place during Mr. Hayes' Presidency. Congress having passed a bill to make the silver dollar a legal tender for all debts, unless otherwise stipulated by contract, the President vetoed the measure, February 28, 1878. On the same day it was passed over his veto by a two-thirds majority of both houses.

Specie payments were resumed by the government, after seventeen years' suspension, on the first day of 1879. During the war it was forced to make payments in currency, which became so much depreciated that in 1864 a dollar in gold was worth $2.85 in paper. The premium on gold became small at the end of the war, and was now entirely extinguished.

The immigration of Chinese laborers to the Pacific coast had

become so serious a grievance to the American labor of that section, that a treaty was negotiated with the Pekin government, whereby restrictions were placed upon the importation of Chinamen to this country. The treaty, secured through the diplomacy of Mr. Burlingame, the American minister to China, was ratified by the Senate on the 16th of July, 1878.

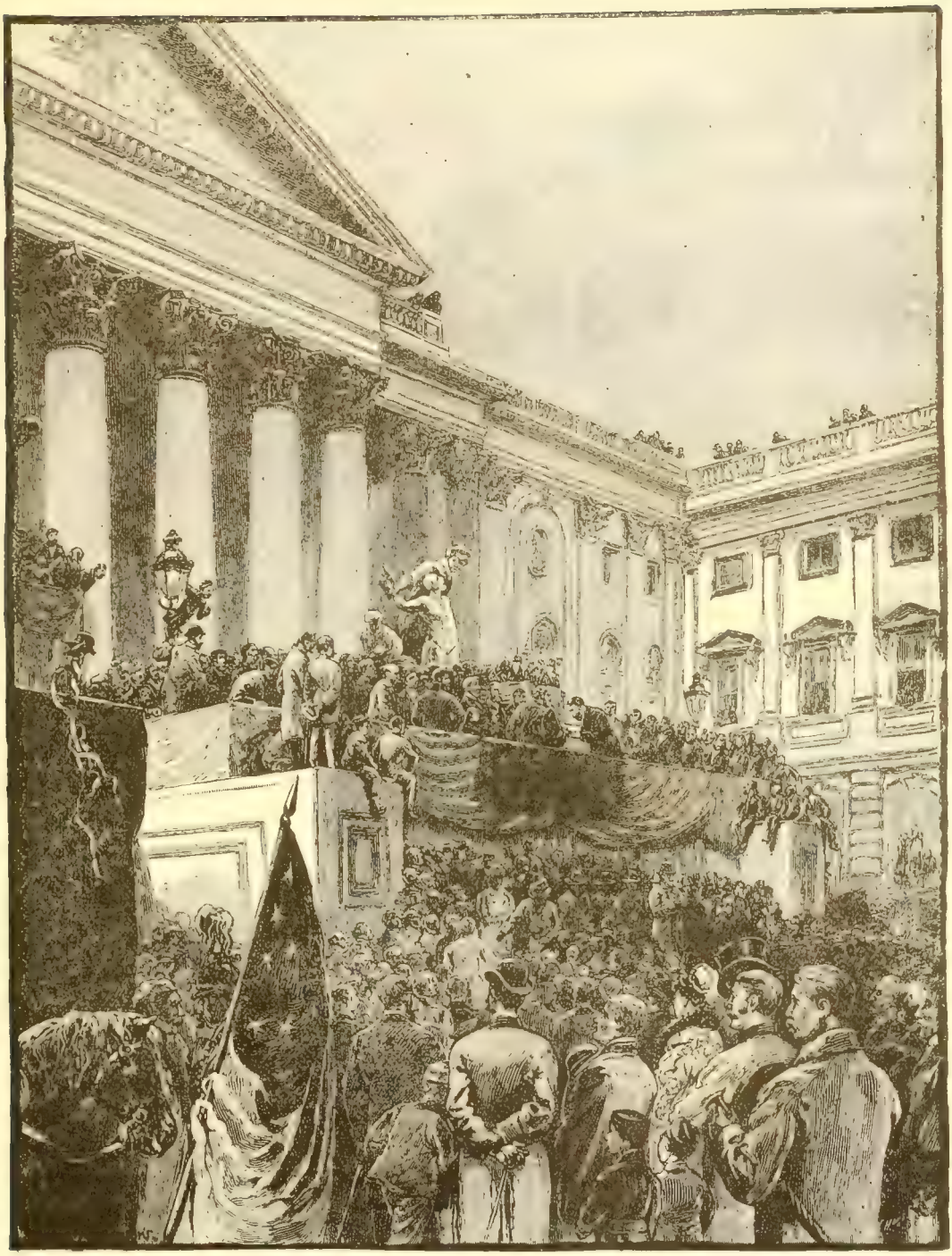
In that summer there was a destructive outbreak of yellow fever in the cities and villages along the lower Mississippi. The total number of deaths caused by the epidemic was nearly fourteen thousand, New Orleans and Memphis suffering most severely. Liberal money contributions and other assistances were received from all parts of the country and distributed by the Howard Association.

The treaty of Washington, negotiated in 1871 for the settlement of the Alabama question, also provided for a Fishery Commission, to adjust the disputes that had arisen between the British and American governments with reference to the Canadian fisheries. The commission met at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and on the 23rd of November, 1878, decided that the United States should pay Great Britain $5,500,000 for infringements of the latter's rights.

As the time approached for the selection of candidates for the Presidential election of 1880, the Republicans were mainly divided between Ex-President Grant, who had just returned from a tour around the world, and Senator Blaine of Maine. The proposal to nominate Grant was in contravention of the tradition against third terms in the Presidency, and after his eight years in office "Grant himself had discountenanced the movement." * In the convention it was narrowly defeated by a combination of the opposition forces, which nominated James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York. The Democratic candidates were General Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and William H. English, of Indiana. The popular vote was very close, but the Republicans secured a majority of fifty-nine in the electoral college.

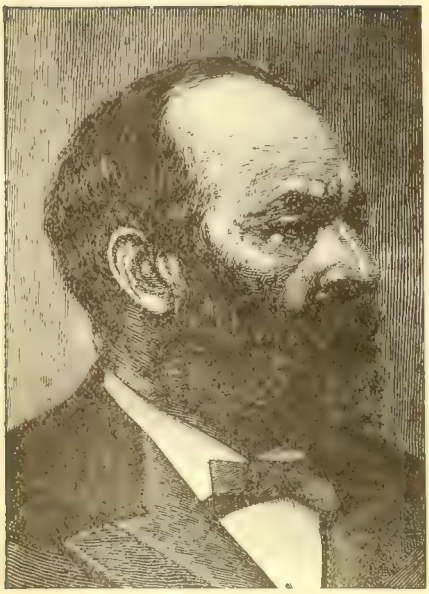
General Garfield, who thus became the twentieth President of the United States, was born in Ohio in 1831, and brought up in very humble circumstances. He worked his way through college, served with distinction in the war, and was a member of Congress from 1863 up to the time of his election to the Presidency. His tenancy of that office was brief. Scarcely four months after his

* Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Vol. II., Chap. 29.



INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD ON THE EAST PORTICO OF THE WHITE HOUSE, MARCH 4, 1881.

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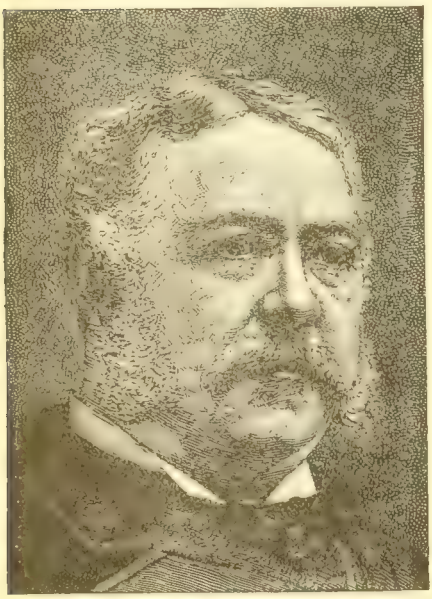


JAMES A. GARFIELD.

inauguration he was shot by a worthless character named Charles J. Guiteau, in the Baltimore and Ohio railroad station at Washington, July 2, 1881. He lingered for eleven weeks before his death, which occurred at Elberon, near Long Branch, New Jersey, on the 19th of September.

On the following day Vice-President Arthur took the oath of office. He had been a well-known lawyer and politician in New York, where he had served as Collector of the Port. His character and abilities were but little known to the nation before his unexpected elevation to the chief magistracy.

President Arthur's administration was an uneventful one. It was marked by a continued expansion of the country's material prosperity, and by some notable triumphs of the American inventive faculty. The telephone was perfected by Professor Alexander Graham Bell, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a similar instrument on a different principle was produced by Thomas A. Edison, who also invented the phonograph.



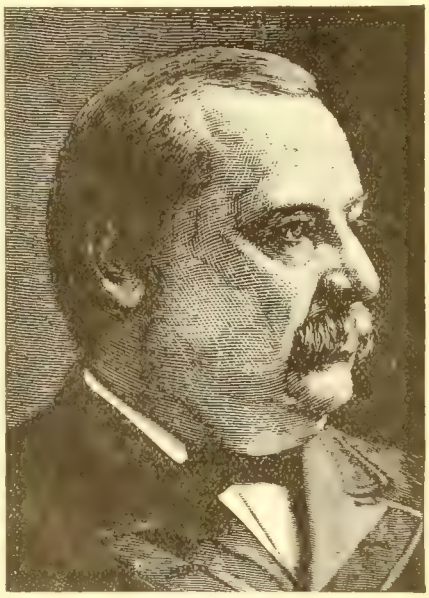
CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

On the 24th of May, 1883, the great bridge spanning the East River, and connecting the cities of New York and Brooklyn, was opened. The largest structure of its kind in the world, it was designed by John A. Roebling, and had been thirteen years in building, at a cost of fifteen million dollars.

Two notable centenaries of Revolutionary events were celebrated during Arthur's Presidency. One was that of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, which was attended by a great gathering of officials, soldiers, citizens and foreigners (October 19, 1881). The other celebration was in New York, and commemorated the evacuation of the city by King George III.'s troops (November 26, 1883). A bronze statue of Washington was unveiled in Wall Street on that occasion.

The Revolutionary centennials also led to the completion of the great Washington Monument at the national capital, which, commenced fifty years before, had been allowed to languish for lack of funds. It was completed and dedicated on the 21st of February, 1885.

To succeed President Arthur the Republicans placed in nomination, in the summer of 1884, James G. Blaine, of Maine, who had been Secretary of State under Garfield, with John A. Logan, of Illinois, as their candidate for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, and for the first time since the election of Buchanan in 1856 they were successful at the polls. Mr. Cleveland's political rise had been remarkably rapid. Born at Caldwell, New Jersey, in 1837, he practiced law at Buffalo until elected sheriff of Erie County. In 1881 he became mayor of Buffalo, and a year later was elected Governor of New York by a phenomenally large majority, which led to his nomination for the Presidency.



GROVER CLEVELAND.

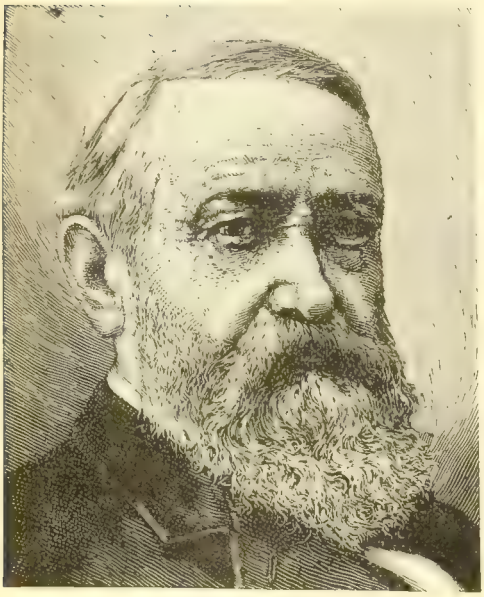
President Cleveland's administration, like that of his predecessor, was a period of comparatively uneventful prosperity. The Democrats had carried the country upon a platform which demanded the reform and reduction of the tariff upon imports. The chief legislative event of the administration was the effort of the Democrats in Congress to effect this reduction of duties by a measure known as the Mills bill, from the name of its chief author, Congressman Mills, of Texas. The bill was passed by the House of Representatives (July 21, 1888), but failed in the Senate, where there was a Republican majority.

An attempt was made to bring to an end the still unsettled questions of the Canadian fisheries by a treaty with Great Britain, negotiated at Washington in February, 1888. The treaty was, however, rejected by the Senate. A bill to effect the more complete exclusion of Chinese immigrants was passed in the same year.

During Cleveland's Presidency two of the great Federal generals of the civil war passed away — Grant and Sheridan. Ex-

President Grant died at Mount McGregor, New York, after a long and painful struggle with a cancerous disease, July 23d, 1885. General Sheridan, who was commander-in-chief of the United States Army, died at Nonquit, Massachusetts, August 5, 1888. Another death was that of Vice-President Hendricks, on the 25th of November, 1885, which left the Vice-Presidential office vacant.

In the summer of 1888 Mr. Cleveland was renominated by the Democrats, who named Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, for the Vice-Presidency. The Republican candidates were General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Levi P. Morton, of New York. An unpleasant incident of the canvass was the disclosure, just before the election, of the fact that Lord Sackville, the British minister at Washington, had been entrapped into an expression of partisanship. For this breach of diplomatic rules his recall was demanded (October 30, 1888). The election resulted in the victory of the Republican candidates.



BENJAMIN HARRISON

Benjamin Harrison, the twenty-third President of the United States, was a grandson of William Henry Harrison, the ninth President. Born at North Bend, Ohio, in 1833, he distinguished himself as one of Sherman's officers in Georgia, became a successful lawyer in Indianapolis, and represented Indiana in the United States Senate from 1881 to 1887.

The first year of President Harrison's administration was rendered remarkable by the admission to the Union of six new States—North and South Dakota, Montana and Washington (November, 1889), and Idaho and Wyoming (July, 1890). The total area of these commonwealths was more than 600,000 square miles—half as large again as that of the thirteen original colonies, and completing an unbroken line of States from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The tariff question again occupied the attention of Congress during 1890. The Republicans having a majority in both branches, a bill, known as the McKinley bill, was passed by the House of Representatives (May 21) and by the Senate (September 30), and



MODERN IRONCLAD. 1892 BATTLE-SHIPS. 1800. WOODEN FRIGATE.

signed by the President (October 1), to increase the duties on a large number of manufactured articles, including especially tin plate, woolen goods, and articles of apparel. The duty on sugar was at the same time removed. The Fifty-first Congress was also notable for the strong resistance offered by the minority to the rulings of the Speaker, Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, who, his opponents claimed, violated parliamentary law and traditions by counting a quorum from members who declined to vote.

The State Department, to which President Harrison called Mr. Blaine as Secretary, has had three troublesome international questions to deal with during the past two years. One, the long standing question of the Behring Sea seal fisheries, the American and British governments have now agreed to refer to arbitrators, meanwhile continuing a *modus vivendi* that restricts poaching.

A second arose from the lynching (March 14, 1891) of eleven Italians, who had been thrown into jail at New Orleans on a charge of murdering a police official. As some of the victims were Italian citizens, the government of that country demanded reparation. The Federal authorities being, under the Constitution, unable to interfere in a matter that was within the sole jurisdiction of the State of Louisiana, the Italian minister was hastily withdrawn from Washington (March 31). The matter was recently settled by the voting of an imdemnity of $25,000 by Congress.

The last and most serious complication was with Chili. A civil war broke out in that republic in January, 1891, between the dictator Balmaceda, and the Congressional party, in which the latter was ultimately successful. The United States men-of-war, sent to the Chilian coast to protect American property, became very unpopular with the victorious party, on account of their supposed friendliness to Balmaceda, and because the Itata, a Congressional transport, had been pursued and captured on a charge of infringing the neutrality of the United States. This resentment culminated in the mobbing, on the streets of Valparaiso, of some seamen belonging to the steamer Baltimore, of whom two were killed and several wounded. The government demanded an apology and reparation (October 26, 1891). Unsatisfactory and dilatory replies were received until on the 23rd of January, 1892, an ultimatum was presented to the Chilian government, demanding that it should immediately apologize for the outrage and withdraw an insulting cir-

cular that had been issued by Senor Matta, its foreign secretary. The apparent imminence of war created considerable excitement, but the Chilian government acceded to the ultimatum, and on January 28 the President informed Congress that a satisfactory reply had been received, thus terminating the difficulty.

The Presidential election of 1892 was approaching. The Republicans renominated Benjamin Harrison, naming Whitelaw Reid for the Vice-Presidency. The Democrats once more placed in nomination Grover Cleveland, with Adlai Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice-President. The Democratic ticket was successful, and Grover Cleveland has the unique distinction of having served two terms as Democratic President, with, however, one intervening term between the two.

Among the principal events of President Cleveland's second term we must note the World's Fair at Chicago to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, the grounds being dedicated October 12, 1892, but the exposition proper occurring in 1893, Congress having liberally assisted in the movement and all the prominent nations of the world contributing, by erecting buildings and sending exhibits. The exposition was a very great success, and served to make known to the nations of the world the vast resources of our country. It also had a great educational value to Americans, since we could compare our products, our machines, our methods of doing business with those of other countries.

In internal affairs, Mr. Cleveland's second administration opened in a season of financial distress and gloom. The panic of 1893 will long live in history as one of the worst that the United States has ever experienced.

In August, 1893, a special session of Congress was called to take some action in regard to financial matters. As a result, the Sherman Purchase Act of 1890, which was itself in the nature of a compromise between the free coinage of silver and its disuse, was repealed, and the United States took the position so long maintained by England, France and Germany, and refused to longer coin silver, except for subsidiary purposes. As the tariff was one of the issues in 1892, we are not surprised that as soon as the Democratic party found itself in power it proceeded to enact a new tariff

measure. This was known as the Wilson Bill. It was introduced in December, 1893, but it did not become a law until August 25, 1894.

In external affairs, we have to notice the sudden and, for the time being, really alarming crisis between our country and Great Britain in the fall of 1895, over the dispute between England and Venezuela as to the boundary between that country and the British possessions. As that involved the Monroe Doctrine, to the maintenance of which our country is thoroughly committed, we were in imminent danger of war with Great Britain. Fortunately, the danger was realized, and Great Britain receded from her extreme claims. We have also to notice the breaking out of the Cuban insurrection in 1895, which was destined to involve our country in war.

Owing to financial legislation, the great issue between the two parties in 1896 was the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The Democrats, choosing for their standard bearers W. J. Bryan, of Nebraska, and Arthur P. Sewall, of Maine, took their stand on a platform demanding such coinage. The Republicans put in nomination William McKinley, of Ohio, and Garrett A. Hobart, of New Jersey, and affirmed that gold must be the sole standard of value. The campaign was waged with great earnestness along these lines, and resulted in the return of the Republican nominees.

The events of President McKinley's administration were so important and far-reaching in their results, marking apparently the beginning of a new era in our history, and advanced the United States so materially in the estimation of the world at large, that we reserve them for a separate chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.



THE victories of peace far outweigh those of war, though many of the forward movements of nations and races look back to some war as the time when they took form, attracted public attention, and from which they are said to date. But causes precede effects, and every advance won in the life of a nation has been preceded by a long train of events; as the century plant bursts into a profusion of blossoms only after years of slow growth. In national affairs it is as if developments went forward silently, slowly, but none the less surely under the sweet influence of peace until the fullness of time had arrived, and then the tension between the new, though unrecognized, state of affairs and the old official order of things became too strong to be endured, and the storm of war bursts, and the clash comes, and on the issues of the resulting conflict depends much of weal or woe to the people directly involved, and to mankind in general. The truth of this observation is apparent when we consider any of the great wars of the past. The Revolution was but the outcome of a long train of causes. There was involved in it not simply the welfare of the nation then springing into existence, but the deeper question of Anglo-Saxon liberty. It is not too much to say that had the Colonies failed in their efforts, constitutional liberty, the rights of the people as against the divine rights of kings and privileged classes, the wretched inheritance of the past, under which many people otherwise well advanced still labor, would have received a great check.

It is well to bear these observations in mind when we reflect on the war between our country and Spain. What were the causes

leading to it? What are the national traits of character that have rendered Spain's colonial policy a byword and a reproach among the nations of the earth, and finally justified the United States, in the eyes of the world at large, in interfering in the case of her colony lying at our Southern door; and what are to be the results of that war, not simply to Spain and our country, but to mankind in general? To rightly answer these questions we must glance at the history of Spain, see what elements have mingled to form the Spanish people, what influences have molded Spanish character.

All, of course, are familiar with the geographical position and outline of the Spanish Peninsula. It may not be so well-known that in area it is almost exactly two-thirds that of our State of Texas. Long before the certain light of history falls upon the Mediterranean Basin, the fame of Spain as a country rich in commerce had penetrated into Western Asia. The Tarshish of the Bible was probably a Spanish town. The Phœnicians, the daring merchant explorers of antiquity, sailed along its coasts, and established their trading depots that became centers of enlightenment to the Celt-iberian tribes that thronged the peninsula. When Carthage was the commercial metropolis of the ancient world, she sent her troops and her ships to more completely subjugate the country. Two centuries before the Star of Bethlehem shone, the larger part of what is now Spain was under her control. There the great Hannibal laid the secure foundation of his fame and departed thence to Rome and final defeat.



WILLIAM McKINLEY.

Then came the Roman Conquest. For two centuries, the fighting and amalgamating process of Rome went forward. At the end of that extended period of time Spain was a Roman province. The Celt-iberians and Phœnicians were fused into one mass; all were alike subjects of Rome. The centuries of Roman possession are amongst the most prosperous and peaceful periods in the troubled history of Spain. Its population is estimated to have been nearly twice what it is at present. It was one of the richest provinces of that world-embracing empire. There were mines of precious metals in the mountains. The country was dotted with cities and

towns. The wines, silk, and olives of the south, the flocks and herds of the center, the grains of the north contributed to the necessities, comforts and business of Rome.

But the time finally came when Rome entered on its decline. Very early in the fifth century of our era there poured through the rocky passes of the Pyrenees a blighting host of barbarian invaders. They were but partially civilized Teutonic tribes, known in history as the Vandals, Suevi, etc. Cut off from assistance from Rome, the inhabitants could offer no effectual resistance, and, almost unopposed, the invaders swept the country with the besom of destruction from the mountain barrier on the north to the Pillars of Hercules on the south. A few years later a still more mighty host of still more redoubtable warriors came through the self-same passes in the Pyrenees, and after some years of conquest, built up the Gothic kingdom of Spain, that for three centuries held sway in the peninsula. Thus was introduced another and most important ethnical element, the possession of which has given rise to the Spaniard of to-day, with his contradictory traits of character. Thus was introduced also one of the religious elements which has resulted in making Spain noted for religious bigotry. One of the most furious conflicts of early Christianity was the Arian controversy, and the Goths were all followers of Arius. It was some centuries before this heresy was rooted out, and in the meantime, the fires of persecution burned, and thus it came to pass that the Spaniards were early trained in the necessity of being orthodox.

And now we turn to the introduction of still another people into the peninsula, the records of whose conquest and rule read like an extract from a work of fiction. This refers to the Mohammedan or Moorish conquest of Spain. After some years of longing waiting the Moorish hosts suddenly crossed the narrow strait of Gibraltar, and in a surprisingly short space of time overrun the larger portion of what is now Spain. Subsequently, the Gothic kings reclaimed the northern portion, but for eight long centuries the fairest part of the peninsula formed the Mohammedan Khalifat of Cordova. Many pages would be required to properly speak of this conquest. We can only remark that Arabian Spain was the most enlightened and liberal country in Europe. Beneath the banner of the prophet, a genial toleration was accorded to all

religions. Arts and sciences flourished. To this day the mournful ruins of the Alhambra delight the eye and inform the mind of the traveller. Their pieces of silver money called dirhems, found scattered all over Europe, attest the extensive sweep of their commerce. They were the patrons of literature, and, as early as the tenth century of our era, persons having a taste for learning and the pleasing amenities of life found their way into Spain. Such a people during the long centuries of their sojourn in Spain, left a lasting impression on the country. Though they were subsequently expelled, yet the inevitable result of a long intermixture of races was achieved, and Moorish blood still flows in the veins of the inhabitants of Leon, Aragon, and especially Granada.

We have now passed in review the principal ethnical elements which compose the Spanish nation. We must note they were drawn from widely separated parts of the earth. Each stock was master in the peninsula for some centuries of time. There was a long period of intermixture. Though the noble families of Spain may pride themselves on the purity of their descent, and while all Spain presents a people possessing substantial unity, yet different provinces show differences in type and speech, presenting the characteristics of the different stocks that met in conflict. These ethnical elements should have given rise to a powerful, enterprising and conquering people; and in fact, such was the characteristics of the Spanish people three and four centuries ago.

The Moorish conquest occurred in the eighth century. The next eight centuries was a long drawn out contest between the Moors and descendants of the old Gothic power. Amongst the mountains of Northern Spain, the Goths retained a foothold, and from thence they waged a war of reconquest. Century by century slow advance was made. But it was not a united people that contended against the Moors. There were several small kingdoms, such as Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Aragon. These petty states were at war with each other quite as often as with the Moors.

The origin of some traits of Spanish character may now be discovered. During the long centuries of conflict, the Gothic Spaniards, deprived of the best portion of Spain, longed for the wealth and comforts abounding in the Moorish dominions. The easiest, the only way to secure possession of the same, was by means of the sword. And so all Spain became thoroughly imbued

with the idea that the way to wealth was to find some one who had wealth and take it from him by force. Consequently, as a recent writer observes: "In every conquest and in every colony for centuries, this spirit of spoliation has been the dominant impulse of the Spanish race. They are unable to conceive of any advantage to be gained from territorial acquisition, except the riches that could be actually seized and carried away by the strong hand from a conquered or subject race. Spain has gone into every land on which she has set foot as her barons of olden times issued from their mountain fastnesses into the domain of the Saracen to ravage, plunder, and despoil."

Other results are discernible. While not very extensive in area, still the provinces of Spain are filled by people differing widely in ethnical character. The territory along the Pyrenees has ever been the home of the Basques, probably descendants of the Iberians. But the interests of the Basque provinces are not in all respects identical with those of the rest of Spain. They enjoy certain privileges not given to other provinces. The eastern and southern provinces of Spain are settled with people —Spaniards all —of a different temperament from that of the people of the center provinces. Hence what policy suits Madrid may be quite distasteful to Barcelona or Cadiz. This spirit seems to have permeated all classes in Spain; hence the difficulty of agreeing on a united policy. Any one acquainted with the history of Spain since the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814; the numerous plots and counterplots; spasmodic attempts at reform and constitutional government, to be promptly followed by absolutism; riots in the cities; rebellion in the provinces; Carlists rising—all keeping the country in a continual uproar—will admit that a partial explanation of this state of affairs is to be found in the diverse ethnical elements of the various provinces. The Carlist uprisings would be quite harmless were not the people of the Basque provinces firm believers in exploded ideas as to the legitimate rights of kings.

It is necessary for the historian to glance at another result flowing from the long centuries of conflict with the Moors, since it tends to explain the peculiar influence religion has ever had in Spanish policy, which made the Inquisition such a hideous success, and which, as we see in the case of the Phillipines, is now bringing ruin to Spain. We must reflect that in contending with the Moor

they were fighting not only an alien race, but an alien religion. For nearly eight centuries then it was "Christian against infidel, native against foreigner, European against Asiatic, inhabitant against invader." It is not at all singular, then, that Catholic and Christian came to be, in popular thought, the same as countryman and patriot. For one not to be a firm believer in the national faith was the next thing to being a traitor. To doubt a man's orthodoxy was near to doubting his patriotism. To make men firm believers in the national faith was the first step to take in making them loyal subjects of Spain, and so the power given to the church in colonial affairs.

Such a people as we have now described, in whose veins mingled the blood of various races, brave, ambitious, able and filled with pride of ancestry, but who possessed at the same time wrong conceptions as to the rights of subject people, who held divergent views of policy, who were already fixed in the groves of religious intolerance, after being united in one people by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, were given the control of the larger portion of the New World, with its interesting but helpless population. The story has been told of the conquest of Mexico and Peru. Spain suddenly leaped to the very pinnacle of power. Wealth poured in upon her. Under Charles V. and Phillip II., she was the most powerful nation in Europe. Outside of Spain, the sway of Phillip II. embraced large portions of Europe, all West India Islands, what is now Central America and Mexico, and the latter term included the larger part of what is now the United States, not to mention the Floridian Peninsula, and a large portion of South America, while, across the Pacific, the Phillipine Islands became a part of his extensive domain.

And now we pause to ask why it was that a nation so circumstanced, but lately united in one people whose sudden rise to wealth and power startled the world, whose flag was now floating over sixty degrees of latitude in the New World, into whose lap poured the gold and silver of America, and who had assumed a commanding position in the Spice Islands, should now have fallen to a position one of the feeblest in Europe? The great mass of the people of Spain labor under the fond delusion that no decline has taken place, that they are still the most enlightened, progressive and powerful nation. But as a matter of fact, only three generations elapsed

from the death of Phillip II. until Spain had fallen to an extremely low ebb. The poverty, ignorance and destitution, as portrayed by the pen of Buckel, were terrible. A slight change for the better occurred during the eighteenth century, but still Spain has remained in her fallen state, and no bright prospects of recovery are in store for her.

Thoughtful writers generally attribute the sudden decline of Spain to three principal causes, and in order to understand the Spain of to-day we must glance at them. The first in order of importance is the Inquisition. We have no desire to paint the horrors of that system, no wish to reproach the church. Let us say they were honestly mistaken in a question of policy. We will point out the inevitable and disastrous consequences. Springing into life and vigor in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, for more than three centuries the Inquisition overspread Spain like a pall. Intellectual advance was most effectually prevented. There was no such a thing as free speech or free opinion. While the rest of Europe was wakening to new life during the Reformation, there was no such result in Spain. Ten short years sufficed to effectually throttle all efforts in that direction. Reflect that in Spain alone more than three hundred thousand individuals were condemned to suffer various penalties, more than thirty thousand being burned alive. Condemned and tortured and put to death, impoverished and imprisoned, for what? For being traitors to their country? For crimes and misdemeanors? Not at all, but for holding or being suspected of holding either personally or harboring in their family some member who held or was suspected of holding some opinion not agreeing in all points with those of the church. Neither age, sex nor condition was a palliative. Even graves were violated, that the bodies might be burned, and the property long since descended to the heirs might be confiscated to enrich the church and the king.

The result of such a procedure was instant and far-reaching. The crassest ignorance speedily became the rule. It could not be otherwise where all inquiry was effectually stifled. We are told that late in the seventeenth century, the upper classes in Spain were unacquainted with science or literature, and scarcely knew anything of the commonest events which occurred outside of their own country. We read the statement of an observer in Madrid in

1679, that "men even in the highest position never thought it necessary that their sons should study; and that those who were destined for the army could not learn mathematics, if they desired to do so, as there were neither schools nor masters to teach them." We observe that it was only by chance that a student after attending the University of Salamanca for some years discovered that there was such a branch of science as mathematics. This same University in 1771 refused to allow the discoveries of Newton to be taught because they were not as consonant with revealed religion as the system of Aristotle!

The Spanish mind has never recovered from that terrible blight. We all know what ridiculously childish views all classes in Spain have expressed, as to the wealth and power of our country. Making all allowances for national egotism, what a strange exhibition of ignorance she has given! To this day their minds are absorbed in distorted reflections on their past glory. They do not want to learn the true condition of affairs. As Buckel observes, "Spain sleeps on, untroubled, unheeding, impassive, receiving no impression from the rest of the world, and making no impression upon it." She is to-day paying for the awful mistake she made some centuries ago, and we shall see that the results were not confined to Spain alone, but extended to her colonies as well.

Spain inflicted a severe blow to her own prosperity by the short-sighted, cruel policy she pursued in respect to two elements of her population. The Jews from an early date evidenced a great partiality for Spain. Since the time of Hadrian, that country was full of their colonies. When the Goths became Catholics the Jews were made the subjects of a most cruel persecution. But during the long centuries of the Moorish conquest, Arabian Spain was one European country, where the Israelite was afforded protection. It is not singular, then, that they not only accumulated wealth "but gradually rose to the highest civil dignities, and made great advances in the various departments of letters." We read of their schools in Cordova, Toledo, Barcelona, and Granada, crowded with scholars, which contributed to make Spain the one country in Europe where learning made progress during the Dark Ages. The Jews were celebrated in mathematics, astronomy and medicine. But as the Moors lost their hold over the country, the Jews again felt the rigors of persecution. Without prolonging

a dreary recital, suffice to say that in the very year Columbus made his memorable voyage, the Jews were expelled from Spain. Four months were given them to wind up their business affairs. They were not allowed to take gold or silver with them, but could take personal property or bills of exchange. Let us not dwell on the unnecessary cruelty of their expulsion. By this act Spain lost a population estimated from one hundred and sixty thousand to eight hundred thousand of her most industrious, cultured and learned citizens. The moral consequences could not but be disastrous. The people of Spain had seen a most heinous crime committed. An act of national robbery had been consummated. Amidst great suffering and wrong, a whole people had been driven into exile. Such acts as these inevitably react on the mind and conscience of a nation. The economic results were equally deplorable. "Do they call this Ferdinand a politic prince, who can thus impoverish his own kingdom and enrich ours!" was the surprised exclamation of a barbarian king to whom some of the poor exiles went for protection.

And what shall we say to the expulsion of the Moriscoes or descendants of the Moors, in the opening years of the seventeenth century? It is not intended to dwell on the wrong, the cruelty, the bigotry, which produced and accompanied this act, but consider the lamentable results on Spain herself. "About one million of the most industrious inhabitants of Spain were hunted out like wild beasts." The results were instant and lasting. Says Buckel, "The best systems of husbandry then known were practiced by the Moriscoes, who toiled and irrigated with indefatigable labor. The cultivation of rice, cotton, and sugar, and the manufacture of silk and paper were almost confined to them. By their expulsion, all this was destroyed at a blow, and most of it was destroyed forever. . . . . Arts and manufactures either degenerated or were entirely lost, and immense regions of arable land were left uncultivated. Some of the richest parts of Valencia and Granada were so neglected that means were wanting to feed even the scanty population which remained there. Whole districts were suddenly deserted, and down to the present day have never been repeopled. These solitudes gave refuge to smugglers and brigands, who succeeded the industrious inhabitants formerly occupying them, and it is said that from the expulsion of the Moriscoes is to be dated

the existence of those organized bands of robbers which after this period became the scourge of Spain, and which no subsequent government has been able entirely to extirpate."

We will not speak further of the history of Spain, or the character of her people. We have now seen the diverse ethnical elements, the fusion of which has given us the Spain of to-day. It has been in no captious spirit that we have pointed out some of her traits of character. It helps us to understand the people with whom we suddenly found ourselves at war in the spring of 1898. It tends to make clear why Spain has made such wretched business in the management of colonies. She looks on them much as her Gothic rulers of a thousand years ago regarded the land of the Moors—lawful prey from whom she was to extort all she could. It explains the curious mixture of bigotry and cruelty observable in her treatment of the natives brought under her dominion. It partially explains why the Spanish people are so very proud of their history, why they are apparently unconscious that the rest of the world has advanced far beyond them, and why the masses of the people are in such depths of ignorance. But now leaving this part of our subject, let us consider her colonies, and why it was that our country felt justified in rescuing them from her grasp.

The story of the conquest of Mexico and Peru has been told with a vast wealth of detail in the earlier pages of this book. It suffices to remark that in the short space of about fifty years from the time the Spanish admiral dropped anchor off San Salvador, the immense possessions of Charles V. and Phillip II. had been won by the sword. Already the hapless natives, groaning in slavery, were on the road to conversion and extermination. The extensive territory in the New World had been divided into two vice-royalties. One, at Lima, was the seat of government for South America, the various sections now composing the troubled republics of that continent being under the government of captain-generals directly under the supervision of the viceroy at Lima. Subsequently in the eighteenth century this extensive territory was divided, and independent vice-royalties established at Bogota and Buenos Ayres. The viceroy of Mexico exercised supervision over the Phillipines.

And now let us see how the elements, as we have traced them, that go to make up Spain began to play havoc with their extensive possessions. Spain, we have seen, is composed of diverse ethnical

elements. Colonies from different sections of Spain must display different characteristics. This accounts, in some measure, for the ceaseless wrangles displayed in the history of the South American Republics, and which were none the less active during the long period they were governed by viceroys, and prevented the proper growth of the country. Take for illustration Chili and Peru. The former is Biscayan, the latter Andalusian, in its origin; the one retains the hardihood of the north, the other the gayety and grace of the south of Spain. Nor do England and Italy differ more widely in their habits and springs of action than do these neighboring colonies from opposite sections of the mother country.

But this diversity of characteristics was one of the least of evils. It could have been overcome had an enlightened policy prevailed as to government. But first as to the treatment of the natives. A people who clamored for the expulsion of a hundred thousand and more of their best citizens, attending that expulsion with unnecessary acts of cruelty, and forbidding any assistance to the poor wretches in their forced migration; a people who could applaud the treachery of their sovereigns in condemning upwards of fifteen thousand of the inhabitants of Malaga to slavery, could not be expected to show mercy to the aborigines of the New World. The relatively small amount of gold that the natives had gathered in the course of their history did not go far in satisfying the wants of the conquestadores, let alone the urgent demands of Spain. To work the mines and the estates labor was needed, and accordingly the natives were simply enslaved,—divided up among the conquerors. Probably a more cruel form of slavery never existed. We are told that before twelve years had elapsed after the discovery of Cuba, several hundred thousands of its native inhabitants had perished, miserable victims to the grasping avarice of the white man. Markham tells us that in the vice-royalty of Peru in less than two centuries nine-tenths of the Indians had been destroyed from the face of the earth, and the survivors were ground down by pitiless slavery and oppression. How did Spain regard this? With favor, because, in the first place, it brought tribute to Spain; and, in the second place, the aborigines were thus given the inestimable privilege of learning the true faith! Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapas, the life-long friend of the Indians, went to Spain in his endeavor to succor them. He had an interview with the Bishop

of Burgos, who had the chief management of Indian affairs, and acquainted him with a few facts. Amongst other items of information he told him how seven thousand children had perished in three months. "Look you, what a droll fool!" interrupted the bishop. "What is that to me, and what is it to the king?" The men who did this were the "heroic ancestors" to whom General Blanco appealed in one of his bombastic proclamations. Truly; and in starving reconcentrados they showed themselves worthy descendants of this "heroic ancestry."

Let us see how Spain treated her American possessions, and we shall see how utterly impossible it was for colonies so situated to thrive. The colonies were the personal property of the king of Spain, being given directly to Ferdinand and Isabella by the famous bull of Alexander VI. To assist the king in the administration of his property, two councils were formed, one to stand for the king in political matters, the other to attend to economic affairs. Passing by the political government, with its vice-royalties, governor-generals, etc., as not calling for anything especial, let us see how it was in the internal affairs of the colonies.

In the first place, trade and commerce was made a strict monopoly. It was prohibited between the several provinces, and not at all allowed with the outside world, except through Spain. The end in view was to derive all revenue possible for the government of Spain, quite regardless of the welfare of the colonies themselves. From only one port in Spain were ships allowed to set sail for the New World. Down to 1718, that port was Seville, after that Cadiz. The ships were not allowed to leave Spain at their pleasure, but twice a year a fleet was made up, and after a tedious round of red tape and the collection of all sorts of charges departed under convoy. The ships could not stop at any port they pleased, but all goods for Mexico went to Vera Cruz, all for South America to Porto Bello on the Isthmus. From this point goods were distributed all over South America. To illustrate how the system worked. Buenos Ayres is a port with a fine harbor, yet for decades goods for that place went first to Porto Bello, thence down the coast to Lima and thence overland to their destination.

There could be no trade between the colonies. Quicksilver is needed in mining. The mines in Almaden could not supply the demand for Mexico. Peru had plenty, so a little trade sprang

up between Peru and Mexico for that commodity, to the benefit of both provinces. With her usual short-sightedness, Spain stopped this traffic and supplied Mexico with quick-silver from Germany through Spain. Late in the seventeenth century, one of the most able viceroys of Peru carelessly allowed a slight trade with Mexico, and a few objects of Chinese manufacture came thence into Mexico. Immediately the Spanish merchants sounded the alarm. The viceroy was summarily deposed from office. The obnoxious articles in question were destroyed. A similar spirit ruled in agriculture. As late as 1803, orders were received in Spanish America to root up all vines in certain provinces, because it was hurting the wine trade of Cadiz. At one time, the cultivation of tobacco, flax, hemp, saffron, and olives was prohibited. Migration to the colonies was surrounded with all sorts of difficulties. In short, in all sorts of ways the industrial freedom of the colonies was interfered with, and the result was disastrous both to Spain and to the colonies. What chance was there for colonial prosperity? Trade hampered in every way, prohibited between the colonies, prohibited with the outside world. Movements of the citizens to the colonies, from the colonies, within the colonies, prohibited without a special license. But in one direction, all was energy: raising tribute for Spain.

It is necessary to speak frankly about the interference of the church in the government of the colonies, since, from what we have learned of the state of the Spanish mind in regard to religion, and the practical results as shown in the Phillipines. It is a melancholy truth, abundantly attested by history, that it will not do to entrust religion, however pure it may be, with the political interests of a nation. Religious leaders, inspired with what they regard as the eternal interests of the people, loose sight of the blessings of temporal liberty. Spain has ever erred in this matter. In 1522, it was decreed that no one with the slightest suspicion of heresy should be allowed to set foot on Spain's American soil. Later, it was provided that the authorities should make vigorous search for any such so minded, and to "punish them severely." In 1569, the Inquisition, that most dangerous weapon against popular liberty, was set up. This meant the crushing of all freedom of thought. It were vain to think of advance in any direction, so long as it was in power. As a whole, the well-organ-

ized hierarchy of the church in all the colonies was independent of the civil authorities, and in some respects claimed to be superior to it. Time after time the whole civil administration was thrown into disorder by wranglings with ecclesiastical authorities. Many illustrations of this disastrous state of affairs could be given. Then again there was the same spirit of greed that is so exemplified in the Phillipines. When in 1767 the Jesuits were expelled, they left such vast wealth in Lima, that a special department of government had to be provided to attend to it.

It were utterly hopeless, judging from this brief sketch of Spanish policy, to expect the state of the colonists to be happy and prosperous. In 1736, the viceroy of Peru describes a most gloomy state of affairs. The Spanish population was mostly concentrated in Lima. The noble and wealthy oppressed the poor, and all classes oppressed the Indians. Only one industry seems to have been flourishing. In Lima alone there were thirty-six convents, each one, on an average, equal to four in Spain. In 1772, the governor of New Granada makes a most despondent report. The local officials everywhere were indifferent and careless as to their duty; the people were steeped in poverty. Trade was almost extinct; capital was lacking, and there were no opportunities for its investment. Every one sought to subsist on the government by procuring some little office. Commerce with Spain only employed two ships a year. If it were only allowable to export tobacco, cocoa and precious woods, the colony could hope for prosperity.

It is then no wonder that in the opening years of the present century, when the Napoleonic wars gave a chance to the colonies in the New World, they gained with comparative ease their independence. Neither is it any wonder considering their past history, their centuries of misrule, the state of general ignorance, the pride of race, that from that day to this they have constituted so many disorderly republics, and only now and in but few instances does a stable government, standing for liberty and progress, make its appearance. However, the future is before them. Some of our clearest thinkers hold that, having finally severed the last political tie with the mother country, the real influence of Spain, as shown in language and customs, and to be shown in commerce, will commence; in short, that Spanish life, crushed in the Old, will become a world power and influence in the New World.

Let us now turn our attention to Cuba, "La siempre fiel Isla de Cuba," as the Spanish writers so fondly termed it before the war of 1868. We have all read the glowing description of the island left by Columbus. He supposed that at last he had found the shores of Cipango, the country of the Great Khan. These golden dreams were soon dissipated. However, this lovely island—with its fine climate, though situated in the tropics; its fertile soil; its forests of valuable woods, tropical birds, and flowers, and fruits; with its aboriginal population, mild and gentle in disposition, numbering well in the hundreds of thousands—formed a most attractive combination for the conquestadores.

We have already quoted Las Casas' observation as to the fearful results of Spanish policy with the aborigines. Spanish writers labor to show that the *enthusiast* Las Casas was mistaken in his figures. However true that may be, Gomara, writing in 1553, asserts that the Indians had even then "entirely disappeared." The name of an important city near Havana, Matanzas, meaning "massacre," still commemorates the last great slaughter of the Indians. To take the place of the fast disappearing natives, negro slaves were imported as early as 1523, and thus the curse of negro slavery was fastened on Cuba. Little did the Spanish settlers dream that in enslaving the Africans they were forging the chains which three centuries later were to bind their own descendants in political slavery to Spain.

The earliest settlements in Cuba were in the southeastern portion, attracted thence by the nearness to the Spanish colonists in Jamaica. Santiago was one of the earliest settlements, and was long the capital of Cuba, and has remained the capital of the eastern division of the island. In time Havana was settled, and owing to its location it became the port of call for the trading fleet to and from Vera Cruz, and so steadily rose in importance. From about the middle of the sixteenth century the captain-general resided in Havana, having a lieutenant in Santiago. For two centuries nothing of importance is to be noted in regard to Cuba. The same restrictive policy as to trade and commerce held sway, consequently population increased slowly. In 1660, it was not above 40,000, only a tithe of that on the island at the time of its discovery. During this extended period of time the Spanish West Indies, known as the Spanish Main, was the theater of operation

for pirates, cut-throats and freebooters that often threatened the coast cities of Cuba.

During our French and Indian war the English made an attack on Havana, in which, as we were all good British subjects then, troops from New York, Connecticut and New Jersey participated. The result was the surrender of Havana to the English. But in the treaty of Paris the city and with it the island were handed back to Spain. It is hard to understand how England came to depart from her usual course in giving up her conquest, but it was extremely fortunate for our country that she did so, for with Cuba in her possession, commanding as she would the Gulf of Mexico, there would have been no Louisiana Purchase, and our history would have been vastly different. With the restoration of Cuba to Spain began a new era in the history of the island.



The restrictive policy of Spain with reference to the trade of her colonies began to break down late in the eighteenth century. In 1793, the coasts of Cuba were blockaded by the French, and the inhabitants were in great distress, to relieve which Spain passed a decree throwing open the ports to neutral vessels. The result was instantly felt, the United States at once opening up a flourishing trade, dispatching more than one hundred cargoes of grain and provisions. An improvement set in. The white population, which in two centuries had only grown to 90,000, received an accession of 37,000 in a few years after the ports were opened. It was during the first quarter of the present century that Cuba gained the name of the "ever faithful Island" by remaining loyal to Spain while the colonies on the main land were throwing off the yoke. It happened from 1799 to 1812, Cuba was blessed with an exceptionally good governor-general, the Marquis de Someruelos. Although they were not supposed to be retained in office more than five years, yet he held his position more than twice that period. The greatly increased trade facilities, the new era of prosperity, and the prudence and sagacity of Someruelos prevented any expression of discontent in Cuba.

In 1812, after Napoleon had overrun Spain, and had placed his

brother, Joseph, on the throne, only to have him retire in disgust, the Cortes at Cadiz adopted a Constitution for Spain, which held out a fascinating prospect for liberty to the colonies,—they were to have a share in the government and such extensive privileges that, if they had only been honestly extended, the island would have speedly attained a wonderful prosperity. But Ferdinand VII., great-grandfather of the present boy king, a man lacking almost every trait of character fitting him to rule, came to the throne in 1814, and at once set the Constitution aside, and "at once took a plunge back as far towards the Dark Ages as was possible in a world that had just witnessed the French Revolution." The hopes of Cuba as well as those of the liberal element in Spain, were dashed to the ground, and once more the repressive system prevailed.

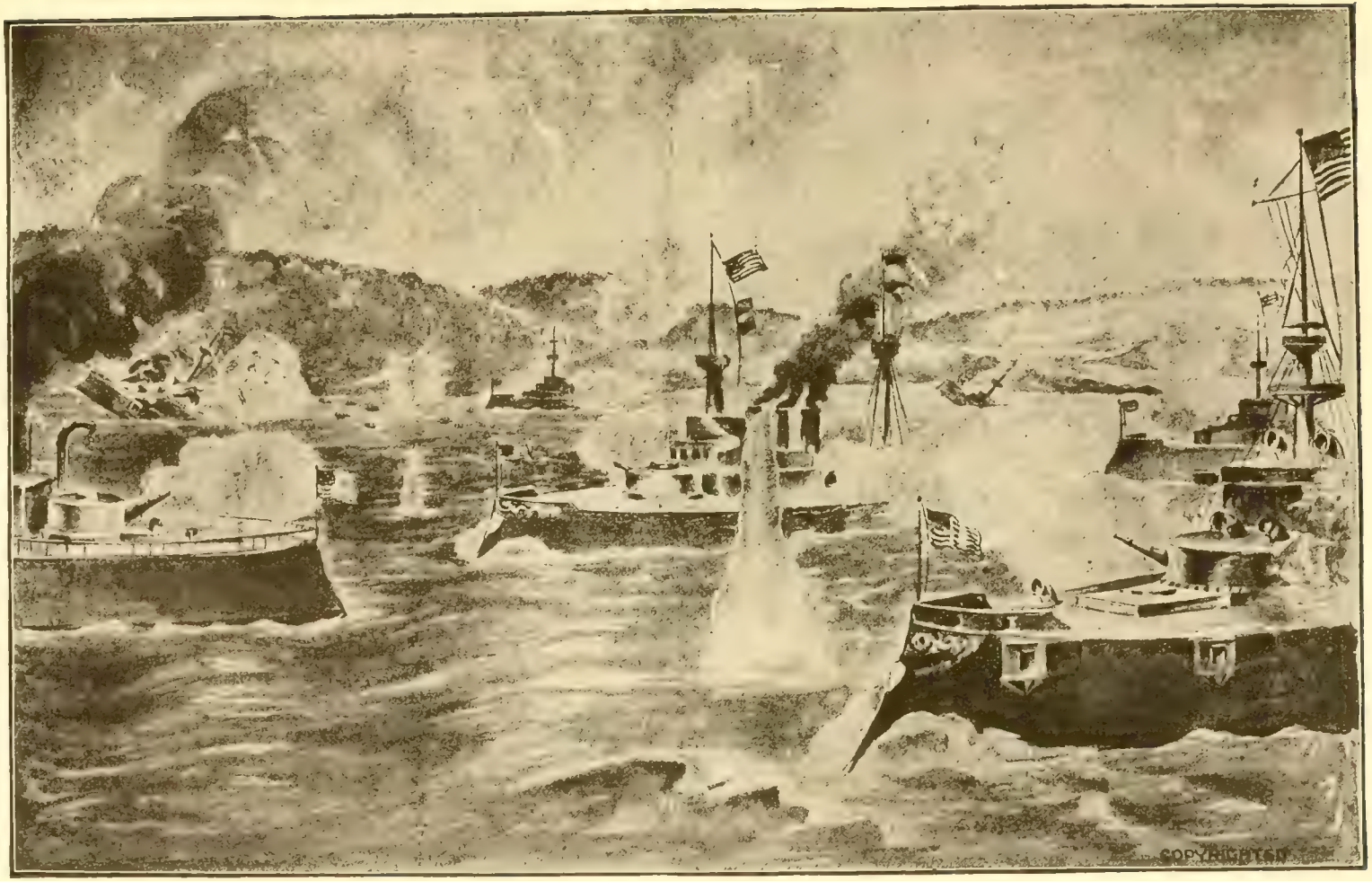


In 1820 occurred a turn of the kaleidoscope in Spanish affairs. The golden stream from America had dwindled to nothing. The colonies on the main land were throwing off the yoke. Spain was powerless to prevent. Cuba, however, remained loyal, though there was talk of armed intervention from Columbia and Mexico to force Cuba into a rebellion. Bolivar had his agents in Cuba to work up a revolution, which was prevented largely by the influence of the United States. The rising tide of dissatisfaction in Spain was so great that at length Ferdinand as a measure of safety decreed the adoption of the Constitution; and again Cuba began to dream of prosperity, and a share in the government. This time the arms of France, and the moral support of the Holy Alliance interfered in distracted Spain. Ferdinand again found himself in absolute power and again tore up the Constitution, and once again Cuba's dreams were blasted. To show how despotically Cuba was governed, we might remark that in view of the threatened uprising on account of the work of the agents of Bolivar, the captain-general was given in 1825 all the powers of a dictator. He was directly given all the powers of a commander of besieged cities. He could deport from the island without any further process of law "any person, whatever be their rank, class or condition, whose continuance therein" be deemed inadvisable. He could

"suspend the exercise of any order whatsoever, or any general provision made concerning any branch of the administration," at his personal pleasure. The captain-general retained from that day to this such powers, and freely exercised them.

The weak and vacillating Ferdinand died in 1833, bequeathing to Spain the Carlist troubles, which have twice since that date plunged the country in civil war, and are once more causing the most ominous gathering of clouds in the political sky. To gain popular support, Christina, regent during the minority of Isabella II., decreed in 1836 the adoption of the Constitution. But now we are to see how the fair promises of Spain were to be broken. As we have seen, the captain-general had power to "suspend any ordinance whatsoever." September, 1836, a sailing vessel brought to Santiago de Cuba the intelligence that the Constitution had again been proclaimed in Spain. General Lorenzo, the military governor of Santiago, in the midst of great rejoicing, visions of a happy, prosperous future, proclaimed the Constitution in his province. He apparently did not know what a helpless official he was. The captain-general at Havana was Tacon. He knew exactly what he was expected to do. He promptly "suspended" the operation of the Constitution in Cuba, and sent word to Santiago that "not the slightest change in the order of things should be made unless by his express and final order." Nevertheless, an effort to obtain their rights was made, and three deputies from Santiago went to Spain and vainly endeavored to be heard. They were coldly shown the door, and the Cortes decided that the "provinces of America and Asia, these shall be ruled and administered by special laws appropriate to their respective situation and circumstances, and proper to cause their happiness." Ever since that fatal day affairs have gone from bad to worse in Cuba.

As this was a crucial point in Cuban history, let us see Spain's probable line of reasoning. In area Cuba was about one-fourth that of Spain. It was a country richly endowed by nature. It occupied a most commanding position in the Gulf of Mexico. Its long coast line was dotted with numerous deep, spacious, land-locked harbors, in which the navies of the world could find anchorage. It possessed a wonderfully fertile soil, vast forests of most valuable woods, and mines of copper, iron and other minerals. It had prospered under what little liberty it enjoyed. Spain evidently



DESTRUCTION OF ADMIRAL CERVERA'S SPANISH FLEET OFF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

Fought July 3, 1898, not one ship escaping. Over 500 Spaniards killed and wounded, and 1,600 prisoners taken.

feared that should she relax her authority over the island the colony would make such rapid strides in wealth and prosperity, and would so develop its unrivaled resources that it would speedily surpass Spain herself in importance and power, and soon ceasing to be content with half-way liberties, would demand and obtain independence. That they were correct in regard to the commerce of Cuba is shown by the fact that as early as 1847 the imports and exports of Cuba exceeded those of Spain by five million dollars. In view of her power, Spain reasoned that it was the better policy to hold, by force, her last possession of importance in the Western Hemisphere.

So she fell back on that fatal line of policy, so congenial to Spanish taste, and regarded Cuba as a subject country, out of which she was to derive all the revenue possible, but the welfare of the colony, the good of the people was not to be considered. Smarting under the loss of the gold and the silver from the main land, Spain must contrive, as far as possible, to force Cuba alone to make good the loss. The crown needed revenue. There were generals, impoverished grandees, politicians, and favorites of a dissolute queen, that must be provided with lucrative offices, and so an army of officials was saddled on the island, with an army of soldiers to enforce its demands. Taxes were multiplied beyond all reason. In all conceivable ways revenue was wrung from the "ever faithful Isle," and Cuba, which had formerly drawn money from Spain, became instead a sort of reserve treasury for that impoverished country.

About fifty years ago this system had come to full bloom in Cuba. The captain-general was an irresponsible despot. It was said at that time that "individuals, for the slightest possible cause of offense—often indeed without any cause whatever—are [written in 1850] seized and banished from the island; or, what is still worse, are incarcerated in loathsome prisons." At the same time, speaking of the Cubans, "there is but one way of avoiding persecution, but one way of escape when persecuted, but one way to obtain justice when seeking ordinary redress. It is by bribery. Gold will open prison doors, procure dispensation for falsely imputed crimes, obtain a tardy decree of long sought justice." In 1844, about $25,000,000 yearly was being squeezed out of the inhabitants. It was shown that only a very small per cent. of this vast amount was being applied to the legitimate purposes of taxation, and, continues our

author, "when it is considered that for variety and extent, for amount and oppressiveness, they exceed any taxation imposed by any government in any country upon the earth; when the enormity of the whole subject matter is regarded in all its features, no one can repress a feeling of abhorrence at such acts of tyranny, and of wonder that they have been so long endured in silence." This was written in 1850, so that Cuba suffered from these wrongs for nearly half a century more.

What did the Cubans receive in exchange for all this revenue wrung from them? As for the officials: "In the whole island a most brutal spirit of despotism is strikingly prevalent in all officials of the government from the captain-general down to the most abject of his hirelings, not excepting the municipal and other local authorities." As for the Cubans themselves: "They are excluded from the army, the judiciary, the treasury and customs, and from all influential and lucrative positions—all good and enlightened patriots are forced into obscurity or persecuted or expatriated." As for other abuses: "The press under the most infamous and servile censorship is a weapon only wielded against their rights—a petition signed by more than two is condemned as a seditious act." The vast amount of taxes was being spent in paying large salaries to the army officials, not one of whom was a native Cuban, also, "To support an army of twenty thousand men to intimidate and oppress the peaceful inhabitants of Cuba, and likewise the entire navy of Spain, unnecessarily stationed in the ports of the island for the same purpose, in the paying of a vast number of officers residing either on the island or in Spain, and in remittances to the court."

In spite of the enormous amount collected "it was only by subscription that the inhabitants can secure to themselves temples for their worship, or cemeteries for their dead, and for a baptism, or a burial, or to obtain any of the consolations of religion, it requires a large additional sum to be paid." Education was badly neglected. In 1850, only one free child in sixty-three attended school. Out of a total school population of about one hundred thousand less than ten thousand were receiving an education, and by far the larger portion of them were educated at private expense. To illustrate, a populous district of over thirty thousand inhabitants had one school of forty boys within its borders, a town of

ten thousand had one school of thirty boys. General O'Donnell, afterwards one of the numerous favorites of Isabella II., perhaps fearing that the children would imbibe liberal ideas, suppressed primary schools. Did the wealthier classes desire to send their children abroad for education? They were forbidden by law to do such a thing.

One thing the Cubans could get, provided, of course, they had money to pay the fees. They could purchase a title. If they had from twenty to fifty thousand dollars to pay for the luxury they could become Count this or Marquis de la some other place. Many of the prosperous sugar planters availed themselves of this privilege, and so collectively the "nobility" were often called the "sugar noblemen." We can scarcely blame them for buying a title since it saved them from petty annoyances at the hands of officials. A nobleman could only be tried by a high tribunal, and could not be arrested for debt.

In levying tribute the Spaniard's only care was to get all possible. In the matter of flour, for instance, wheat was not raised in Cuba, and Spain could not supply the demand. Under these circumstances, being one of the necessities of life, we would naturally expect only a moderate duty to be placed on it. But in 1834, a duty of ten dollars a barrel was imposed. This almost destroyed the trade with the United States, annihilated the mercantile marine which the island had been creating, put an end to ship building which had been flourishing, caused distress in Cuba; but to offset all this, produced revenue for Spain. In short, the native Cubans were taxed every turn they made, on what they raised, on what they sold, on what they bought, on what they manufactured, exported or imported. Every religious consolation sought,—baptism, marriage, death, burial—all taxed. Their business movements interfered with in every way, education neglected, the press turned against them; and all that revenue might be gained for Spain, that an army of officials might be enriched, and that political chains might be bound more strongly around the "ever faithful Island," while the sons of Cuba were "persecuted, imprisoned, buried in dungeons, banished, sentenced to fortresses and condemned to death for calumnies, for imaginary crimes of disloyalty, on no better foundation than flimsy suspicion or false denunciation by infamous spies." We have in the last pages presented a very

conservative picture of the conditions in Cuba for the fifty years preceding 1898.

We must now consider the question of slavery in Cuba, which for many years, recognized as a great evil by the Cubans themselves, was forced on the island by an unscrupulous ring, to share in the ill-gotten gains of which the royal family itself participated. At first it was supposed that owing to the climate, slave labor was the only kind that could be employed on the island, hence the deputies to the Cortes of 1812 and 1820 defended the slave trade. In 1817, Spain joined with the other nations in declaring the slave trade illegal. This step was considered almost as a calamity in Cuba. But the danger lay in quite another direction. The profits that could be cleared in this infamous trade, the hush-money that could be extorted by officials, were far too great to be relinquished. Spain had no intention of giving up the trade, though in opposition to her treaty with England. It is stated that the ex-regent Christiana was at the head of a slave importing company. The captain-general received, as his share of the hush-money, from thirty to fifty dollars for each slave imported. We are told that in the first three months of the year 1850, captain-general Alcoy cleared about $200,000 in this way.

But now the native Cubans, the Creoles, soon awoke to a very real and pressing danger. They were constantly oppressed with a fear of a repetition of the insurrectionary scenes of Hayti and San Domingo. The proportion of the colored population to the white was constantly increasing. In 1775 it was only forty-four per cent., but in 1844 it was more than sixty per cent., and at that date the slave trade was steadily increasing. In that year it was pointed out in a warning way that "insurrections have become frequent and have assumed a more alarming character. Instead of being prompted as they formerly were by the accidental severity of some overseer, they are now the result of a settled conviction in the slaves of their own rights and those of their race." In 1841 the Royal Association for Improvement, the Chamber of Commerce and the Municipality of Havana, and the principal corporations of Cuba, memoralized Madrid against the trade. But all in vain. The importation of slaves continued. And now, observe the weapon Spain held over Cuba. As long as slavery continued, the Cuban population knew very well that in event they rose in

rebellion the military authorities could by arming the blacks, let loose an insurrection that would shock the whole civilized world.

Thus the Heraldo of Madrid in 1853 asserts: "It is well for all to know, whether native or foreign, that the island of Cuba can only be Spanish or African. When the day comes when the Spaniards should be found to abandon her, they will do so by bequeathing their sway to the blacks." Thus is seen the truth of our assertion, that in enslaving the negroes the Spaniards enslaved their own descendants. We have now learned that the Spaniards carrying out their policy of forcing all revenue possible out of Cuba held the white population in political and economical slavery, not only laying on them burdens such as no other people had to endure, but held the fear of a successful insurrection on the part of the slaves should they (the whites) rise in rebellion, refusing at the same time to permit the emancipation of the slaves, and continuing the slave trade with all its horrors, on account of the great profit to all concerned in it. While the slave trade was finally abolished, yet on the whole, matters went from bad to worse in unhappy Cuba, until finally we come to the ten years' war.

It would have been passing strange had Cuba remained submissive and tranquil all the years preceding the outbreak of 1868. As a matter of fact, there were a number of conspiracies and small insurrections, some of which were on the part of the whites to break the political bondage, and some on the part of the slaves and free colored people to gain their freedom and rights. In 1823, there was a conspiracy known as the Soles de Bolivar, which had reference to the rising under Bolivar, but this did not amount to much. Another conspiracy in 1829, known as the Black Eagle, is attributable to emissaries sent from Mexico to work up the revolution. In 1842–44 there was a very serious insurrection among the blacks. It is claimed that the British Consul, Mr. Turnbull, was one of the prime movers in the matter, in the secret hopes that in the terribly chaotic condition necessarily attending a successful slave revolt, England would seize the island. However that may have been, the insurrection is principally remembered for the sickening scenes of cruelty with which the authorities suppressed it. It is something terrible to read the accounts. It made no difference whether an unfortunate suspect was innocent or guilty, he was tortured until he confessed something and then shot. The streets

of Matanzas (the scene of Indian butchery centuries before) at times actually ran with blood. Between three and four thousand negroes were thus put to death.

The filibustering expeditions of Lopez in 1850–51 attracted much attention in this country. Lopez himself was a native of Venezuela. Entering the Spanish army he rose to the rank of major-general. Retiring to private life in Cuba he was detected in conspiracy against Spanish rule, and fled to the United States for safety. Finding many congenial spirits he was soon busy organizing expeditions to Cuba, where he was under the impression he would be joined by the Cubans in great numbers. The first expedition in 1850 captured and held Cardenas for a few hours, but they had to precipitately retreat, and barely escaped capture at the hands of a Spanish man-of-war. Amongst the four hundred and fifty men comprising this expedition were some well known in America. There were such men as Pickett, O'Hara and Gonzales. The next year, undeterred by his first failure, Lopez made a landing at Bahia Honda. His second in command was Colonel Crittenden, a graduate of West Point, and an officer of distinction in the Mexican War. Lopez had miscalculated the feelings of his countrymen. There was no rising. The expedition met with disaster. Lopez was himself garroted, Crittenden shot, and with the leaders perished about one hundred of their followers; another hundred endured imprisonment in Spain.

The years of abuse had been leading up to, these suppressed insurrections had been prophetic of, a coming struggle which should test to the utmost the ability of Cuba, the power of Spain. In 1868, Queen Isabella II. finally exhausted the patience of even Spain, and found it necessary for her comfort to seek refuge in France. Marshal Serrano and his liberal associates came in power, and a constitutional form of government was adopted. Looking backward, it is singular that Serrano, who had himself advocated emancipation of the slaves in Cuba, Sagasta and Dulce, who were ready to risk all for constitutional government in Spain, should not have been ready to extend some of this liberty to Cuba. But they clung to the traditions of the past, and determined to hold the island in the old way; this, in spite of appeals from distinguished citizens from Havana, in spite of most eloquent protests from Emilio Castelar, who vainly pointed to the condition of Canada,

and urged that somewhat similar liberties should be granted their colonies. Lersundi, the captain-general who had but recently arrived on the island, and consequently had not acquired his fortune, but, judging from the frantic efforts made in that direction, did not propose to be long about it, refused the respectful petition of the Havanese, and hastily organized the volunteer army to subdue the insurrection which had begun.

All the preceding incipient insurrections and conspiracies which Spain had so easily crushed were but ebullitions of a deeper undercurrent, which was working unseen. Secret societies, akin to our Masonic lodges, were formed here and there, at Havana, Santiago and other places, preparing for a more concerted movement. The Spanish government, impressed with the necessity of doing something, and impelled to action by a petition of twenty thousand Cubans, called for a commission to meet in Madrid in 1865 to consider the state of the colony. This commission accomplished nothing. The Cubans assert that it levied even harder terms of taxation. The commissioners returned to Cuba, and then it was that plans began to be laid for war. This action was hastened by knowledge of the coming revolution in Spain. The movement was rather precipitantly inaugurated by Cespedes, in the village of Yara, not far from Bayamo, in the province of Santiago, October 10, 1868. This was the beginning of the famous ten years' war. It is poetic justice that the province where the banner of the Republic was first flung to the breeze, where most of the hostilities were confined, was the one which witnessed the signal success of the United States army thirty years later which liberated Cuba from the grasp of Spain.



It is not our intention to give any detailed account of this war. It was after all only introductory to the war of 1895. The years between, while nominally those of peace, were filled with angry complaints and ominous mutterings of a people, chafing under the broken promises which had put an end to the first war. We want to point first to the organization of the volunteers in Cuba; that force which has gained such an unenviable notoriety

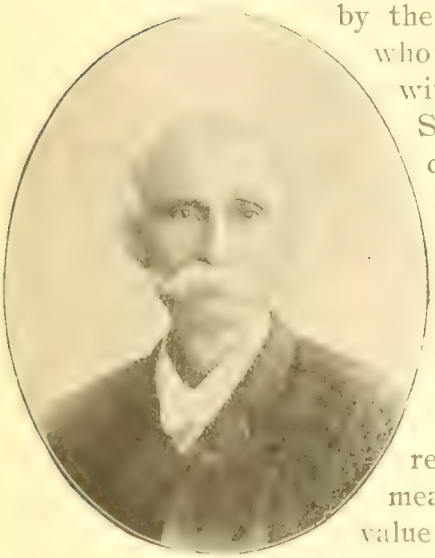
for ferocious cruelty, of which Lersundi boasted, as he was leaving Cuba, that his successor would find difficulty in controlling, which speedily proved the truth of that boast by shooting down innocent people in the Villanueva theater, in the Louvre and on the Public Square, which shot eight young medical students at Havana and caused thirty-two others to be condemned to the chain-gang for a trifling offense, and which compelled the retirement of the new governor-general Dulce. The volunteers were the Spanish inhabitants of the island, men who had come to Cuba to seek their fortunes, the army of blood-suckers, in short, whose ranks were recruited from Spain, as those who had won their fortunes returned to the Peninsula to enjoy it.

In them, the Spanish national character came promptly to the front and their spirit speedily animated the whole army. The war was marked by signal and repeated acts of cruelty. What shall we say to a decree "to shoot all insurgents captured with arms in their hands," or to that later decree that all insurgent prisoners should be shot, all insurgents who surrendered sentenced to the chain-gang? What comment shall we make on the proclamation of Count Valmaceda, "Every man from the age of fifteen years upwards, found away from his habitation, who does not prove a justifiable motive therefor shall be shot. Every habitation unoccupied will be burned. Every habitation from which does not float a white flag will be reduced to ashes"? From a Spanish paper published in New York, we read that it was the deliberate intention to exterminate the Cuban population if other means failed. We see in this the spirit which inflicted the reconcentrado horrors of the last war.

For the present we pass by the Virgius affair, taking it up in order later on. The insurgents did the very best that they could with the limited means at their command, but they were not prepared. During this war, we hear of Gomez, Maceo, Garcia and others. A government was organized, and a Declaration of Independence was issued which set forth the grounds of complaint. This unequal contest waged for ten years. It is estimated that Spain lost upwards of two hundred thousand men, mainly by disease, and expended seven hundred million dollars. Whole provinces were desolated. A published record of Spanish barbarities show that 2,672 political prisoners were executed, 4,672 insurgents were cap-

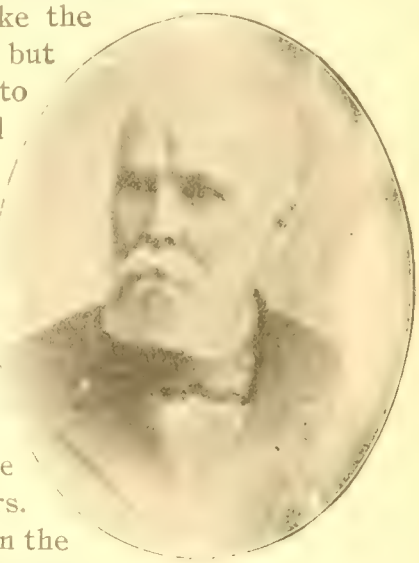
tured whose fate was never known, 13,000 estates were confiscated. The war was finally terminated by the treaty or compact of El Zanjon entered into on behalf of Spain by General Martinez Campos, who had been sent by Spain to pacify the island.

By the terms of this compact Spain was to make certain concessions, and reform certain abuses, and it is of importance to know whether these promises were kept, since on that point depends the question whether the last war was justifiable or not. Spain agreed to grant a general amnesty for political offences dating from 1868 to 1878. The records show that this promise was only partially kept. Brigadier-general Vidal was assassinated by the direct order of the Spanish General Polavieja, who further admits that in 1880 he sent many Cubans without trial to the African Island of Fernand Po. Spain calls attention to the fact that slavery was completely abolished, though the treaty of Zanjon only called for the liberty of those who had fought in the insurgent ranks. In reply, it is pointed out that slavery was killed in the war any way, and that Spain simply recognized the fact officially. Spain says that the Spanish Constitution of 1876 was extended to Cuba in 1881, since which time the island has been fully represented in the Cortes. In reply, it is said that means were found to divest this concession of all value by manipulating the electoral law in such a manner, by making the right of suffrage depend on the payment of a poll-tax, that only three per cent. of the Cubans could vote. But at the same time means were found to make nearly every Spaniard a voter. The simple declaration of the head of a commercial house put every employee on the list of voters, so that miserable little firms were represented for voting purposes at the polls by thirty or forty partners. To illustrate the results, in the municipal district of Guines, out of 12,500 Cubans, thirty-two had the right to vote, but out of 500 Spaniards 400 were voting. It was the same in other cases, consequently of the Cuban representation in the Cortes there were never more than six native Cubans, and generally only three. The rest of the members returned from Cuba were Spaniards temporarily residing in Cuba and notoriously the



tools of the Spanish official classes. In proof of this statement we refer to the fact that Sagasta made a sharp protest against the Cuban members of the Cortes of 1897, since they were simply returned at the dictation of Generals Weyler and Canovas.

It is evident a representation made up in this way was not a very valuable concession. But had they all been native Cubans, all anxious for reform measures, their efforts would have been quite fruitless, since all Spanish parties, no matter how sharp their contention in other directions, agreed thoroughly on one point: the situation in Cuba should not be changed. Whenever Cuban affairs were to be discussed, the members of the Cortes attended to other business. The delegates spoke to empty benches. We should also reflect that the Spanish Cortes, unlike the English Parliament or our Congress, possesses but little real power, and so Spain could not grant to the island what she did not enjoy herself, political liberty.



GENERAL GARCIA.

The electoral law rendered quite empty of value the system of municipal government which was paraded with a flourish by Colonial Secretary Guilermo, viz., that the towns were to elect their municipal boards and have local self-government. How did it work? "In 1891, the Spaniards predominated in 31 out of 37 town councils in the Province of Havana. In Guines, not a single Cuban was to be found among its town councillors. At the same epoch there were three Cuban deputies in the Provincial Deputation of Havana, two in that of Matanzas and three in that of Santa Clara. Finally out of twenty governors of the province of Matanzas only two have been Cubans. One of these was a professional bureaucrat and the other was an army officer who had fought against his country. During the same period there has been only one native Cuban permitted to act as governor in the province of Havana, and he had spent almost his whole life in Spain. In the other provinces there has never been a governor who was born on the island." Add to this the further fact that the governor-general had the power of appointing the president of the council and to suspend its sessions, and we see of how little real value was this reform.

As far as taxes were concerned the whole matter remained in its former deplorable condition. The native Cubans continued to be robbed right and left for the benefit of the same classes as in the days before the war. They could not help themselves, since all the machinery of government in spite of the reforms remained as it was. To show what great burdens were laid on Cuba, consider a few facts. The governor-general, besides being furnished a palace in Havana, a country house, servants, coaches, etc., drew a salary of $50,000 yearly. The director-general of the treasury drew a salary of $18,500. The Archbishop of Santiago and Bishop of Havana were paid $18,000 each. Even government clerks of the third and fourth class were paid four and five thousand dollars a year. In 1895, out of a budget of $26,000,000 all but three-quarters of a million went to pay the interest on the debt and cost of government. Less than three per cent. was applied to purposes of benefit to Cuba, for remember that the vast debt of Cuba, amounting in 1895 to nearly $300,000,000, not a cent represented outlays for improvements on the island, it contained many items that had nothing to do with Cuba, and, finally, it included the debt incurred by Spain in subjugating Cuba in the ten years' war.



GENERAL WEYLER.

To show how shamelessly Cuba was robbed many facts might be quoted. In 1892 Minister Romero Robledo took one million dollars belonging to the Cuban treasury and loaned it to the Trans-Atlantic Company, of which he was treasurer. Threatened with prosecution, he replied that if prosecuted all his predecessors from every political party would have to sit beside him in the dock. In January, 1890, it was shown in the Cortes that $6,500,000 of Cuban funds had been stolen, though the safe was locked with three keys, each in the possession of a different official. In the same debate it was shown that during the ten years' war, $22,811,000 had been stolen from the Cuban treasury by false returns for supplies purchased. In March, 1890, General Pando asserted that $12,000,000 had been stolen in Cuba by the issue of false warrants. In 1887 the frauds in the Havana Custom-house were so notorious

that General Marin (who must have been an honest man) entered at the head of a military force and discharged every employee. For all these offences not one person was ever punished. In 1891 three hundred and fifty officials were indicted in Cuba for fraud, but not one was punished.

It is not singular, considering all these facts, that the fact of Zanjon never gave satisfaction and consequently there were several abortive attempts to renew the war, and that many portents in the political sky foretold the oncoming of the last war, involving in its course the United States. General Maceo, at first, refused to recognize the treaty, and continued a guerilla war for eleven months. There was a small uprising in 1879. Generals Garcia and Jose Marti tried to start an insurrection in 1880. Generals Gomez and Maceo tried to fan the embers of discontent into flame in 1884. But Cuba was not ready. Besides, a very considerable body of Cubans began to dream of autonomy under the rule of Spain. Jose Marti, one of the most gifted sons of Cuba, poet, author, statesman and leader, devoted the time from 1880 to 1895 in organizing and getting supplies for the conflict which he foresaw was coming. He organized Revolutionary societies, every member of which contributed the wages of one day each week to a fund which was used in buying guns and ammunition which were then smuggled into Cuba so that their forces would have something more than clubs and machetes to fight with when the time had come. It is not too much to say that the early successes of the late war were due to the preparatory work of Marti.

In 1892 the autonomist party in Cuba issued a manifesto pointing out the numerous grounds of complaint, and venturing to express a fear that in time the country would resort to extreme measures. This manifesto attracted some attention in Spain and led to what Minister Taylor assures us was the only honest attempt ever made in Spain to give Cuba something like self-government. The then colonial minister drafted a reform bill along honest lines, but it never came to a vote. In 1894, the Agricultural Society of Cuba, the wealthiest corporation in the island, ventured to protest against the whole system of commercial laws, insisting that "economically, they aim at the destruction of public wealth, and, politically, they are the cause of inextinguishable discontent and contain the germs of grave dissensions." Then Spain made a

play for effect. Cuba was at last to be given great concessions. Minister Abarzuza brought forward Maura's reform law, but wonderfully changed under his gifted pen. This law unanimously passed both houses of Cortes with such suspicious promptness, that it occasions no surprise to learn that it was a characteristically Spanish reform, conceding absolutely nothing new. It would take too long to present its features, but in effect everything was still left in the control of the official classes and the governor-general.

When we reflect on the broken promises with which the peace of Zanjon was purchased, that no real reform had been effected, that the terrible burdens of Cuba had been in no wise removed or lessened; when we consider the robbery of the whole island by the Spanish officials; when we call to mind the years of preparation and organization, the growing discontent of the people, the final disappointment when the heralded reforms of Abarzuza were made known, we need not wonder that the struggle was renewed. Those who inaugurated the movement did not realize that they were opening a new chapter in the history of the world. They dreamed of independence; they could not have foreseen that the Republic of the North was to bring them that boon; was to drive the Spanish flag from the Western Hemisphere, and was to loosen the power of Spain over distant islands across the broad Pacific.

It is not necessary to give a detailed account of the war for its first three years or from its inception down to the spring of 1898. The storm broke in February, 1895, though the uprising was not at all serious before April, by which time Gomez and Maceo were in the field organizing their scantily equipped forces. Calleja, the governor-general, was hastily replaced by Marshal Campos, who was instrumental in bringing the former contest to a close. The movement of the Cubans for three years may be summed up as follows: Their forces were far too feeble to come to regular engagements with the Spanish forces. They had no commissary department, they were lacking in arms and ammunition, they could not capture or hold any important town, least of all any sea-port cities, since they had no navy. Their only hope was in wearing out the Spaniards, keeping them constantly guessing where they were, falling on small detachments here, capturing supply trains there, dynamiting railroads elsewhere, preventing Spain from realizing any revenue by destroying crops, and trusting to the

deadly climate to kill off the Spanish forces. It was a saying among the Cubans that fever was their best general. As for the results achieved: Generals Gomez, Garcia and Maceo did all that could be expected from the very limited means at their command, and it is not for Americans who recall the exploits of Marion, during our War for Independence, to criticise their actions.

With the exception of the towns, and the western province of Cuba, Pinar Del Rio—save for the campaign of Maceo—they did about as they pleased. Marched where they wanted to, fought when they wanted to, destroyed such property as they deemed best, kept Havana itself in fear of attack, utterly wore out the Spanish forces that were vainly trying to pen them up, and were making rapid progress in bankrupting Spain. In the meantime their "best general" was actively engaged. The raw, unacclimated levies of Spain were poured into the island only to meet death in a combat with an unseen foe. The Americans know by experience at Santiago what hardship and exposure during the sickly season in Cuba signify. We can only imagine the terrible results in the Spanish army.

On the Spanish side of the war a darker chapter is to be read. The enfeebled nation clung to Cuba as though her very life depended on it. "The last dollar and the last man," declared Canovas, was the only response to be made to those who challenged the sovereignty of Spain, and with remorseless vigor he proceeded to make that declaration good. He transported two hundred thousand men over three thousand miles of ocean; and Spain, with bankruptcy staring her in the face, poured out money like water. Much of this energy was misdirected. It is asserted that fifty thousand drilled troops, honestly officered, properly armed and equipped, including hospital stores, could have speedily crushed the rebellion. But, alas for Spain! her deadliest foes were not in the Cuban ranks. Don Carlos gave expression to a melancholy truth when he spoke of "generously voted millions diverted from the fulfillment of their patriotic purposes to the pockets of fraudulent contractors and dishonest state employees, and disorder, peculation, and mendacity in every department of the public service." Unless all accounts we have are wrong, the entire military class in Cuba looked on this war as their harvest time. We have only to recall the thirty-four million dollars admitted in public debates in the

Cortes to have been stolen in the preceding war to understand the alacrity with which the military ring proceeded to gather in the spoils.

Officers got double pay for services in the Cuban war. In April, 1897, there were in Cuba forty-seven generals, and about eleven thousand field and company officers, all drawing double pay while the war continued. The generals were stationed in the larger towns and ruled their departments as if they were conquering heroes. They supplied, for a money consideration, of course, the guards for sugar planters and private property generally. An American sugar planter demurred at paying the contribution of some three thousand dollars demanded for guarding his property. "You make a crop every year," rejoined the colonel. "We only get a chance once in ten years. This is our harvest." This incident describes the general spirit. It was remarked during the war that the official reports of the number of sick and wounded were generally above the true number, because that explained the large bills rendered for medicine and hospital supplies; but the number reported dead was way below the truth, because if the truth were told the men's names would come off the pay rolls and the officers could no longer draw and pocket their pay, as they were doing. Most shameful stories could be told of peculation on all sides. The war was their harvest time, and they were making the most of it.



GENERAL BLANCO.

And what shall we say as to the Spanish method of conducting the war from a humane standpoint? It is one of the saddest chapters in history. We do not refer so much to the fact that no mercy was shown to the unfortunate prisoners taken in skirmishes,—it is well known they were promptly shot,—but to the treatment of non-combatants. It was the deliberate impression of the Spaniards in Cuba, that the only way to end the war was to exterminate the entire Cuban population. Mr. Bonsal, in his book on Cuba, quotes conversations he had with influential Spaniards on that point. In 1896, a lieutenant-colonel of volunteers, who passed for an honorable man, detailed to him and to Mr. Akers, correspondent of the London Times, the growing convic-

tion of the Spaniards that the only way to save the island for Spain was "a sudden rising *en masse* of the Spaniards in the towns and cities and the murder of all Cubans, something in the style of St. Bartholomew." But they explained that they had not yet gained the consent of the captain-general; however, they hoped to do that soon, and, in the meantime, they were preparing lists of Cubans. "We shall make very short work of them," he remarked, and coolly added, "To do our work properly and thoroughly, we will have to kill their wives and children." Mr. Akers assured Mr. Bonsal that he had long known such a plan was under consideration.

But since such an act as this would not only cover Spain with eternal infamy, but would arouse such a storm of indignation that their existence as a nation would be threatened, it could not be allowed in the manner wished. The same result might be attained in another way; and this leads us to the crowning act of infamy on the part of the Spanish officials, the reconcentrado system of General Weyler. When General Campos was informed that General Weyler was to succeed him, he is said to have remarked, "Why, even the dead will rise from their graves to protest." We learn from Minister Taylor that the sole reason Weyler was appointed was because of his brutal method of warfare. "If Spaniards themselves can be believed," he remarks, "no more ruthless soldier than Weyler ever rode at the head of Spanish battalions since the dark days when Alva with his bloody hand strove to crush the life out of the Low Countries."

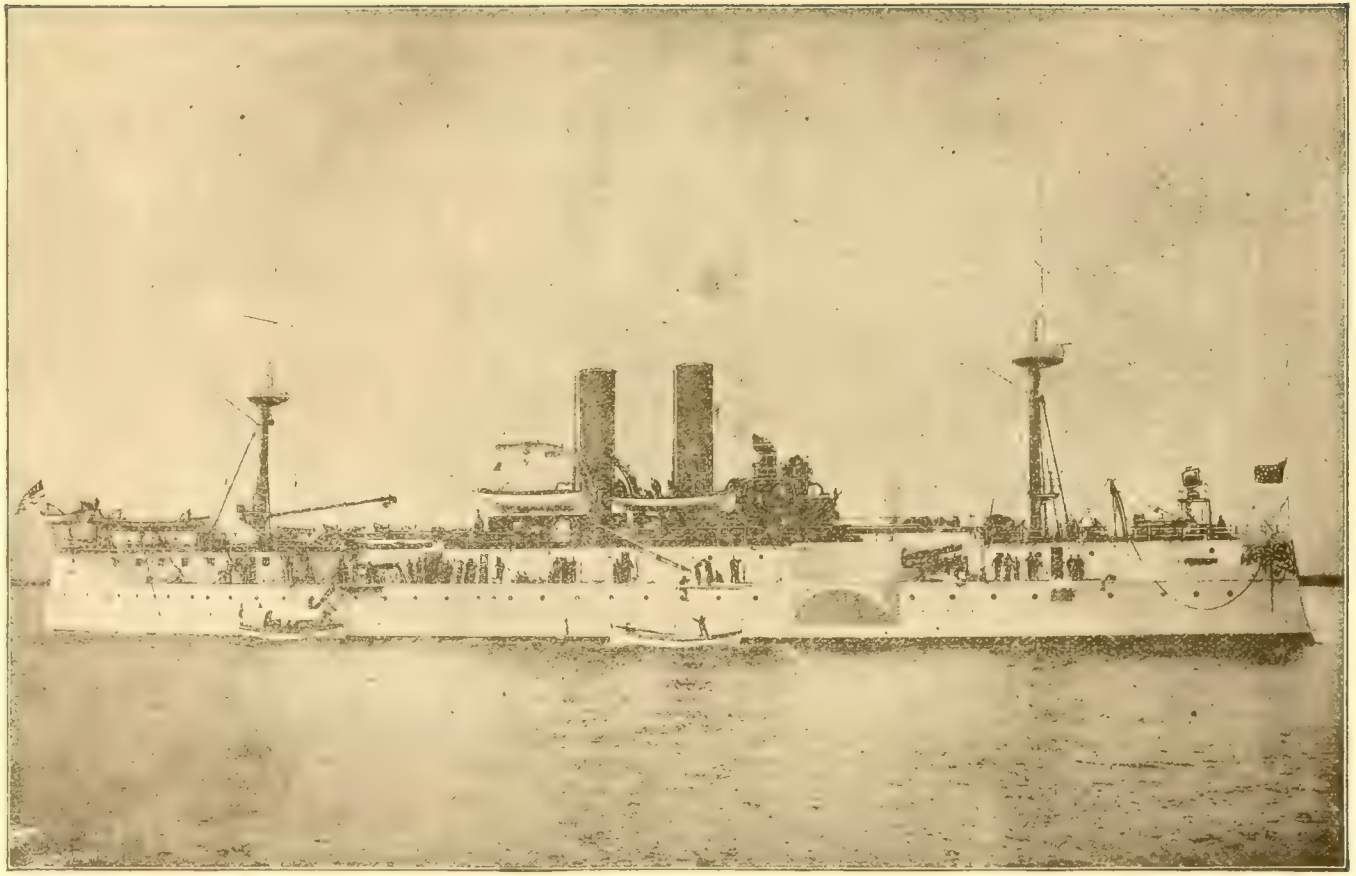
The plan that General Weyler proceeded to put in execution was nothing more nor less than the extermination of the non-combatants by starvation. In the fall of 1896 orders were issued to the military commanders of the four western provinces of Cuba to gather the non-combatants into certain specified stations of concentration. Eight days were given the *Pacificos* in which to comply, after which the soldiers burned their houses, confiscated their horses and cattle, and took all that was worth taking. The trembling droves of old men, women and children were driven to the stations assigned them, generally situated in low-lying, swampy and malarial places. We must understand that no provision was made for their comfort; they had no supplies of any kind. By December, 1896, 400,000 had thus been concentrated in a series of starvation camps. No one, not even the most callous, can read

the accounts of the awful scenes of misery that then ensued, unmoved. We shall make no attempt to recount them, but let each reader imagine the scene. Four hundred thousand people were being starved to death! In the year 1897, three hundred thousand are supposed to have died. These were not men taken in the act of rebellion, but old men unable to fight, innocent children, helpless women. It will be observed that this process, while it did not attract so much attention, bid fair to be quite as effective, and far more replete with long drawn out suffering, as the massacre plan advocated by the volunteers, yet Canovas declared that "Weyler perfectly represented the policy of the home government." After the death of Canovas, Weyler was recalled, but Blanco made no change in policy.

In the beginning of 1898, the situation in Cuba was deplorable in the extreme. An astonishing number of small forts had been built by the Spaniards all over Cuba. Every little village was provided with several. They were literally strung along the railroads, and two great lines of them stretched across the country, constituting the trochas. It is stated that it required about 150,000 soldiers to garrison these multitudinous forts. The rest of the Spanish army was aimlessly marched about from one fortified place to another; on rare occasions they had little brushes with the insurgents, but in general they busied themselves in murdering what few pacificos they met and destroyed what little property they came across, that had in some unaccountable way thus far escaped.

The non-combatants gathered in starvation camps were being rapidly exterminated. The bands of insurgents pursued their usual course. The entire country was fast becoming a desert waste. Agricultural interests were ruined. Trade and commerce, except for necessities, were at a standstill. The terrible exertions Spain had put forth were fast telling on her. But on the other hand, the insurgents seemed to have about done their work. It is quite probable with the dying groan of the last reconcentrado it would have been found that for the time being the fire of war had burned itself out, and ruined Spain would have remained in possession of the ruined island; but then suddenly there was an explosion in Havana harbor, which not only wrecked the battle ship Maine, but blew the Spanish flag from the Western Hemisphere.

It is necessary to inquire as to the interests of America in



U. S. BATTLE SHIP MAINE. BLOWN UP IN HAVANA HARBOR ON THE EVENING OF FEBRUARY 15, 1898.

Cuba. John Quincy Adams, when Secretary of State in 1823, had occasion to express himself as follows: "Its commanding position with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India Seas; its situation midway between our Southern Coast and the Island of St. Domingo; its safe and capacious harbor of Havana, fronting a long line of our shores, destitute of the same advantage; the nature of its production and of its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial, give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared, and little inferior to that which binds the different members of this Union together. Such indeed are, between the interest of that island and this country, the geographical, commercial, moral and political relations formed, gathering in the process of time, and even now verging to maturity, that, in looking forward to the probable course of events for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our Federal Republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself."

This expresses what had been the almost general feeling in the United States ever since Spain began to have trouble with her American possession. We had, however, been willing that Spain should retain her sovereignty over Cuba, but had warned her and Europe generally that we would not consent to her resigning the island to any other European power. Still it seems to have been generally expected in Europe that sooner or later we would attempt to acquire Cuba. The political writers of fifty and sixty years ago were quite sure that Cuba would be a bone of contention. English writers, in the old days before we learned each other's good points, never tired of asserting that we had avaricious designs on Cuba. A celebrated pamphlet in 1819 warned Great Britain of the danger to their commerce should the United States be allowed to acquire Florida and Cuba. The remedy urged was for Great Britain to seize the island herself! In 1852, France and England desired the United States to join with them in guaranteeing the possession of Cuba to Spain. In reply, they were told that while this country did not court the acquisition of Cuba, still we could not for one moment admit that their interests in Cuba were identical with ours.

In slave-holding days there were constant discussions as to the desirability of getting control of Cuba by purchase or otherwise. President Polk offered Spain one hundred million dollars for Cuba, only to have his offer promptly declined. The simple fact is, a party in the United States desired the acquisition of Cuba since it would increase the importance of the slave-holding states. It was this influence which furthered the filibustering expeditions of Lopez. So important for their purposes was deemed the acquisition of Cuba, that, in 1854, President Pierce directed our Ministers at Madrid, London and Paris to deliberate together over the matter. The result was the Ostend Manifesto, in which they advised the purchase of Cuba, accompanying our offer with the distinct threat that if it were not accepted we should take other measures. They declared that, "the Union can never enjoy repose, nor possess reliable security as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries." This manifesto excited as much disturbance within the United States as anywhere else. Slavery, however, was soon eliminated as a factor in the case, and we hear nothing particularly about Cuba until the ten years' war.

In 1873 occurred the Virginius affair, which came very near involving the United States and Spain. The facts are, the Virginius, on a filibustering expedition, was captured by the Spanish, taken into Santiago de Cuba, and in accordance with Spain's usual bloodthirsty methods, the captain and crew were promptly condemned to be shot. In accordance with this, the captain and fifty-two men were executed. Ninety-three more were under sentence of death, when the British war ship, Niobe, summoned from Jamaica by the British Consul, steamed at full speed into the harbor, and threatened to bombard the city if the massacre were allowed to continue. War seemed inevitable, but the Virginius was on an unlawful expedition, diplomacy got to work, the vessel and surviving crew were surrendered, a small indemnity was allowed; and, in the cemetery of Santiago, these fifty-three murdered Americans rested for twenty-five years, and then American cannons, raining shot and shell into Santiago, thundered the long delayed military salute over their graves, and the prophecy of the British Consul came true, "Some day Spain will bitterly regret what she is doing."

Near the close of the ten years' war, there was further talk

about buying Cuba, or at any rate guaranteeing the debt of the island if Spain would grant her independence; but language of a more ominous import for the further rule of Spain began to be heard: the word "intervention" was used. Owing to the nature of events, our location, our resources, the character of our population, it was evident to European statesmen, from the very moment we achieved independence, that we were to assume a position of supreme influence in the affairs of the New World. The Old World nations have long put forth a doctrine known as the Balance of Power, by which is recognized the right to interfere on the part of all nations, in affairs directly, and for the time being, concerning only two, to the end that the rights of all may be safeguarded. Thus, to illustrate, the Berlin Congress at the close of the Russo-Turkish war, when other powers interfered in the settlement of difficulties directly concerning Russia and Turkey. They were justified in so doing since, if Russia could have worked her will and pleasure on Turkey, she might have placed herself in position to do injury to the rights of others. Similarly, at the close of the war between Japan and China, and, more recently, between Turkey and Greece. The United States analogue of the European Balance of Power is the Monroe Doctrine, in which we, as flowing from our peculiar position and influence, took upon ourselves the formidable burden of safeguarding the rights and liberties of the turbulent republics of the New World, for, in so doing, we conserved our own rights, bearing in mind the European international maxim, "Look well to the independence of your neighbors, even the most remote, if you wish to preserve your own."

Thus the Monroe Doctrine is the evolution of the Balance of Power theory of Europe, made necessary by the peculiar state of affairs in the New World, promulgated by President Monroe. This doctrine was respected by France and the Holy Alliance of Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1823, when we warned them not to interfere in the case of the revolted provinces of Spain. It was this doctrine which rudely dissipated the dreams of the Third Napoleon of a Latin Empire in Mexico. To this doctrine President Cleveland resorted in the Venezuela boundary dispute with Great Britain. It was this doctrine finally which forbade Spain to dispose of Cuba to any other power, and equally forbade any other power to interfere between Cuba and Spain. But this commanding atti-

tude on our part devolved on us a corresponding duty. In forbidding others to interfere we must hold ourselves ready to perform that duty, should occasion arise. President Cleveland recognized this in the following language: "When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in Cuba for all purposes of its rightful existence; and when a hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject matter of the conflict, a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge."

In 1827, Great Britain, France and Russia interfered between Turkey and Greece. The preamble to the agreement of the three powers only needs a change of name to fit the case of this country and Spain in the spring of 1898. "Penetrated with the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest which by delivering up the Greek Provinces and the isles of the Archipelago produces daily fresh impediment to the commerce of the European States and gives occasion to piracies which not only expose the subjects of the high contracting powers to considerable losses but besides renders necessary burdensome measures of protection and repression." In view of these facts the powers intervened.

It was evident to the most casual observer, at the dawning of 1898, that all the portents in the political sky were most ominous. In Cuba, Spain's long years of misrule were drawing to a frightful close. A nation was being starved to death. Cuba was being converted into an island of ruins. The vast commercial interests of the United States in Cuba were prostrated. The future of Cuba seemed nowhere lit up with hope, the ruin of Spain politically and financially seemed certain. The "inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection" seemed demonstrated. It seemed clear that "her sovereignty was extinct for all purposes of its rightful existence." It was abundantly manifest that the strife had degenerated into a "useless sacrifice of human life." The "utter destruction of the very subject matter of the conflict" (Cuba) was imminent. A situation had arisen in which our obligations to Spain were superseded by "higher obligations," and we

could no longer "hesitate to recognize and discharge them." As President McKinley informed the assembled ambassadors of Europe, "the situation had become insufferable."

With all signs pointing to the coming trouble with Spain, few believed we were to have war until it was actually upon us. President Cleveland, in his annual message of 1896, announced that "it could not be expected that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States would be indefinitely maintained," but on the contrary "a time may arrive when a correct policy and care for our interests as well as regard for the interests of other nations" would compel our government to action. President McKinley attempted to carry out the same lines of policy. Canovas, the prime minister of Spain, a most able man, but typically a Spaniard in ideas of government, who had upheld Weyler, was assassinated in August, 1897, and after a brief *ad interim* ministry, Sagasta came into power. He recalled Weyler and appointed General Blanco. The hope was speedily expressed that arrangements would be made to relieve much of the misery in Cuba, possibly to pacify the island. This hope was heightened when, later in the fall, a scheme of autonomy was announced for Cuba, to take effect with the new year. Then it became evident that the "Manana" policy of Spain had ruined the island. She had waited too long. The insurgents, distrustful of Spanish promises, and believing they would soon achieve independence, did not care for the late-extended offer of autonomy. A large party in Spain, and the whole Spanish party in Cuba, were bitterly opposed to the concessions. As General Weyler styled it, it "was a cowardly concession to Yankee demands." A stronger objection was that, if effective, it would largely put an end to the robbery in Cuba on which the whole official class thrived. In the United States, public opinion as expressed in Congress regarded this offer as an evasion of the real issue on the part of Spain. Influential leaders in Congress were constantly agitating for some form of intervention; and only with difficulty could the administrative prevent such action by Congress as would make the trial of autonomy impossible.



GENERAL FITZHUGH LEE.

The year 1898 opened in Cuba with autonomy nominally put in effect, though not recognized by the insurgents, and to the growing discontent of the volunteers, whose capacity for mischief, as we have seen, was very great. In January, this discontent led to rioting in Havana. Partly occasioned by these riots, and partly under the impression that the presence of a war ship in the harbor might cool the fever of the volunteers, and since it could not be regarded as a hostile act, the United States battle ship Maine was ordered to visit Havana, and on the morning of January 25, dropped anchor in the harbor, amidst the booming of salutes, accompanied by official visits and all outward marks of respect. It was noticed, however, that the Spanish element in Havana was "sullen." Yet, as time passed, it seemed as if good effects were flowing from the visit. Havana was quiet. Early in February, the cruiser Montgomery visited Matanzas. February 9th came the De Lome incident. The Spanish Minister, De Lome, in a private letter, took occasion to slur President McKinley, and seemed to imply in his letter that Spain was not acting in good faith. Unfortunately for De Lome, this letter was stolen from the mail and published. This unsettled everything for a while, and rendered necessary the resignation of De Lome.



GENERAL MILES.

Considering the difficulties confronting Sagasta in Spain, the proud, sensitive spirit of the Spanish people, the impatience of Congress, the sufferings in Cuba, the officially pronounced statement that if war was not ended soon the United States must interfere, it is not singular that the relations between the two countries were rapidly coming to be, as diplomatically expressed, strained. Then like a bolt from the clear sky came the destruction of the Maine. Shortly after nine o'clock the evening of February 15th, when all was quiet in the harbor, there was a terrible explosion which shook the entire city, and sent the fire engines scurrying in various directions; however, the glare of fire soon dispelled all doubts; the Maine had been destroyed, more than two hundred and fifty marines had lost their lives. This disaster shocked the whole world. Messages of sympathy poured in on the nation. The effect on the United States was marked.

Intense excitement for the moment and then a most ominous calmness. The whole country accepted the advice of Captain Sigsbee, of the Maine. It was a time to know and not to think; we wanted facts. The six weeks following the explosion were amongst the most memorable in our history. A Board of Inquiry was at once appointed, at the head of which was Captain Sampson, afterwards acting rear-admiral. The spectacle was to be seen of two nations, each officially proclaiming that peace would continue, that nothing had happened to shake their friendship, openly making preparations for war.

Instant preparations were begun by the United States. It was noticed that our navy was gathering at one place. Our ships were coming home from Europe, from South America, across the continent, the Oregon suddenly started south at full speed, while at Hong Kong our Pacific Squadron was gathering. Powder mills and ordnance factories commenced running nights, army officers found their vacations cut short, navy yards were crowded with workmen not only days and nights but Sunday as well. After the explosion, scarcely two weeks elapsed before our country, and Europe as well, was electrified by the unanimous passage through both houses of Congress of a bill placing in President McKinley's hands, to dispose of as he saw fit, $50,000,000 for defense. Messengers were dispatched to Europe to purchase naval vessels if any could be found, and two were thus secured from Brazil. Guns and war material of all kinds were secured, and this country was a scene of feverish activity. Harbors were mined; coast defenses strengthened. While the Board of Inquiry was leisurely taking testimony, having drawings made, and journeying back and forth from Havana to Key West, coal and ammunition were being hurried southward. Our war ships, which formerly had scarcely enough powder for saluting purposes, saw their magazines hurriedly filled. Across the continent went a freight train at express speed conveying ammunition to San Francisco to be sent across the Pacific to our Asiatic Squadron. Each passing hour saw our country better prepared.



CAPTAIN SIGSBEE.

Weeks passed, and still no report from the Board, to the surprise of many who did not understand the condition confronting the country. President McKinley needed time, not only to prepare the country for war, but, if possible, to preserve the peace. The problem confronting the administration was a complex one. It was recognized that decisive action on the part of Congress could not be long delayed, and yet unless the explosion could be brought home to Spain, it, in itself, was no cause for war. The condition of the insurrection was such that we could neither recognize their independence nor grant them belligerent rights. There remained only intervention on general principles, for which the whole world recognized we had sufficient ground. President McKinley, anxious to preserve peace, determined to exhaust every means at his disposal in holding back Congress on the one hand, and in endeavoring to induce Spain to peacefully acquiesce in the independence of Cuba on the other.



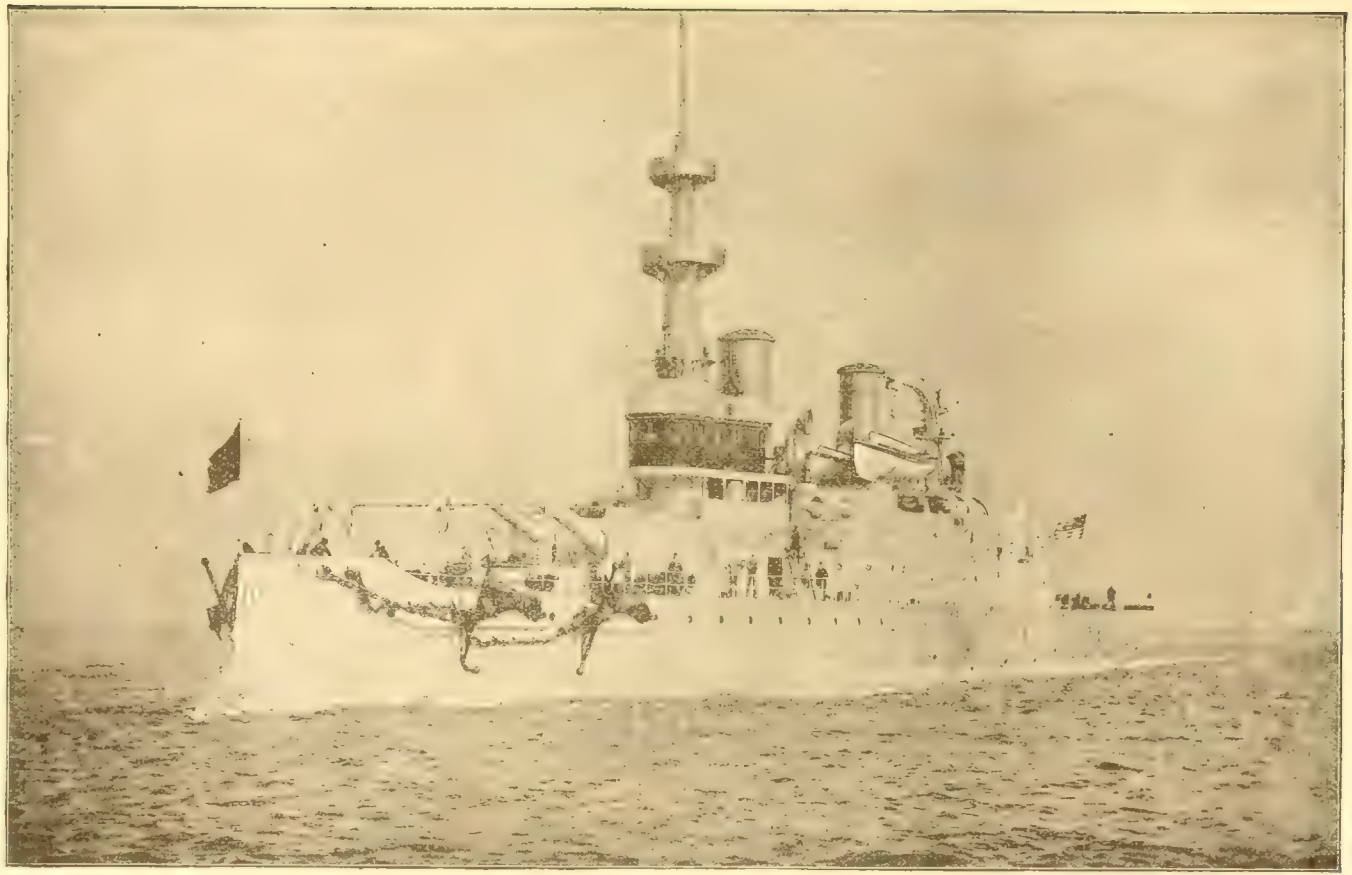
ADMIRAL WM. T. SAMPSON.

March 28th, the report of the Board was received, showing, what had come to be an open secret in the United States, that the Maine was destroyed by an external explosion, but the Board was unable to determine the responsibility therefor. Arrangements were made before this report was sent to Congress—accompanied by a message from the President—to have it at once referred to the appropriate committees, in the hopes that in the meantime Spain would see the necessity of yielding to our wishes. Two weeks passed, during which time it would have occasioned no surprise any day to have learned that war had been declared. At length, after exhausting every means at his command, on the 11th of April, President McKinley sent a message to Congress, in which he set forth all the facts of the case, and left to the judgment of Congress the plan to be pursued. For eight days the world waited while the two houses of Congress were coming to an agreement. Finally, April 19, 1898, the two houses united in a joint resolution directing the President to employ the land and naval forces of the United States in procuring peace in Cuba. This resolution was communicated to Spain, accompanied by what amounted to an ultimatum from the United States, that

the Spanish forces forthwith evacuate Cuba. This led to the prompt suspension of diplomatic relations, and for the first time in fifty years the United States was at war with a foreign power.

When Admiral Sampson's powerful squadron steamed away in the early morning of April 22, 1898; and when, the following day, the President called for 125,000 volunteers, all eyes were fixed on Havana as the place around which the war would center. Almost unnoticed, however, events were shaping in the Orient, and the Bay of Manilla was destined to be the scene of one of the most remarkable naval victories ever achieved, which caused an instant widening of our martial horizon, and which marked the entrance of the United States into the area of world-wide politics. For the present, then, let us turn our attention to the Phillipines.

The Phillipines is the name of an extensive archipelago, consisting of possibly twelve hundred islands, only a very few of which are of any size, the largest being in area about the size of Ohio, known as the Island of Luzon. They are situated about six hundred miles in a south-easterly direction from Hong Kong, in about the same latitude as Central America. They have remained a Spanish possession ever since their discovery, the seat of government being the city of Manilla, on the west coast of the Island of Luzon. It has a population of about 250,000, and has great importance from a commercial standpoint. The Bay of Manilla is a beautiful land-locked harbor some twenty-five miles in width. The population of the group of islands is variously estimated at from seven to fifteen millions, composed principally of tribes of the Malay stock. A great many Chinese have been attracted to the island, and there is a large population of mixed blood. The white population is mostly Spanish. Tobacco and hemp are the principal products of Luzon and the larger islands, but sugar and coffee abound. Little that is reliable is known as to the natural resources of the islands. Like all Spanish possessions, the Phillipines have been most wretchedly governed. They have also suffered from the short-sighted restrictive policy of Spain, which was such a drawback to the development of the American colonies. They also groaned under most oppressive taxation. It is necessary to remark that the church holds its power in the Phillipines to this day. The church literally owns the islands, and is enormously wealthy. In many respects, the civil power is actually subject to



U. S. BATTLE SHIP OREGON.

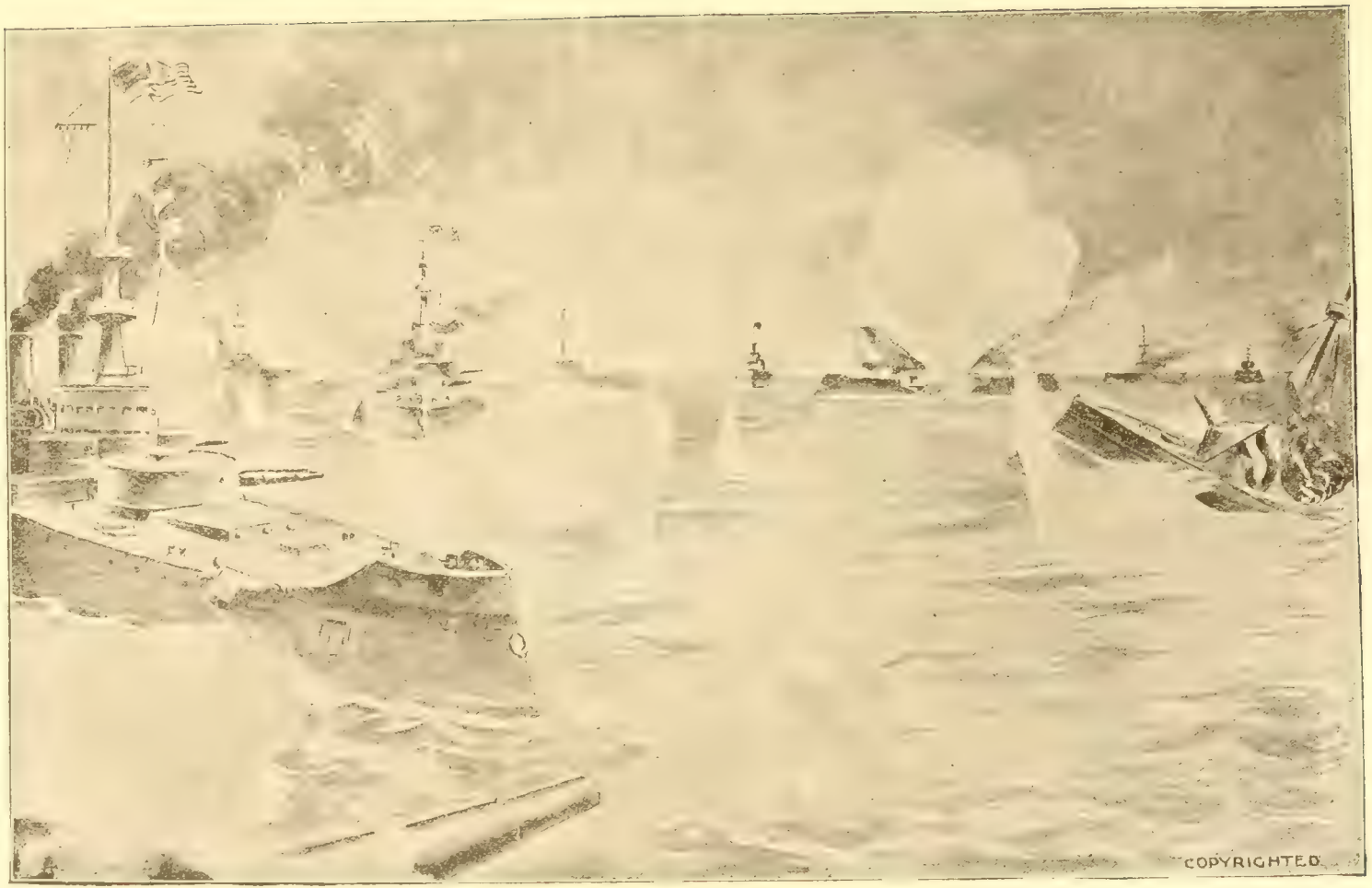
the religious order. We are not surprised to learn that there have been insurrections in the Phillipines against Spain, the same as in Cuba, and for the same reason. One, under the lead of Aguinaldo, was in progress in 1897. The insurgent chiefs were bought off by Spain in the fall of 1897, by the payment to them of $400,000 in money and the promise of reforms in government, which promises, they claim, have been broken.

When hostilities broke out our Asiatic squadron was gathered at Hong Kong. It consisted of four protected cruisers, the Boston, Olympia, Baltimore, Raleigh, and two gun-boats, the Concord and Petrel, one dispatch boat and two supply ships, all under the command of Commodore George Dewey. The Spanish squadron, under command of Admiral Montojo, consisting of seven cruisers, only two, however, approaching in effectiveness the American cruisers, two small gun-boats and a dispatch boat, was stationed at Manilla. It was most essential for the safety of our Asiatic commerce, to Honolulu, then to all intents and purposes a part of the United States, and to our Pacific Coast cities, that this fleet be put out of the fight. Instructions were sent to Commodore Dewey to "destroy or capture" the Spanish fleet. It was therefore soon known at Manilla that the American squadron would soon sail for that point.



ADMIRAL

In quite the usual spirit of Spanish braggadocio, the officials at Manilla speedily brought themselves to believe they would annihilate the Americans. The British consul was invited by the Spanish admiral to be his guest on his flag-ship so as to secure a good view of the performance. Quarters were prepared for the prisoners they were so sure of taking; and extra crews were secured to man the vessels they were to take. Governor-general Augusti issued a ridiculously bombastic proclamation asserting that "The North American people, constituted of all social excrescences, have exhausted our patience and have provoked war by their perfidious machinations, their acts of treachery, their outrages against the laws of nations and international conventions. The struggle will be short and decisive. The God of victories will give us one as brilliant and



THE GREAT NAVAL BATTLE OFF CAVITE (MANILLA BAY).

Fought May 1, 1898, 5:30 A. M. till 12.50 P. M. (Noon). Rear Admiral George Dewey, commanding the Asiatic Squadron of 6 Battleships.
Spain's entire fleet of 7 Cruisers and 4 Gun Boats burned and sunk. Storeship, Forts and Naval Arsenal captured.
Spanish loss, killed 300, wounded 400. American loss, none killed, 6 wounded.

complete as the justice of our cause demands. Her squadron, manned by foreigners, possessing neither instruction nor discipline, is preparing to come to this archipelago with ruffianly intentions, robbing us of all that means life, honor and liberty, and pretending to be inspired by a courage of which they are incapable." The screed wound up by the assertion that "United under the glorious Spanish flag, which is covered with laurels" victory was to be their portion.

Having made all preparations, Commodore Dewey left Mirs Bay, thirty miles from Hong Kong, the afternoon of April 27th, for Manilla. Shortly before midnight Sunday, May 1st, the sudden sound of guns on Corregidor Island at the entrance to the harbor of Manilla announced that the squadron "manned by foreigners," truly inspired by a courage of which they were said to be destitute, were then actually passing the forts, on their way to the city of Manilla, and though "possessing neither instruction nor discipline" were only awaiting the coming dawn to try conclusions with Montojo's fleet, backed up as it would be with the forts at Manilla and Cavite, the latter being a suburb a few miles below Manilla, where the Spaniards had built forts, dry-docks, arsenals, etc. Following this bold move came one of the most brilliant victories ever achieved by American arms. Within seven hours after opening the attack, not a single Spanish vessel was afloat, Cavite had surrendered, some hundreds of the Spanish forces had been killed and wounded, and Manilla itself was at the mercy of American guns. Almost incredible to relate, not a single American had been killed, and only eight were wounded. Not a single American ship had received any damages worth mentioning. During an intermission in the battle, when Commodore Dewey retired to rest his men and give them breakfast, the Spanish general hastened to cable to Spain a characteristically misleading dispatch. "Our fleet engaged the enemy in a brilliant combat, protected by the Cavite and Manilla forts. They obliged the enemy with heavy loss to manœuvre repeatedly." It was this dispatch which rendered it difficult for Admiral Bermejo, the minister of marine, to restrain his "joyful emotions." But soon more reliable dispatches were at hand, and the queen regent could only acknowledge that it was a "sad but honorable day for Spain."

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this victory

to America. The more or less ominous rumors of interference on the part of one or more nations were suddenly hushed. They plainly saw the hand-writing on the wall that foreshadowed defeat for Spain. The American navy which the European nations had regarded with scarcely concealed contempt was instantly acknowledged to be "man for man, and ship for ship" the equal of any navy afloat. In the clearer light of this victory, our "old tubs," "mutinous sailors," and "incompetent officers" appeared quite different. It was also clear that America had suddenly opened to her a wonderful field of possibilities. Now she could be, if she desired, a mighty power in the Pacific. Statesmen have long recognized that the Pacific Ocean with the countries bordering it are destined to be, in the near future, the theater of the greatest commercial activity the world has ever seen. Early civilization and commerce found expression only in the Mediterranean; thence, greatly enlarged, it flowed out into and took possession of the Atlantic. But, "westward the star of empire takes its course," and scholars and statesmen know that all that has gone before will pale into insignificance before the fast approaching development of the Pacific. The great nations of Europe have been engaged in a diplomatic struggle to obtain a share in this commerce. At one bound the United States had won a position that might easily become one of commanding importance in this development. Thus the whole aspect of the war was suddenly changed. All this was the result of one naval victory, obtained by American ships, under command of Commodore George Dewey. He entered the battle but little known. He emerged with the thanks of Congress, substantial promotion, the plaudits of an admiring world, the secure possessor of immortal fame.

We must now return to Cuba, the immediate object of the war. Flushed with victory, the cry now was "On to Havana!" The well known impatience of America was now exemplified. President McKinley had called for 150,000 volunteers. The popular mind seemed to have forgotten that to raise, drill, arm and equip such a force of men properly required months of time. Immense quantities of stores had to be procured and shipped to southern points. With an energy that challenged the admiration of the world, we hurried the organization of our forces. The railroads leading south were gorged with trains conveying troops

and supplies to the sea-board. While the papers were full of talk about invading Cuba with a mighty host and striking one death-blow, officials and well informed people knew this could not be done before fall; besides, it would be suicidal to send an army to Cuba before the rainy season was over. These plans were suddenly changed by the action of Spain. That country, after rallying from the shock of Manilla, flattered itself that, after all, Dewey could not take the city of Manilla. In the meantime, European nations would surely intervene to prevent the United States from acquiring the Philippines. So amidst considerable talk about fighting to the "bitter end," and heroic resolves that "not one inch of Spanish territory should ever be relinquished," Spain professed to feel confident that victory awaited their really formidable fleet, which had already sailed from Cape Verde Islands, and which it was expected would bombard our coast cities, destroy our commerce and sink our fleet.

Owing to the press censorship no reliable news could be obtained as to the movement of the Spanish fleet. The most contradictory rumors were afloat. One day, we were assured that the fleet was on the way; the next day, that it had not started; the third, that it had returned to Spain. It was rumored off the coast of Nova Scotia; then at San Juan, Porto Rico; finally that it was on the way around Cape Horn to lay San Francisco in ashes. At length, information that seemed reliable asserted that the fleet was approaching San Juan, Porto Rico, and Admiral Sampson with some of our strongest battle ships started for that city May 5th. On reaching the destination, no opposing fleet was to be found, and so the Americans contented themselves with bombarding the fortifications in the harbor, and then stood out to sea to await news from the scouting ships. It was not until May 13th, that definite news was obtained of the Spanish fleet, on which date it arrived at Martinique. It was next located at Curacoa off the coast of Venezuela, and finally, May 20th it arrived at Santiago de Cuba. For some reason, this performance of the Spanish fleet under the command of Admiral Cervera was considered a brilliant achievement in Spain and portions of Europe. The Spanish marine minister claimed it was an "immense triumph for Spain." All Spain rang with praise for Admiral Cervera's "brilliant moves." He was received in Santiago like a conqueror. The civil governor

took occasion at a banquet to remark of the threatened American invasion that the greater number of invaders that came, "the greater number of carcasses to enrich our fields." The archbishop patriotically remarked: "It is not sufficient to be victorious on the sea. The Spanish flag must float on the capitol." And yet, all Cervera had thus far done was to get himself securely "bottled up." The united fleets of Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley were off the port of Santiago, and there was no chance for the Spanish fleet to escape.

But though "bottled up," he was for the time being safe. Owing to the natural features of the harbor, the American fleet could not get at him. The channel leading in from the ocean is narrow and tortuous, extending between bold promontories to the harbor itself, at the head of which is situated Santiago, six miles from the ocean. The channel, in some places only about three hundred feet in width, was heavily mined and commanded by formidable batteries. It was at once seen that the only way to dislodge Cervera was to bring heavy guns to bear from the land side. This necessitated an army to operate against Santiago. Accordingly plans were laid for immediate invasion of Cuba, but this time at Santiago. The 31st of May, orders were issued to General Shafter to embark 15,000 troops and proceed to Cuba. But it was nearly two weeks before the expedition left. It required much valuable time to get everything ready, and then there were alarming rumors of Spanish war vessels waiting to attack the transports. Accordingly arrangements had to be made for a convoy, but the expedition sailed June 12th. Eight days later, a most imposing array of transports appeared off Santiago. General Shafter's army had arrived, the long expected invasion had begun. But even then, such are the vast preparations that have to be made for an army; and considering the fact, that less than two months had elapsed since the volunteer portion of the army had been engaged in peaceful avocations at home, it is not strange that some blundering was made in caring for the health and comfort of the army, and thereby much suffering was caused and many lives sacrificed. One of the



ADMIRAL CERVERA.



COMMODORE SCHLEY.

lessons of the war is that we must hereafter be prepared. As it was, the ability, bravery and patriotism of our soldiers won a most glorious victory, in spite of obstacles which made the military attaches of every foreign government doubtful of our success.

Consider the difficulties ahead of our troops. Some thousands of drilled Spanish veterans were supposed to be ready to contest their landing, unless they landed at Guantanamo Bay, some forty miles away, where a small force of marines were obstinately holding a landing they had made. Once landed, they would be confronted with a broken, hilly country, the hills and slopes covered with a tropical jungle. No roads worth mentioning over which to march and transport their heavy guns and supplies. They would be confronted with all the distress and danger necessarily incident to a campaign in a tropical island, in the wet unhealthy season of the year. In spite of all these obstacles our army landed, began their resistless advance, constructing roads as they went, in tropical sunshine and storms, through the jungles, over the hills, across the rivers, until the morning of July 1st, one week after landing, the Americans confronted the Spanish forces in their last line of intrenchments, not far from Santiago itself; the most memorable event of this surprising week being the gallant fight of Roosevelt's Rough Riders in the ambuscade of La Quasina, where they compelled a superior force to retreat. Then came two terrible days, July 1st and 2nd, in front of Santiago. When the sun rose July 3rd, the American lines almost surrounded Santiago. But a strongly fortified city was right before them. Expose was telling, and the ravages of sickness were making great inroads on our forces. Though the entire country was resounding with exulting plaudits, at the wonderful fighting that gained the victory at San Juan; though foreign military attaches were unstinted in their



GENERAL SHAFTER.

expressed admiration of the bravery and ability of our soldiers, yet, for a while on that memorable July 3rd, it seemed as if our advance must stop, if indeed we would not have to fall back for reinforcement. A feeling of anxiety and gloom overspread the entire country. Our government regarded the situation around Santiago as critical. But this situation was instantly changed, by one of the most important naval victories ever achieved, to understand which we must retrace our steps some days.

The primary object of this campaign was to destroy the Spanish fleet. It was feared that a severe storm might disperse the American ships, and before they could gather again the Spanish admiral might escape. To prevent this, Lieutenant Hobson, with a crew of eight men, in charge of the collier Merrimac, on the morning of June 4th undertook to block the channel at its narrowest point. He failed in accomplishing his object, but none the less he performed one of the bravest feats in the annals of the American navy. He sank his ship, but not in quite the desired position. The brave lieutenant and crew, who faced almost certain death, miraculously escaped destruction but were taken prisoners.



LIEUTENANT RICHARD P. HOBSON

Admiral Cervera, in kindly treating these prisoners, and in chivalrously notifying Admiral Sampson of their safety, was unconsciously "casting his bread upon the waters," destined, in his case, to return in very few days. In proportion as Shafter's lines closed in on the city, Cervera's position became critical. If he stayed in the harbor until the American guns could be placed in position on the neighboring hills, his destruction was certain. In short, whatever cause for anxiety existed in the American ranks, were intensified as regards the Spanish forces. The fleet seemed doomed to destruction or capture. Provisions in the city were scarce. There was much sickness and consequent suffering. The Americans were at the very gates of the city. Then it was that Admiral Cervera, impelled by the positive orders of the Spanish government, took the one remaining desperate chance to save his fleet, or at least a portion of it.

On the morning of July 3rd, the American fleet was lazily

lying at anchor about six miles off the entrance to Santiago harbor. The New York, the flag ship of Admiral Sampson, had steamed to the east on a leisurely tour of inspection. The Sabbath calm was suddenly interrupted by the appearance of an armored cruiser under full steam coming out of the harbor. Instantly all was motion on the part of the Americans. Without losing a moment of time, anchors were raised and the crews prepared for action, as the ships began to close in toward the shore. Following the first cruiser, the other three appeared at short intervals, and then the torpedo boats. Turning to the west the cruisers attempted to gain the open sea and safety. Then occurred one of the most remarkable and decisive naval battles ever fought, ending four hours later by the complete destruction of the Spanish fleet. Not one vessel escaped. Admiral Cervera and thirteen hundred of his officers and crew were captured. In this instance there was no question but that the American fleet was by far the stronger of the two fleets, but considering that the Spanish squadron was composed of four formidable cruisers, and that they were swifter than any vessel opposed to them excepting the Brooklyn, it is strange that none of them escaped, and passing strange that while they were completely destroyed the utmost they could do was to inflict merely nominal damages on the American fleet. But one American was killed and two wounded.



U. S. FLAG SHIP NEW YORK.

This battle may be described as the death blow to the cause of Spain. All that followed was, on the part of the United States, gathering in the fruits of the victory, and taking such further steps as they deemed best; on the part of Spain, despairing struggles against the end now plainly in sight, and seeking some way to end the war consonant with their ideas of honor. Santiago surrendered July 16th. There was, however, no fighting after

the naval victory. It required that length of time for Spain to consent to the inevitable and save further sacrifice of life. The entire nation had been so buoyed up by misleading dispatches from Cuba, all telling of "brilliant victories" around Santiago, or of American attacks, "brilliantly repulsed with heavy losses," and they had become so enthused over the "brilliant sortie" of Admiral Cervera, who had "put to sea the moment he thought it best," and had "probably gone to Havana," that they could scarcely face the inevitable. The surrender included not only the city of Santiago, but about one-third the province of that name. (The troops that surrendered were not only those in Santiago, but in the entire district surrendered.) Thus the Santiago campaign came to a glorious end. Admiral Cervera's fleet had been destroyed. In the face of almost insurmountable obstacles, a force of barely twenty thousand men had compelled the surrender of twenty-four thousand well armed troops, in strongly fortified positions. The one condition of the surrender was that the Spanish prisoners were to be transported to Spain at the expense of the American government. A few days later the curious spectacle was observed of the American government contracting with a Spanish transportation company to take to Spain the soldiers that surrendered to our arms.



U. S. FLAG SHIP BROOKLYN.

The remaining incidents of the war can be briefly recounted: For political reasons, since we were going to demand the cession of Porto Rico, the authorities were anxious to have a force on that island, when the proposition for peace should be received. Accordingly, General Miles with an invading expedition landed near Ponce, on the southern coast, July 25th. This invasion developed a strange state of affairs. The Porto Ricans were overjoyed to welcome us. Every day there were reports of the authorities of

of towns in the line of march joyfully surrendering, patriotic proclamations issued by the mayors, banquets instead of bullets for the officers. This pleasing campaign was ended before any serious fighting, which would of course have come near the capital at San Juan, by the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace. Spain finally accepted the inevitable, and asked through the French minister at Washington, M. Cambon, for terms on which peace would be granted. These terms included the evacuation of Cuba by the Spanish forces, the cession of Porto Rico and an island of the Ladrone Group in the Pacific, and temporary surrender of the city and Bay of Manilla, pending the final conclusion of peace. The protocol was signed August 12, 1898, and thus put an end to the war. But before news of this agreement could be communicated to Admiral Dewey, the city of Manilla had surrendered to the American forces.

Though active hostilities were ended by the signing of the protocol, or preliminary treaty of peace, yet a vast amount of diplomatic business had still to be arranged before peace could be said to be fully restored. According to the terms of the protocol it was necessary to provide for the cession of Porto Rico, and many questions in regard to the date and manner of the evacuation of the island, the disposition of public property, the rights of Spanish residents of the island, must be settled. All these points of discussion existed in an intensified degree in the case of Cuba. A large army was to be returned to Spain. A vast amount of public property was to be turned over to some duly constituted authority. The settlement of all these questions incident to these movements necessitated the appointment of a commission for each island on the part of the American government, to meet in joint session with a similar commission appointed by Spain.

Accordingly, a few days after the signing of the protocol President McKinley appointed on such commissions General Wade, Admiral Sampson and General Butler for Cuba; and General Brooke, Admiral Schley and General Gordon for Porto Rico. These commissions repaired to their respective stations early in September, and the work at once began of arranging the details of the evacuation on the part of Spanish forces. Porto Rico was turned over to the control of the American forces, October 18, 1898. And thus the island of Porto Rico, after being uninterrupt-

edly in the possession of Spain for four centuries, found itself an integral part of the United States. Its commanding position in the Carribbean Sea, its salubrious climate and fertile soil rendered it a welcome addition to our domain, and beneath our flag, with the blessings of civil and religious liberty, we can but believe a future of prosperity and happiness awaits this beautiful island.

There is in San Juan a small house of ancient style which was built by Ponce de Leon. What scenes have its walls witnessed since that time! Its master sailed away on his expedition in search of the perennial fountain of youth, in which expedition he discovered Florida, but lost his own life. Since its walls were erected Spain's colonial empire, amongst the most extensive the world ever saw, has arisen and fallen, and to the north of the peninsula of flowers which its owner discovered has arisen our country, the great Republic of the West, which will henceforth safeguard the destinies of Porto Rico.

In Cuba the details to be arranged were so much more extensive, such a large force of soldiers were to be removed, that the evacuation could not be completed before the close of the year. And in the case of Cuba the United States government found itself confronted with a grave problem: How to deal with the insurgents. We had formally renounced any intention of acquiring the island for our own use, and yet we had not recognized the insurgent government. Further, the action of the Cuban troops, under command of General Garcia in the Santiago campaign, had been very disappointing to the American authorities. It was necessary for the United States to take military possession of Cuba as the Spanish forces were withdrawn, and establish a temporary government of law and order, in the belief that soon the Cubans—meaning by that term not only the insurgents, but the entire population of Cuba—would establish a stable government, into whose hands the reins of authority could be placed, in the secure conviction that a future of contented prosperity awaits them.

It were fitting to mention one or two incidents that ensued, since a pathetic interest attaches to them. The remains of the great Columbus—though bearing in mind the historical doubt attaching to them, mentioned on a former page of this volume (see page 408 *et seq.*)—which for more than a century had reposed in

the cathedral at Havana, were borne back to Spain by the departing Spanish. When from Spain's enfeebled grasp there fell away the last possession in the New World, which their great admiral had discovered, it was perhaps in keeping with historic harmony that the ashes of the discoverer should be returned to Spain. Columbus had returned to Spain in triumph; he had returned in chains. His body had rested at Seville, in Santa Christo, in Hispaniola. Thence in pomp and ceremony it had been borne to Havana, but now as the New World which his daring had given to Spain was forever lost to that country, his dust once more crossed the Atlantic to find rest in that troubled kingdom.

Still another incident is of melancholy interest to the historian. Anxious to secure some trophy of the Spanish fleet destroyed at Santiago, the American government had after great exertions succeeded in raising the Maria Theresa, one of Cervera's ill-fated ships. Late in October this vessel started, in tow of the tug Merritt, for the Norfolk Navy Yard, where it was intended to entirely repair her and add her to our navy. But when off the Island of San Salvador a terrific storm broke over her and she was cast away on the treacherous reefs bordering that island. That was the island where Columbus landed on his first voyage. In 1492 the Spanish admiral with his small fleet on this island first set up the banner of Spain. Four centuries passed; that banner had floated over a large portion of the New World, but for a hundred years that colonial empire had been dying; and now a modern man-of-war, taken as a trophy by the conquerors in a war to end forever the once glorious New World empire of Spain, is cast by the elements upon that same island to mark the grave of that empire. Thus that small island is a reminder of the mutations that await the kingdoms of this world.

"Nations melt
From power's high pinnacle when they have felt
The sunshine for a while, and downward go."

According to the terms of the protocol a joint commission of five from each country were to meet in Paris, not later than October 1, 1898, to negotiate the definitive treaty of peace, which was to ratify not only the terms of the protocol, but to settle the many questions which could not be touched upon in that agreement, and, more important than anything else, determine the disposition

of the Philippines. On the part of the United States, the president appointed Secretary of State William R. Day, of Ohio; Senator Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota; Senator William P. Frye, of Maine; Senator George Gray, of Delaware, and Whitelaw Reid, of New York. This commission met in Paris, and October 1st commenced its labor in conjunction with the Spanish commission, at the head of which was that eminent Spanish statesman and diplomat, Senor Montero Rios.

This was to be a battle of diplomats, and most important questions were to be settled. The protocol, or preliminary treaty of peace, is of no binding force; it is only a temporary expedient for putting an end to hostilities. It is still necessary to negotiate a final treaty settling all points in dispute. Should such a final agreement fail to be made, hostilities might be renewed. There was, however, little danger of such a result in this case, since Spain was utterly exhausted. It was impossible for her to resist any demands the United States might make. They had, however, a lingering hope that should American demands be what they should consider excessive, they could induce some other nation to come to their assistance. At the termination of many recent wars the victorious nation has been compelled by the opposition of other nations to accept far less than their original demands. At the close of the Russo-Turkish war, the Berlin Congress compelled Russia to modify her demands. The opposition of Russia compelled Japan to relinquish some of her claims on China. Similarly at the close of the Greco-Turkish war. The one remaining hope of Spain was that the opposition of other European powers would enable her to compel a modification of the demands of the United States.

The question of responsibility for the debt of Cuba was the first serious point to arise in the negotiations. Spain having borrowed some hundreds of millions of dollars, with Cuba as a collateral, was anxious this debt should pass with the island. The United States could not consent to this, since the money having been largely used to conquer the Cubans, it would present the singular spectacle of a people waging a successful war for independence, paying all the bills of the vanquished, not only the bills for the last and successful war, but for the war of thirty years ago. There was considerable talk about the equities of



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other people, and about Spain refusing to continue the negotiations unless the United States assumed the debt, but, as was expected, Spain yielded.

The great struggle came over the disposition of the Philippines. When the protocol was signed the American authorities had not fully decided in their own minds what they wished to do with that archipelago. But as time passed several points became clear. The islands could not be handed back to Spain. That country in her enfeebled state, with her navy destroyed, her credit gone, with bankruptcy staring her in the face, was manifestly in no condition to attempt the reconquest of the islands from the insurgents under Aguinaldo. For the United States to give up her grasp on the islands was manifestly to consign them to years of anarchy and misrule, and undoubtedly to precipitate a conflict between the various European powers for their possession.

And on further consideration why should the United States relinquish them? Had not the rule of Spain been notoriously inefficient? Had she not shown there the same cruel, repressive action that blighted the prospects of Cuba? With what justice could we then restore these islands to the crown of Spain? And so the conviction grew that the United States must keep control, and hence the demand was finally made that Spain should relinquish the entire archipelago. Vain were the protests of the Spanish commissioners, in vain their threats to break off negotiations; they could only consent to withdraw their authority from the Philippines, and so, for the present at least, that archipelago becomes a part of our broad domain. The conclusions of the commissioners' labors were embodied in a treaty of peace signed with due formality by the representatives of the two powers in Paris, December 10, 1898.

On February 6, 1899, the United States Senate, by a vote of 57 to 27, ratified the following peace treaty with Spain:

Spain cedes to the United States Porto Rico and other islands under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies and the Island of Guam in the Ladrones.

Spain cedes to the United States all the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands. The United States will pay to Spain $20,000,000 within three months after exchange of ratification.

Spain's ships and merchandise will be admitted to all Philip-

pine ports on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States for ten years.

The United States will send back to Spain at its own cost the Spanish soldiers taken as prisoners of war at Manila, the arms of the soldiers to be restored to them.

Both countries will release all prisoners of war. Both countries relinquish all claims for indemnity, national and individual, that may have arisen since the beginning of the late insurrection in Cuba and prior to exchange of ratification. The United States will adjudicate and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain in territory relinquished by this article.

Spain relinquishes in Cuba and cedes in Porto Rico and other islands in the West Indies and Guam all buildings and other immovable property which belong to the public domain.

Spanish subjects remaining in relinquished or ceded territory may preserve allegiance to the crown of Spain by making a declaration of allegiance within a year. Otherwise they shall be held to have renounced it and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they reside.

Rights of property secured by copyrights and patents acquired by Spaniards in ceded territory shall continue to be respected, and Spanish scientific, literary and artistic works shall continue to be admitted free of duty for a period of ten years.

The Government of each country will for a period of ten years accord to merchant vessels of the other country the same treatment in respect to all port charges as it accords to its own merchant vessels.

Any obligations assumed in the treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba are limited to the time of its occupancy, but upon the termination of such occupancy it will advise any new Government to assume the same obligations.

Far to the southwest of the Golden Gate, across more than twenty-five hundred miles of placid Pacific, basking beneath the tropical sun, fanned by the breezes that ceaselessly blow over the ocean, is the beautiful group of the Sandwich Islands. They form the eastern key to the Pacific, and are directly on the trade routes to Australia and the Orient. After some years of anxious waiting, 1898 saw that group of islands annexed to our country. Going west across some three thousand miles of water, we come upon the Ladrones, the principal island of which, Guam, is now, as a result of this war, a part of our territory. The Philippine archipelago, however, adjacent to the shores of Asia, guarding the entrance to the Pacific, in area as large as the combined

area of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia, with vast undeveloped resources, which now are a part of our domain, form a most important addition. The United States is now in condition to become one of the most important powers in the Pacific.

When we reflect on the development of the world's commerce, at first confined to the land-locked Mediterranean, of late centuries crowding the tumultuous Atlantic, it does not need the gift of prophecy to see that the on-coming commerce of the Pacific is destined in the near future to dwarf all that has gone before. No wonder the older nations of Europe were anxious to take possession of that commerce to the exclusion of the United States. But our country has now only to take advantage of its fairly won position, to extend wise and beneficent legislation to its new possessions, to reap an abundant and rich harvest in the near future.

As we bring these pages to a close, let us reflect on our position. Counting our new possessions, we are a nation of nearly one hundred million people. We are entitled to rank among the most powerful, cultured and wealthy people of the world. Our commerce has grown to vast extent. The fame of our inventors is world-wide. We are in the very front ranks of enlightened, progressive nations, keeping pace with the highest culture of the world. In contemplating this pleasing picture of national greatness, let us not forget that every crested wave has its corresponding depression. Let us tremble as well as rejoice, and constantly bear in mind the poet's refrain:

"Lord God of battles, be with us yet,
Lest we forget! Lest we forget!"

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